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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

VOLUME III

PART I

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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY

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3 1

VOLUME III

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY
(EARTHQUAKES, CLOUDS, WIND,
DEW, RAIN, METEORITES)

χώ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὗει

THEOKRITOS 4. 43

PART I

TEXT AND NOTES

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καὶ ὁ Φερεκύδης ἔλεγεν εἰς Ἔρωτα μεταβεβλῆσθαι τὸν Δία μέλλοντα δημιουργεῖν, ὅτι δὴ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συνιστὰς εἰς ὁμολογίαν καὶ φιλίαν ἤγαγε καὶ ταυτότητα πᾶσιν ἐνέσπειρε καὶ ἕνωσιν τὴν δι' ὅλων διήκουσαν.

PHEREKYDES OF SYROS *frag.* 3 Diels *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* ii. 54, 28 ff. Diehl.

ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος εἰρηνικὸς καὶ παντα̣χοῦ πρᾶος, οἷος ἀστασιάστου καὶ ὁμονοούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπίσκοπος· ὃν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τέχνης καὶ τῆς Ἠλείων πόλεως σοφῆς καὶ ἀγαθ̣ῆς βουλευσάμενος ἱδρυσάμην, ἥμερον καὶ σεμνὸν ἐν ἀλύπῳ σχήματι, τὸν βίου καὶ ζωῆς καὶ συμπάντων δοτῆρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πατέρα καὶ σωτ̣ῆρα καὶ φύλακα, ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν θνητῷ διανοηθέντι μιμήσασθαι τὴν θείαν καὶ ἀμήχανον φύσιν.

DION OF PROUSA *or.* 12 p. 236 f. Dindorf.

PREFACE

VOLUME III with its two Parts comprises the third, and final, instalment of my work on Zeus: *numero deus impare gaudet.* It may be thought that a task taken in hand as far back as 1907 ought to have been completed long before 1939. But kindly critics will remember that the task itself was one of formidable complexity, that the leisure left to a teacher occupied throughout with College and University duties is necessarily limited, and that the commotions of our time have hardly been conducive to a peaceful investigation of the past. This at least I can claim that, year in, year out, I have steadily pursued the plan originally laid down for the scope and contents of the book. Volume I was to deal with Zeus as god of the Bright Sky, Volume II with Zeus as god of the Dark Sky—an arrangement of essentials approved by the high authority of Otto Weinreich (*Archiv f. Rel.* 1937 xxxiv. 138). Accordingly, Volume I included not only the Hellenic worship of the Bright Zeus, god of the Upper Sky, but also the Hellenistic attempts to connect him with Sun, Moon, and Stars, while Volume II was devoted to the Dark Zeus, god of Thunder and Lightning, in all his multifarious aspects. Thunder and Lightning proved to be so wide-spread and far-reaching that much had perforce to be left over for a third, at first uncontemplated, volume. This concerns itself with Zeus in his relations to a further series of cosmic phaenomena—Earthquakes, Clouds, Wind, Dew, Rain, and Meteorites. But I need not here enter into a detailed account of sections and subsections, as I have later endeavoured to trace in sequence the whole evolution of the cult of Zeus (pages 943 to 973), concluding with a statement of what I conceive to be its ultimate significance (pp. 973, 974).

The work as a whole sets out to survey the range and influence of the Greek Sky-god. It would, I suppose, have been possible to do this in less discursive fashion by means of tabulated statements and statistics—a list of his cult-centres, an index of his appellations, a classified catalogue of his representations in art—in short, to adopt the dictionary-method, admirably carried out by E. Fehrle, K. Ziegler, and O. Waser towards the end of Roscher's great *Lexikon* (vi. 564—759). But my notion of a survey is somewhat different. I find a road-map less helpful than an ordnance-sheet.

The former may simplify things and enable you to get more directly to your destination. But the latter invites you to explore the neighbourhood, marks the field-paths, puts in the contour-lines, colours the water-ways, and prints in Gothic lettering the local antiquities. Time is lost, but knowledge is gained, and the traveller returns well-content with his trapesings. So I have deliberately chosen the more devious method, and I can only fall back on Herodotos' plea that 'my subject from the outset demanded digressions.' Indeed, it was just this need for latitude that led me to widen the title *Zeus* by adding the subtitle 'a Study in Ancient Religion.' That is the real justification for long-winded footnotes and a fringe of Appendixes.

With regard to the Appendixes I regret, not so much the fifteen that I have written, as the three that I have failed to write—letters **C**, **D**, and **O**. Ideally **C** should have dealt with Zeus at Corinth, **D** with Zeus at Dodona, **O** with Zeus at Olympia. I did indeed pen a screed on 'Korinthos son of Zeus,' but I suppressed it because the aetiological myth that I thought to detect implied the existence of customs for which I could produce no adequate evidence. As to Dodona, I have made certain interim observations in the *Classical Review* for 1903 xvii. 178—186, 268 f., 278; but the problems presented by the oracular cult cannot be securely solved till the oracle itself has been fully excavated (*infra* p. 1131). On Olympia too I have said my say both in the *Classical Review* for 1903 xvii. 270—277 and in *Folk-Lore* for 1904 xv. 397—402. To describe the material remains of the famous *témenos* was no part of my programme. Dr E. N. Gardiner has covered the ground (*Olympia* Oxford 1925), and Dr W. Dörpfeld dug deep beneath it (*Alt-Olympia* Berlin 1935).

The quarter-century that has intervened between the publication of Volume I and that of Volume III has of course brought an annual harvest of discoveries and discussions bearing on the subject of Zeus, all grist to my mill. Hence the mass of miscellaneous Addenda from page 1066 onwards—'1066 and all that'! It was a cheer to find that these additions, almost without exception, fitted well into the framework of the book and very seldom called for the retraction of a definitely expressed opinion.

As before, I write with a sense of profound obligation to others. First and foremost stands my debt of gratitude to the Syndics of the University Press, who once again have borne the whole financial

burden of publishing, despite all difficulties, this costly and unprofitable work.

Zeus, I am happy to say, has been begun, continued, and ended under the auspices of two old friends, old in years but young in outlook—Sir James Frazer and Dr Rendel Harris. It was they who first welcomed the inception of the work, and, though quite aware that I often dissent from their findings, they have wished me well from start to finish.

I have further been able to count on the co-operation of many loyal helpers. Where my enquiries have trenched upon unfamiliar ground I have not hesitated to call in expert advisers. On points of Semitic lore I have consulted Professor S. A. Cook (p. 1072), the late Professor S. Langdon (p. 550 n. 0), and the Reverend H. St J. Hart (p. 891). In Mesopotamian matters I have been assisted by Mr Sidney Smith (p. 832 ff.) and Dr H. Frankfort (p. 1196). Egyptian usages have been made plain to me in conversations with Mr Sidney Smith, Mr P. E. Newberry, and the late Mr J. E. Quibell (p. 305). Sir John Marshall gave me his opinion on the origin of Çiva's trident (p. 1156). Professor H. W. Bailey has reported on Sanskrit and Persian etymologies (pp. 916 n. 1, 925 n. 3). Mr A. Waley identified the source of a Chinese inscription and translated it for me (p. 1138). Dr B. F. C. Atkinson allowed me to rifle his unpublished work on Illyrian names (p. 364 n. 8). Lastly, Dr F. R. C. Reed enabled me to determine the material of an ancient cameo, while Dr F. C. Phillips as official mineralogist and petrologist made analyses on my behalf (p. 898 n. 4).

Reviewers in general have been benevolent, but superficial and sometimes woefully misunderstanding. Signal exceptions have been the detailed and very helpful *critique* of Charles Picard (*Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 65—94) and a most heartening notice by Otto Weinreich (*Archiv f. Rel.* 1937 xxxiv. 137—139). For such shrewd objections and penetrating judgments I can but feel immense respect. Critics of this type are all too rare.

Among friends that have put an active shoulder to my wheel I would name first my colleague Mr C. T. Seltman, who with his amazing knowledge of ancient art and modern art-collectors has been endlessly useful. It was, for example, through his good offices that I secured the unique double axes from Crete and Athens (figs. 894, 895), the new Orpheus-vase published in pl. xvi, and that most notable of all Greek coppers the Mytilene-medallion

of pl. i. But Mr Seltman has no monopoly of kindliness. Not a few of my former pupils, while engaged on quests of their own, have spared time to forage on my behalf. In particular, Mr A. D. Trendall, Fellow of Trinity College and our foremost authority on South Italian vases, has sent me a flight of valuable photographs from Athens (pl. xlvi, 2), Capua (pl. lxxv), Rome (pl. lii), Taranto (pls. xiii, xv, 2, lxxi), Berlin (pls. liv, lx), Bonn (pl. xiii, 3), Gotha (pl. lxiii), Leipzig (pls. lxii, lxv, 1), and Vienna (fig. 476). Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury, Fellow of Pembroke College, has more than once put his intimate knowledge of modern Crete at my service (pp. 1070, 1143) and himself photographed for me an early Greek *stámnos* from Knossos (pl. xxv). Mr E. J. P. Raven procured for me photographs of an interesting *píthos*-lid from the same place (pl. lxxxi) and of the relief-*plaque* from Athens representing a primitive form of Athena (pl. xxvi). And Mr R. M. Cook furnished me with the photograph of a small bronze statuette recently found in Bulgaria and important as being clearly inspired by Pheidias' Zeus *Olýmpios* (pl. lxxxii).

Others have gone far afield to record mountain-scenes difficult of access. Dr N. Bachtin gave me prints of Mount Ossa and of the chapel on its summit from photographs taken by Mrs Bachtin in 1934 (figs. 908, 909), and three times over climbed Mount Pelion to investigate the alleged discoveries of Arvanitopoulos (p. 1161). Ossa, Pelion, and—to complete the proverbial pile—Olympos. Mr C. M. Sleeman, Fellow of Queens' College, ascended Olympos twice, in 1926 and 1929, bringing home with him a wonderful series of views, which included not only the actual summit (pl. lxviii) but all the principal peaks (figs. 911, 912) and the little chapel of St Elias (fig. 913). Mr Sleeman in 1926 also photographed the summit of Parnassos (fig. 907), and, being an indefatigable mountaineer, in 1936 climbed Mount Argaios and supplied me with striking photographs of the top (fig. 915) and of a rock-pinnacle beneath it (fig. 916). Mr W. K. C. Guthrie, Fellow of Peterhouse and now Public Orator, in 1932 discovered and photographed a double rock-cut throne on Findos Tepe (figs. 858—860). Mr N. G. L. Hammond, Fellow of Clare College, in 1931 told me of Mount Emertsa on the Albanian frontier, which he had found to be locally identified with Dione in repose (p. 1173). But of all these mountain-exploits none is more arresting than the narrative dictated to me by Mr H. Hunt, who in 1929 went on pilgrimage

with Bektashite monks to the summit of Mount Tomori near Berat and there actually witnessed the sacrifice of a white bull to 'Zefs' (p. 1171).

For other photographs, too numerous to specify in detail, I am indebted to a host of contributors both at home and abroad. My debt has, I think, always been acknowledged in a footnote. But I cannot refrain from mentioning here certain cases of outstanding interest. Mr Sidney Smith, Honorary Fellow of Queens' College and Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, presented me with a magnificent photograph of the newly-discovered 'Lilith' and added to his kindness by discussing with me her status and attributes (pl. lxi). The late Dr A. H. Lloyd gave me an exquisite plate of the golden barley found amid the dust and *débris* of a grave near Syracuse (pl. xxxi). Professors G. M. Columba and E. Gàbrici supplied a fine photograph of the Oknos-vase at Palermo (pl. xxxvi); Professor D. M. Robinson, several views of the Bouzyges-vase at Baltimore (pl. xlv); Professor P. P. Jacobsthal, the print of a vase at Marseilles representing, he holds, the oracle of Orpheus' head (pl. xviii).

Casts of coins and gems have again been sent me without charge and without stint by the authorities of the British Museum, to whom I am further indebted for much encouragement and helpful talk. I am particularly beholden to Mr H. Mattingly, Mr E. S. G. Robinson, and Mr Sidney Smith, of whose prompt aid I have availed myself time after time with shameless persistence. Mr R. B. Whitehead also was good enough to send me a series of choice impressions from his own unrivalled store of Bactrian coins (figs. 369, 371). Monsieur le Comte Chandon de Briailles supplied the cast of a gem representing Kroisos on the pyre (fig. 329), and Mr C. D. Bicknell that of a gem in the Lewis Collection showing Athena as a human-headed bird (fig. 608).

Permission to produce or reproduce plans and illustrations has been generously granted by Messrs F. Bruckmann and Co. of Munich (pls. vi, vii, xxiii, xxxvii), by Sir Arthur Evans (figs. 202, 265), by Mr N. Glueck of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem (fig. 876), by the Council of the Hellenic Society (figs. 578, 579), by Dr F. Matz of the Staatliches Lindenau-Museum at Altenburg (fig. 619), by Dr H. Meier of the Warburg Institute (pl. xl), by the late Mr J. E. Quibell (fig. 195), by Monsieur Richard, Conservateur des Musées at Abbeville (fig. 888), by Miss G. M. A.

Richter of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (pl. xxxv, figs. 776, 883, 897), by Professor Homer A. Thompson (figs. 923, 924), by Professor A. J. B. Wace (fig. 193), by Dr C. Weickert of the Museum at Munich (pl. l), and by the Direktor of the Badisches Landesmuseum at Karlsruhe (pl. li).

In the matter of text-figures I have been lucky enough to retain the services of Miss E. T. Talbot, the artist to whom I owe the bulk of the drawings in Volumes I and II. Her work has throughout maintained a high level of exactitude. Her coins, for instance, are not merely faithful transcripts of originals or casts, but actually 'stilgetreu'—a rare achievement in draughtsmanship.

The cameo in malachite portraying the bust of a Ptolemaic Zeus (pl. xliv) was drawn from the original by Miss F. E. Severs and produced as an experiment in lithography by the Cambridge Press. But most of the colour-plates have been specially painted for me by another artist of quite exceptional powers, Mrs D. K. Kennett. She sketched the Corfu pediment from a full-size cast in the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology (pl. lxiv) and the Sulis Minerva pediment from the original at Bath (pl. lxvi). But her feeling for colour is better shown by the little head of Hera in blue glass from Girgenti (pl. lxxiii), the bust of Sarapis in *lapis lazuli* (pl. lxxiv), or the bronze mace from Willingham Fen (pl. lxxviii). These are veritable triumphs of sympathetic rendering.

And here I must add a word on another of Mrs Kennett's plates, the neolithic pounder from Ephesos (pl. lxvii). That remarkable object—given me as a souvenir of Sir William Ridgeway by the President of Queens' College and Mrs Venn—has, if I am right in my interpretation of it, presented us for the first time with a prehistoric Greek *baítylos*, a stone believed to have fallen from heaven and worshipped accordingly. Not the least of its claims upon our attention is the incidental light that it throws on a passage in the New Testament (Acts 19. 35).

The passage in question sets in sharp contrast the old 'Zeus-fallen image' with the new Gospel proclaimed by St Paul. These were in effect the two extremes. Between them lay the whole history of Greek religion with its gradual development, now slower, now faster, from primitive paganism towards complete Christianity —a long story, for the telling of which three volumes would scarce suffice. My contention is that in that development the cult of the

Sky-god was one main factor, leading the minds of men upwards and onwards to ever greater heights till Zeus at his noblest joined hands with the Christian conceptions of Deity. If I have succeeded in proving that, I shall feel that the labours of half a lifetime have been well worth while.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

19 Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
22 *July* 1939.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following additions should be made to the List of Abbreviations printed in Vol. I pp. xxv—xliii and Vol. II pp. xxiii—xliii.

Albizzati *Vasi d. Vaticano* = C. Albizzati *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano* Fasc. 1—6 (pls. 1—60) Roma 1925—1932.

Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* iii, 1 (Sala delle Muse, Sala rotonda, Sala a Croce Greca) von G. Lippold Berlin—Leipzig 1936.

Am. Journ. Arch. From 1932 (vol. xxxvi) onwards the *American Journal of Archaeology* has been issued in larger format.

Anz. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien Phil.-hist. Classe = *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften* Philosophisch-historische Classe Wien 1864— .

Ath. Mitth. From 1901 (vol. xxvi) entitled *Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts: athenische Abteilung*, and from 1915 (vol. xl) *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: athenische Abteilung.*

Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* II Description historique iv Paris 1926—1932 with Atlas of pls. III Monnaies orientales i Numismatique de la Perse antique par J. de Morgan Paris 1927—1933 with Atlas of pls.

Berl. philol. Woch. So called from 1884 to 1920. Before (1881—1883) and after (1921—) that period the title is simply *Philologische Wochenschrift.*

Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Cyrenaica 1927 by E. S. G. Robinson.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings = F. H. Marshall *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* London 1907.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems[2] = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos Greek Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum* London 1926.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Paintings and Mosaics = R. P. Hinks *Catalogue of the Greek Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* London 1933.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Emp. ii (Vespasian to Domitian) London 1930. iii (Nerva to Hadrian) London 1936.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* London 1908.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture[2] = *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum* i. 1 (Prehellenic and early Greek) by F. N. Pryce London 1928. i. 2 (Cypriote and Etruscan) by F. N. Pryce London 1931.

Brit. Mus. Quart. = *British Museum Quarterly* 1926— .

Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* fortgeführt und mit erläuternden Texten versehen von P. Arndt und G. Lippold iv (Tafeln 651—700) München 1926, v (Tafeln 701—750) München 1932, vi (Tafeln 751—785) München 1939.

Corp. inscr. Gr. sept. iii. 2 Inscriptiones Thessaliae ed. O. Kern, Indices comp. F. Hiller de Gaertringen [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ix. 2] Berolini 1908.

Corp. inscr. Lat. xi. 2. 2 Inscriptiones Aemiliae, Etruriae, Umbriae Latinae, ed. E. Bormann. Addenda ad partes priores et Indicum capita tria. Berolini 1926.
xiv Supplementum Ostiense, ed. L. Wickert Berolini 1930.

Corpusc. poes. ep. Gr. ludib. = *Corpusculum poesis epicae Graecae ludibundae* i Parodorum epicorum Graecorum et Archestrati reliquiae, ed. P. Brandt Lipsiae 1888, ii Sillographorum Graecorum reliquiae, ed. C. Wachsmuth Lipsiae 1885.

Corp. vas. ant. = *Corpus vasorum antiquorum.* This great international publication, started by E. Pottier at Paris in 1922, has already (1939) run to 63 parts, of which Belgium

has contributed 2, Denmark 6, France 14, Germany 3, Great Britain 11, Greece 1, Holland 2, Italy 12, Poland 3, Spain 1, the United States 6, and Yugoslavia 2.

Délos v Le Portique d' Antigone ou du Nord-est et les constructions voisines par F. Courby. Paris 1912.

ix Description des Revêtements peints à sujets religieux par M. Bulard. Paris 1926.

x Les Vases de l'Héraion par C. Dugas. Paris 1928.

xi Les Sanctuaires et les Cultes du Mont Cynthe par A. Plassart. Paris 1928.

xii Les Temples d' Apollon par F. Courby. Paris 1931.

xii (Planches).

xiii Les Portraits hellénistiques et romains par C. Michalowski. Paris 1932.

xiv Les Mosaïques de la Maison des Masques par J. Chamonard. Paris 1933.

xv Les Vases préhelléniques et géométriques par C. Dugas et C. Rhomaios. Paris 1934.

xvi Le Sanctuaire des Dieux de Samothrace par F. Chapouthier. Paris 1935.

xvii Les Vases orientalisants de style non mélien par C. Dugas. Paris 1935.

xviii Le Mobilier délien par W. Deonna. Paris 1938.

xviii (Planches).

xix L'Agora des Italiens par É. Lapalus. Paris 1939.

Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Graec.* = C. du Fresne Du Cange *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ & infimæ Græcitatis* i, ii Lugduni 1688.

Ebert *Reallex.* = *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter herausgegeben von Max Ebert i—xiv Berlin 1924—1929, xv (Register) Berlin 1932.

Einzelaufnahmen Serie 10 München 1925, Register zu Serie 6—10 München 1929, 11 München 1929, 12 München 1931, 13 München 1932, 14A München 1934, 14B München 1936, 15A München 1937, 15B München 1938, 16A München 1939.

Ernout—Meillet *Dict. étym. de la Langue Lat.* = *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue Latine* Histoire des mots par A. Ernout et A. Meillet. Paris 1932.

Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* vii—ix (Gaule Germanique 1—3 et Supplément) Paris 1918—1925, x (Supplément et Tables générales) Paris 1928. *Complément du Recueil générale des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine* Paris et Bruxelles 1931. xi (Suppléments (suite)) Paris 1938.

Farnell *Gk. Hero Cults* = L. R. Farnell *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* Oxford 1921.

Fouilles de Delphes

iii Épigraphie. Texte. Fasc. 5 par Émile Bourguet Paris 1932.

iv Monuments Figurés—Sculpture. Planches complémentaires. Paris 1926.

Frag. gr. Hist. = *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* von Felix Jacoby Erster Teil: Genealogie und Mythographie Berlin 1923, Zweiter Teil: Zeitgeschichte A Universalgeschichte und Hellenika Berlin 1926, B Spezialgeschichten, Autobiographien, Zeittafeln Berlin 1927, 1929, C Kommentar Berlin 1926, 1927, 1930.

Frag. gr. Kultschr. = *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller* gesammelt von Alois Tresp Giessen 1914.

Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Aftermath London 1936.

Frazer *Totemism and Exogamy* = (Sir) J. G. Frazer *Totemism and Exogamy* A Treatise on Certain Early Forms of Superstition and Society i—iv London 1910. *Totemica*: a supplement to 'Totemism and exogamy' London 1937.

Frazer *Worship of Nature* = Sir J. G. Frazer *The Worship of Nature* i (Sky, Earth, Sun) London 1926, ii (Sun, Moon, Stars, Fire, Water, Wind, Plants, Animals) London — .

Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* iv Berlin 1925, II. Band i Berlin 1929, ii Berlin 1931, iii Berlin 1933.

Head *Coins of the Greeks* = *A Guide to the principal Coins of the Greeks from circ. 700 B.C. to A.D. 270* based on the work of Barclay V. Head. London 1932.

Inscr. Cret. = *Inscriptiones Creticae* opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae i Tituli Cretae mediae praeter Gortynios curavit Margarita Guarducci Roma 1935.

Inscr. Gr. ins. ix Inscriptiones Euboeae insulae [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 9] ed. E. Ziebarth Berolini 1915.

Inscr. Gr. ed. min. = *Inscriptiones Graecae* editio minor

i Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores ed. Fridericus Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1924.

ii—iii Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores ed. Iohannes Kirchner. Pars altera: 1 Tabulae magistratuum Berolini 1927. 2 Catalogi nominum. Instrumenta iuris privati Berolini 1931.

ii—iii Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores ed. Iohannes Kirchner. Pars tertia: 1 Dedicationes, Tituli honorarii, Tituli sacri Berolini 1935.

ii—iii Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores ed. Iohannes Kirchner. Pars quarta: Indices 1 Berolini 1918.

iv Inscriptiones Argolidis 1 Inscriptiones Epidauri ed. Fridericus Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1929.

ix. 1 Inscriptiones Phocidis Locridis Aetoliae Acarnaniae Insularum Maris Ionii. 1 Inscriptiones Aetoliae ed. Guentherus Klaffenbach Berolini 1932.

Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. From 1918 (vol. xxxiii) onwards the *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* has been entitled the *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.*

L'Antiquité Classique = L'Antiquité Classique Louvain 1932— .

McClean Cat. Coins = Fitzwilliam Museum. Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins by S. W. Grose i—iii Cambridge 1923, 1926, 1929.

i Western Europe, Magna Graecia, Sicily.

ii The Greek Mainland, the Aegaean Islands, Crete.

iii Asia Minor, Farther Asia, Egypt, Africa.

Mem. d. Inst. = Memorie dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica i Roma 1832, ii (*Nuove Memorie dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*) Lipsia 1865.

Mendel *Cat. Fig. gr. de Terre Cuite Constantinople = Musées Impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des Figurines grecques de Terre Cuite* par Gustave Mendel Constantinople 1908.

Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople = Musées Impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des Sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* par Gustave Mendel i—iii Constantinople 1912, 1914, 1914.

Milet

i. 9 Thermen und Palaestren von Armin von Gerkan und Fritz Krischen mit Beiträgen von Friedrich Drexel, Karl Anton Neugebauer, Albert Rehm und Theodor Wiegand Berlin 1928.

ii. 2 Die milesische Landschaft von Theodor Wiegand mit Beiträgen von Kurt Krause, Albert Rehm und Paul Wilski Berlin 1929.

ii. 3 Die Stadtmauern von Armin von Gerkan mit epigraphischem Beitrag von Albert Rehm Berlin—Leipzig 1935.

iii. 4 Das islamische Milet von Karl Wulzinger, Paul Wittek, Friedrich Sarre unter Mitwirkung von Th. Menzel, J. H. Mordtmann, A. Zippelius Berlin—Leipzig 1935.

iii. 5 Das südliche Jonien von Alfred Philippson Berlin—Leipzig 1936.

Muller *Altital. Wörterb. = Altitalisches Wörterbuch* von Dr Frederik Muller Jzn Göttingen 1926.

Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica = Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica Firenze 1885— .

Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe. From 1924 onwards entitled *Nachr. d. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist Classe.

Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel. = The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* by Martin P. Nilsson Lund 1927.

Nuov. Mem. d. Inst. See *Mem. d. Inst.*

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Billedtavler til Kataloget over antike

Kunstværker Kjøbenhavn 1907. *Tillæg til Billedtavler af antike Kunstværker* Kjøbenhavn 1915.

Orat. Attic. = *Oratores Attici.* Recensuerunt adnotaverunt scholia fragmenta indicem nominum addiderunt Io. Georgius Baiterus et Hermannus Sauppius. i Verba oratorum cum adnotationibus criticis Turici 1839—1843. ii Scholia fragmenta indices Turici 1845—1850.

Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Neue Bearbeitung begonnen von Georg Wissowa...herausgegeben von Wilhelm Kroll und Karl Mittelhaus (Zweite Reihe [R—Z]) iii A—Stuttgart 1927— , Supplement v—vi Stuttgart 1931, 1935. This monumental work, begun in 1894 and now nearing completion, at present (1939) covers the entries 'Aal'—'Olympia', 'Pech'—'Philon', 'Ra'—'Tribus' in 48 half-volumes and 6 supplements.

Pergamon

v, 1 Die Paläste der Hochburg von Georg Kawerau und Theodor Wiegand Berlin—Leipzig 1930.

ix Das Temenos für den Herrscherkult ('Prinzessinnen Palais') von Erich Boehringer und Friedrich Krauss Berlin—Leipzig 1937.

x Die hellenistischen Arsenale ('Garten der Königin') von Ákos von Szalay und Erich Boehringer Berlin—Leipzig 1937.

Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 = *Die Religion der Griechen und Römer.* Darstellung und Literaturbericht (1918—1929/30). (*Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* Supplementband. Band 229.) Von Friedrich Pfister Leipzig 1930.

Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* = *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* von Ernst Pfuhl i (Text erste Hälfte), ii (Text zweite Hälfte), iii (Verzeichnisse und Abbildungen) München 1923.

Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* Drittes Buch. ii. Abteilung. Zweite Hälfte. Der troische Kreis: die Nosten. Berlin 1926.

Proc. Brit. Acad. = *British Academy. Proceedings.* 1903— .

A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* = *Recueil Milliet. Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne* publiés, traduits et commentés par Adolphe Reinach i Paris 1921.

Reinach *Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.* = *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien* (1854) rééditées avec un commentaire nouveau et un index général des *Comptes rendus* par Salomon Reinach Paris 1892.

Reinach *Rép. Stat.* vi Mille trois cent cinquante statues antiques Paris 1930. This handy *Répertoire* (apart from its first volume, the 'Clarac de poche') claims to have published in all no fewer than 19750 statues.

Richter *Cat. Bronzes New York* = *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes* by Gisela M. A. Richter New York 1913.

Röm. Mitth. From 1901 (vol. xvi) entitled *Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts: roemische Abteilung*, and from 1916 (vol. xxxi) *Mitteilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts: roemische Abteilung.*

Sardis

i The Excavations. Part 1 (1910—1914) by Howard Crosby Butler Leyden 1922.

ii Architecture. Part 1 The Temple of Artemis by Howard Crosby Butler Leyden 1925.

v Roman and Christian Sculpture. Part 1 The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi by Charles Rufus Morey Princeton 1924.

vii Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Part 1 by W. H. Buckler and David M. Robinson Leyden 1932.

x Terra-cottas. Part 1 Architectural Terra-cottas by Theodore Leslie Shear Cambridge 1926.

xiii Jewelry and Gold Work. Part 1 (1910—1914) by C. Densmore Curtis Roma 1925.

Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* = *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures*

preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. By members of the British School at Rome, edited by H. Stuart Jones...with Atlas of pls. Oxford 1926.

Syll. num. Gr. = *Sylloge nummorum Graecorum*

i. 1 The collection of Capt. E. G. Spencer-Churchill, M.C., of Northwick Park. The Salting collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum. London 1931.

i. 2 The Newnham Davis coins in the Wilson collection of Classical and Eastern Antiquities Marischal College Aberdeen London 1936.

ii. 1—2 The Lloyd collection (Etruria to Thurium). London 1933.

ii. 3—4 The Lloyd collection (Velia to Eryx). London 1934.

ii. 5—6 The Lloyd collection (Galaria to Selinus). London 1935.

ii. 7—8 The Lloyd collection (Syracuse to Lipara). London 1937.

iii. 1 The Lockett collection (Spain—Italy (gold and silver)). London 1938.

iii. 2 The Lockett collection (Sicily—Thrace (gold and silver)). London 1939.

Tiryns

iii Die Architektur der Burg und des Palastes von Kurt Müller. Text, Tafeln. Augsburg 1930.

Verh. d. 26. Philologenversamml. in Würzburg = *Verhandlungen der sechsundzwanzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Würzburg* vom 30. September bis 3. October 1868. Leipzig 1869.

Verh. d. 36. Philologenversamml. in Karlsruhe = *Verhandlungen der sechsunddreissigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Karlsruhe* vom 27. bis 30. September 1882. Leipzig 1883.

Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* = Alois Walde *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Julius Pokorny i, ii Berlin—Leipzig 1930, 1927, iii (Register bearbeitet von Konstantin Reichardt) Berlin—Leipzig 1932.

Weber Cat. Coins = *The Weber Collection. Greek Coins* by L. Forrer i (Auriol Find Class, Hispania, Gallia, Britannia, Italy and Sicily) with Atlas of pls. London 1922, ii (Macedon, Thrace, Thessaly, North Western, Central and Southern Greece) with Atlas of pls. London 1924, iii, 1 (Bosporus, Colchis, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bythynia, Mysia, Troas, Aeolis, Lesbos, Ionia, Caria, Lydia) London 1926, iii, 2 (Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Cilicia, Cyprus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, Persis, Characene, Bactria, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Libya, Zeugitana, Islands between Africa and Sicily, Numidia, Mauretania, Incerta) London 1929 with Atlas of pls. London 1925.

Woch. f. klass. Philol. = *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* 1884—1920 (then united with the *Berl. Philol. Woch.* and continued as the *Philologische Wochenschrift*).

CHAPTER II (*continued*)

ZEUS AS GOD OF THE WEATHER.

§ 5. *Zeus and the Earthquakes.*

GREECE is a land of many earthquakes. Reckoning great with small, Count de Montessus de Ballore[1], our foremost authority in seismic geography[2], computes a yearly average of at least 275. C. Davison[3] in a recent monograph states that 3187 were recorded during the six years 1893—1898, and adds that, for every shock felt in Great Britain, 50 are observed in Japan and no less than 158 in Greece[4]. Similarly J. Partsch[5], after consideration of Julius Schmidt's[6] earthquake-catalogue for 1859—1878, concludes 'that

[1] F. de Montessus de Ballore *Les tremblements de terre: Géographie sismologique* Paris 1906 p. 264.

[2] See C. Davison *The Founders of Seismology* Cambridge 1927 pp. 160—176.

[3] C. Davison *A Manual of Seismology* Cambridge 1921 p. 161.

[4] F. de Montessus de Ballore 'Introduction à un essai de description sismique du globe et mesure de la sismicité' in the *Beiträge zur Geophysik* Leipzig 1900 iv. 357 gives the following statistics for the various divisions of Greece (repeated by C. E. Dutton *Earthquakes in the light of the new Seismology* London 1904 p. 296):

LOCALITIES	EPICENTRES	EARTH-QUAKES	PERIODS OF OBSERVATION
Thessaly	13	76	1863 1867–1868 1895–1897
Euboia and N. Sporades	23	1228	(Euboia) 1857–1878 1895–1897
Attike, Parnassos, and Lokris	43	1979	1858–1878 1895–1897
Akarnania	17	138	1895–1897
Ionian Isles	41	5700	1825–1868 1875 1892–1893 1895–1897
Achaia	22	308	1860–1876 1882–1883 1887–1888 1895–1897
Korinthia and Argolis	28	311	1858–1878 1886–1888 1895–1897
Lakonike	12	54	1858–1862 1867 1876–1877 1895–1897
Messene	21	93	1895–1897
Arkadia	20	75	1895–1897
Crete	8	100	1858–1888
Kyklades	14	141	1860–1863 1867–1874 1895–1897
General or ill-defined	9	32	
General or ill-defined (eastern)	9	71	
TOTALS	280	10306	

[5] C. Neumann—J. Partsch *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Alterthum* Breslau 1885 p. 320.

[6] J. F. Julius Schmidt *Studien über Vulkane und Erdbeben* Leipzig 1881 ii.[2] 166—360.

in this land hardly a week, in many years hardly a day, goes by without the ground being noticeably shaken at one point or another, while a second eminent geographer, A. Philippson[1], puts it even more forcibly: 'In Greece the soil trembles somewhere almost every day.'

Greek earthquakes, being tectonic, not volcanic, in character, occur normally along certain well-marked structural lines, which correspond with prominent features of the country—the base of a mountain-range, a straight river-valley, a rocky coast-line[2]. These seismic zones may be enumerated as follows: the northern half of the Straits of Euboia together with the Malian Gulf and the islands Skiathos and Skopelos; an elliptical land-tract including Phokis, Lokris, and Boiotia; the northern coast of the Peloponnese from Corinth to Patrai; the western coast of the Peloponnese with Zakynthos, Kephallenia, and Leukas; the valleys that form the heads of the Messenian, Laconian, and Argolic Gulfs—the principal southerly indentations of the Peloponnese[3]. The distribution thus indicated for modern times is fully borne out by the record of ancient earthquakes, of which a well-arranged and critical list for the period 600 B.C.—600 A.D. has been drawn up by W. Capelle[4].

Since most of the seismic lines traceable in Greece are definitely maritime and the rest within easy reach of the sea, it is not surprising to find that the Greeks of the classical age commonly[5]

[1] A. Philippson *Das Mittelmeergebiet, seine geographische und kulturelle Eigenart* Leipzig 1904 p. 28.

[2] W. H. Hobbs *Earthquakes* New York 1907 p. 32.

[3] A. Philippson *Der Peloponnes. Versuch einer Landeskunde auf geologischer Grundlage* Berlin 1892 p. 437 ff. (fig. 41 chart of Messenian earthquake of Aug. 27, 1886), *id. Das Mittelmeergebiet* etc. p. 28 f., F. de Montessus de Ballore *Les tremblements de terre: Géographie séismologique* Paris 1906 p. 267 ff. (fig. 40 seismic map of Greece), W. Capelle 'Erdbeben im Altertum' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1908 xxi. 604 f., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iv. 345.

[4] W. Capelle in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iv. 346—358.

[5] Not invariably. Pythagoras taught that earthquakes were due to a concourse (conflict?) of the dead (Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 19 *καὶ τὸν σεισμὸν ἐγενεαλόγει οὐδὲν ἄλλο εἶναι ἢ σύνοδον τῶν τεθνεώτων* = H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 i. 357, 21 f.)—presumably a folk-belief (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 814 n. 2).

The frequent notion that earthquake-shocks are occasioned by the movements of a subterranean monster or giant or god (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 816 f., 1888 iv. 1542, E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 i. 364 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 197 ff. ('The Earthquake God'), K. Weinhold 'Die Sagen von Loki' in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 1849 vii. 61 f., P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 423 f., F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 297 (citing F. Cumont *Recherches sur le manichéisme* i *La cosmogonie manichéenne d'après Théodore bar Khôni* Bruxelles 1908 Append. ii), P. Alfaric *Les écritures manichéennes* Paris 1918 i. 40) is found also

in classical tradition (M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 pp. 195 f., 208 ff., 214 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 434 n. 2).

In the upper-pliocene beds of Samos are extensive deposits of fossil bones—*Samotherium*, *Hipparion mediterrancum*, *Mastodon longirostris*, etc. (L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2168, 2171). These bones were attributed by Euphorion to primeval monsters called Νηάδες, who broke the very ground with their cries and occasioned the Samian proverb 'He bawls louder than the *Neades*' (Euphor. *frag.* 25 Meineke *ap.* Ail. *de nat. an.* 17. 28 and Apostol. 9. 51). The statement goes back to the early local historian Euagon of Samos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 16 Müller) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* νῆις and Herakl. Pont. *frag.* 10. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 215 Müller) = Aristot. *frag.* 611. 30 Rose², who however used the form Νήϊδες, not Νηάδες. Νήϊδες, which means 'Witless Ones' (cp. *h. Dem.* 256), must of course be distinguished from Νηίδες or Νηιάδες, the Naiad nymphs, and may be an attempt to make sense of some pre-Greek name. W. R. Halliday in the *Class. Rev.* 1927 xli. 59 acutely restores Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 56 (Panaima in Samos was so named after a bloody battle between Dionysos and the Amazons) τῶν δ' ἑ<λε>φάντων ἀποθανεῖν τινες λέγονται περὶ τὸ Φλοιὸν καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ δείκνυται αὐτῶν· τινὲς δὲ λέγουσι καὶ τὸ Φλοιὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνων ῥαγῆναι, φθεγγομένων μέγα τι καὶ διάτορον (see further Halliday *ad loc.* p. 207 ff.). S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 ii. 161 quotes with approval Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 1. 324: 'The delight of the Earth-shaker in bulls, referred to in the Homeric passage [*Il.* 20. 403 ff.], may itself find a reasonable explanation in the widespread idea...that earthquakes are produced by some huge beast beneath the Earth. Sometimes, as in Japan, it is a monstrous fish, sometimes an elephant or other animal of prodigious size, but, amongst all of these, the bull is the most natural agent. According to the Moslems of Tashkend [J. Troll in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1892 xxiv. 537 f.], Almighty God set to support the Earth a bull of such monstrous size that from his head to the end of his tail was five hundred years' journey, and the space between his two horns another two hundred [and fifty]. The bull, thus heavily laden, prompted by the Devil, shook his head and tried to throw the Earth off him with his horns. Thereat, a midge was sent to sting him in the nostril, and he set up a mighty bellowing, so that he is known unto this day as "the bellower".'

Again, there is an earthquake when the giant Briareus under Mt Aitne shifts to his other shoulder (Kallim. *h. Del.* 141 ff.), or when Enkelados beneath the same burden changes his weary side (Verg. *Aen.* 3. 578 ff.). All Sicily trembles when Typhoeus, crushed by its weight, struggles to thrust it from him (Ov. *met.* 5. 346 ff., Val. Flacc. 2. 23 ff.). A like commotion was caused when Kaineus, buried beneath a huge mound of stocks and stones, tried in vain to lift his head (Ov. *met.* 12. 514 ff.). Giants laid low by Herakles—Mimas beneath Prochyte, Iapetos beneath Inarime—made the earth shake above them and blasted the soil of Campania (Sil. It. 12. 143 ff., cp. *ib.* 529). In particular, Alkyoneus (Claud. *de rapt. Pros.* 3. 184 f.) and other giants with him were thought to lie beneath Mt Vesuvius (Philostr. *her.* 2. 7), and during the eruption of 79 A.D. many gigantic phantoms appeared by day and night on the mountain, in the neighbouring towns, and in the sky—a prelude to periods of severe drought and appalling earthquakes (Dion Cass. 66. 22). We may venture to compare the happenings described in Matthew 27. 51—53. Analogous beliefs still linger in Greek lands: a short, sharp earthquake accompanied by a peculiar crash occurred in Zakynthos on Aug. 4/16, 1862, and the next day a peasant employed over the currant-crop in the village of Hagios Kyrikos observed with regard to it 'Some building of the giants must have collapsed' (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 33, 201 κάτι χτίριο τοῦ γιγάντωνε θὰ ἔπεσε. Cp. *supra* ii. 505 f.). It should, however, be recognised that the express connexion of earthquakes with buried giants or the like is Hellenistic, not Hellenic. Earlier sources (*e.g.* Hes. *theog.* 859 ff., Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 29 ff., Pherekyd. *frag.* 14 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 72 Müller) = *frag.* 54 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 76 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 1210 ff.) emphasise volcanic rather than seismic effects.

Other gods could on occasion produce a quake. Athena did so at Troy when

wroth with Laokoon (Quint. Smyrn. 12. 395 ff.). Dionysos in Soph. *Ant.* 153 f. ὁ Θήβας δ' ἐλελίχθων (ἐλελίζων cod. L with γρ. ἐλελίχθων written above by scholiast) | Βάκχιος ἄρχοι bears the title of an earthquake-god (the schol. vet. *ad loc.*, followed by Sir R. C. Jebb, is inadequate—ὁ Θήβας δ' ἐλελίζων Βακχεῖος : ὁ κινησίχθων· ἐλελίχθονα δὲ τὸν Διόνυσόν φησι διὰ τὰς ἐν ταῖς Βακχείαις κινήσεις· ἢ τὸν τὴν γῆν σείοντα καὶ ἀναβακχεύοντα ταῖς χορείαις) and in Eur. *Bacch.* 586 ff., 605 f., 622 f., 632 f. shatters, or at least is believed to shatter, the house of Pentheus (G. Norwood *The Riddle of the Bacchae* Manchester 1908 p. 37 ff., *id. Greek Tragedy* London 1920 p. 281 f., A. W. Verrall *The Bacchants of Euripides and other Essays* Cambridge 1910 pp. 26 ff., 64 ff.)—an exploit compatible with Orphic belief (Orph. *h. Perikion.* 47. 1 ff. κικλήσκω Βάκχον Περικιόνιον, μεθυδώτην, | Καδμείοισι δόμοις ὃς ἑλισσόμενος πέρι πάντη (so G. Hermann for περὶ πάντα) | ἔστησε κρατεροὺς βρασμοὺς γαίης ἀποπέμψας, | ἠνίκα πυρφόρος αὐγὴ ἐκίνησε (so P. Scriverius for ἐνίκησε) χθόνα πᾶσαν | πρηστῆρος ῥοίζοις· ὁ δ' ἀνέδραμε δεσμὸς ἁπάντων). Nereus, like Poseidon, makes and can therefore unmake earthquakes (Orph. *h. Ner.* 23. 5 ff. ὃς κλονέεις Δηοῦς ἱερὸν βάθρον (cp. ἐννοσι-Δᾶς *infra* p. 9 n. o), ἠνίκα πνοιὰς | ἐν μυχίοις (so G. Hermann for ἐννυχίοις) κευθμῶσιν ἐλαυνομένας ἀποκλείεις· | ἀλλά, μάκαρ, σεισμοὺς μὲν ἀπότρεπε, πέμπε δὲ μύσταις | ὄλβον κ.τ.λ.). But Usener's contention that Aloeus, son of Poseidon by Kanake, 'ist der "Drescher" gewiss nicht allein wörtlich als Gott des Landbaues, sondern vorzugsweise bildlich als Erderschütterer, Ἐλελίχθων Ἐννοσίγαιος' (H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 349 = *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 278) strikes me as far-fetched and improbable.

The epithet ῥηξίχθων (ῥησίχθων), the 'land-breaker,' has reference in all probability to the disruptive effect of earthquakes, and is applied in Orphic hymns to Dionysos (Orph. *h. Lys. Len.* 50. 5 ῥηξίχθων (E. Abel cj. ῥήξιχθον), ληναῖε, μεγασθενές, αἰολόμορφε, *h. triet.* 52. 9 ῥηξίχθων (E. Abel cj. ῥήξιχθον), πυριφεγγές, ἐπάφιε, κοῦρε διμῆτορ (so E. Abel for διμάτωρ)) and in magical spells etc. to a variety of chthonian powers including Hekate (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 88 pap. Par. 2722 f. πότνια ῥηξίχθων σκυ|λακάγεια (A. Nauck cj. σκυλακαγέτι) πανδαμάτειρα, Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 701 ff. no. 2296, 10 ff. = W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2646 = R. Wünsch in the *Corp. inscr. Att.* App. defix. p. xv = A. Audollent *Defixionum tabellae* Luteciae Parisiorum 1904 p. 69 f. no. 38, 10 ff. (a leaden *devotio*-tablet of *s.* iii A.D., found at Alexandreia) ἐπ[ι]καλοῦμαί σε τὴν πάντων ἀνθρώ|πων δυνάστειραν, παμ[φοβ]ερά, ῥηξίχθων, ἡ καὶ ἀνενεγ|καμένη τὰ τοῦ μελιού[χ]ου μέλη καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν με|λιοῦχον, Ἐρεσχιγὰλ νεβουτοσουαλὴθ ἐρεβεννή, | ἄρκυια νέκυι Ἑκάτη, Ἑκάτη ἀληθῆ, ἔλθετε καὶ τε|λειώσατέ μοι τὴν πραγματείαν ταύτην (on the identification of Êriškigal with Hekate and the allusion to the dismemberment of Osiris or Adonis (?) see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1584 ff., 2645 ff.), Miss L. Macdonald in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1891 xiii. 174 no. 1, 30 ff. = W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2646 = A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 41 no. 22, 30 ff. (a leaden *devotio*-tablet of late date, found at Kourion in Kypros) ὁρκίσζω ὑμᾶ(ς), δέμονες πολυάν|δριοι ('of the graveyard (πολυάνδριον)') κὲ βι(αι)οθάνατοι κὲ ἄωροι κὲ ἄποροι ταφῆς, κατὰ τῆς ῥη|[σι]χθόνης τῆς κατενενκάσης μελιούχου τὰ μέλη κὲ αὐτὸν μελιοῦχον—a *formula* repeated in Miss L. Macdonald *loc. cit.* p. 176 no. 3, 16 ff., p. 178 no. 5, 20 ff., p. 179 no. 6, 18 f., p. 180 no. 7, 21 ff., p. 181 no. 8, 18 ff., p. 183 no. 9, 22 ff., p. 184 no. 10, 19 ff., p. 185 no. 11, 18 ff., p. 186 no. 12 f., 21 ff., p. 188 no. 15, 18 ff., p. 190 no. 17, 19 ff. = A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 45 no. 24, 16 ff., p. 47 no. 26, 20 ff., p. 49 no. 27, 18 f., p. 51 no. 28, 21 ff., p. 53 no. 29, 19 ff., p. 54 no. 30, 23 ff., p. 56 f. no. 31, 18 ff., p. 59 no. 32, 18 ff., p. 62 no. 33, 22 ff., p. 64 f. no. 35, 18 ff., p. 67 no. 37, 19 ff.), Brimo (C. Wessely *Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* Wien 1893 p. 45 pap. Lond. 121, 757 f. = F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 106 no. 121, 691 f. (of *s.* iii A.D.) ὧν οὐ δύνη | [παρα]κοῦσαι, Βριμὼ ῥηξίχθων), an unnamed goddess who holds the keys of Hades (Miss L. Macdonald *loc. cit.* p. 175 no. 2, 12 f. = A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 44 no. 23, 12 f. (a leaden *devotio*-tablet of late date, found at Kourion in Kypros) [κὲ σὺ ἡ τὰς] | [κλῖδας τοῦ Ἅδου κα]τέχουσα ῥησίχθων—a *formula* completed from Miss L. Macdonald *loc. cit.* p. 174 no. 1, 53 f., p. 178 no. 5 *a*, 39, p. 182 no. 8, 35, p. 186 no. 11,

attributed earthquakes to Poseidon[1]. A memorable passage in the *Iliad* is explicit on the point:

39, p. 189 no. 15 *a*, 8 = A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 41 no. 22, 53 f., p. 48 no. 26, 39, p. 53 no. 29, 36, p. 60 no. 32, 39, p. 65 no. 35, 36), Sterxerx the door-keeper of hell and heaven (Miss L. Macdonald *loc. cit.* p. 174 no. 1, 19 ff. = W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1217 = R. Wünsch in the *Corp. inscr. Att.* App. defix. p. xviii no. 1, 19 ff. = A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 40 no. 22, 19 ff. κὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυλῶνος τοῦ Ἄ[δους] | [κ]ὲ τῶν κλήθρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τεταγμένον Στερξερξ ηρ|[ηξα ῥη]σίχθων αρδαμαχθουρ πρίστευ λαμπάδευ στενα[κτὰ] | [θά]ψατε τὸν προγεγραμμένον ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ φιμωτι[κοῦ] | [κ]αταθέματος—a *formula* recurring in L. Macdonald *loc. cit.* p. 176 no. 3, 9 ff., p. 177 no. 5, 12 ff., p. 180 no. 7, 13 ff., p. 181 no. 8, 10 ff., p. 182 no. 9, 13 ff., p. 184 no. 10, 13 ff., p. 185 no. 11, 11 ff., p. 186 no. 12, 12 ff., p. 187 no. 14, 13 ff., p. 188 no. 15, 11 ff., p. 190 no. 17, 11 ff. = A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 45 no. 24, 9 ff., p. 47 no. 26, 12 ff., p. 50 no. 28, 13 ff., p. 52 no. 29, 11 ff., p. 54 no. 30, 14 ff., p. 56 no. 31, 12 ff., p. 59 no. 32, 11 ff., p. 61 no. 33, 13 ff., p. 63 no. 34, 13 ff., p. 64 no. 35, 11 ff., p. 67 no. 37, 11 ff. (ηρηξα with variants ειρηξα and ιρηξα is possibly to be connected with *lέραξ*, Ionic ἴρηξ, the 'hawk': πρίστευ suggests a demon 'who saws men asunder' or perhaps 'who gnashes his teeth', λαμπάδευ 'who brandishes a torch': στενακτά is vocative of στενακτής rather than accusative plural of στενακτός, *pace* Audollent *op. cit.* p. 42)), a hawk-headed deity with a basket on its head and in its hands a pair of upright sceptres, round one of which twines a serpent (A. D. Nock in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1925 xi. 158 citing Sir C. H. Smith—Miss C. A. Hutton *Catalogue of the Antiquities* (*Greek, Etruscan and Roman*) *in the collection of the late Wyndham Francis Cook, Esqre.* London 1908 p. 55 no. 248 a flat yellow jasper, with bevelled edge, inscribed PHC IXΘWN), and an unidentified fire-god (?) of the Underworld, who figures frequently in the *formula* μασκελλι μασκελλω φνουκενταβαωθ ορεοβαζαγρα ιπποχθων ῥηξίχθων πυριπηγανυξ or the like (*e.g.* C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* p. 89 f. pap. Par. 2753 ff., p. 100 pap. Par. 3175 ff., *id. Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* p. 61 pap. Lond. 123, 10 f. = F. G. Kenyon *op. cit.* i. 121 no. 123, 10 f. (of *s.* iv or v A.D.), F. Ll. Griffith—H. Thompson *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* London 1904 (i.) 189 verso col. xv, 2 ff., Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 701 ff. no. 2296, 27 ff. = R. Wünsch in the *Corp. inscr. Att.* App. defix. p. xv = A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 70 no. 38, 27 ff., S. Eitrem in *Papyri Osloenses* Oslo 1925 i. 9 and 16 no. 1, 154 f., 342 ff. (of *s.* iv A.D.), cp. S. Eitrem *Les papyrus magiques grecs de Paris* (*Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter.* II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. 1923. No. i) Kristiania 1923 p. 28 pap. Mimaut 94, C. Wessely *Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* p. 30 pap. Lond. 121, 311 = F. G. Kenyon *op. cit.* i. 94 no. 121, 302 (on which *formula* with its variants see C. Wessely *Ephesia Grammata* aus Papyrusrollen, Inschriften, Gemmen etc. Wien 1886 nos. 244—250, T. Hopfner *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* Leipzig 1921 i. 190 § 747, and S. Eitrem in *Papyri Osloenses* i. 72 f.)). K. Preisendanz *Papyri Graecae magicae* Leipzig—Berlin 1931 ii. 215 notes that in no. 7 (pap. Lond. 121), 475 A. D. Nock would emend μνη σιεθων into ῥησίχθων? in a formula addressed to θεὸς οὗτος Ἀναγκῶν, 'Du Gott der Zwangsgöttinnen.'

The fact is that any and every subterranean deity invoked by the magician might be expected to cause an earthquake. Jehovah himself is conjured as the god who rends the mountains and breaks the rocks in pieces (1 Kings 19. 11), who makes the earth to tremble and shake (Ps. 77. 18), the hills to move to and fro (Jer. 4. 24) (A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 374 no. 271, 17 f., 34 f. = R. Wünsch *Antike Fluchtafeln* Bonn 1907 p. 22 no. 5, 17 f. (a leaden *devotio*-tablet of *s.* iii A.D., found at Hadrumetum) ὁρκίζω σε τὸν συντρείβοντα τὰς πέτρας· | ὁρκί[ζω] σε τὸν ἀπορήξαντα τὰ ὄρη, p. 24 no. 5, 34 f. δι' ὃν ... καὶ τὰ ὄρη τρέμει | καὶ [ἡ γῆ] καὶ ἡ θάλασσα).

[1] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 627, L.-F. A. Maury *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce antique* Paris 1857 i. 416, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 572, 583 ff., Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 172 f.,

The sire of men and gods thundered on high
Horrific, and beneath Poseidon shook
The boundless earth and the tall mountain-tops.
Yea, all the feet of many-fountained Ide
And all her crests were swaying to and fro,
Troy-town to boot and the Achaean ships.
Deep underground Aïdoneus, king of the dead,
Trembled and, trembling, sprang from his throne and shouted
Lest o'er his head Poseidon, shaker of land,
Should cleave the very earth and bring to the ken
Of mortals and immortals his grim realm,
A mouldering realm that ev'n the gods abhor[1].

This passage is well illustrated by a bronze medallion of Mytilene, struck by Valerianus, and hitherto unpublished (pl. i and fig. 1)[2]. The reverse type is an attempt to visualise the foregoing

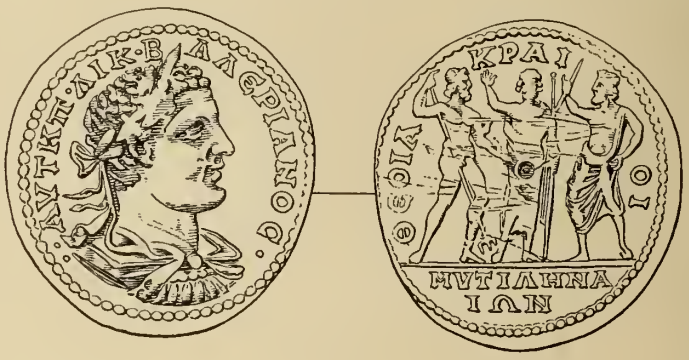


Fig. 1.

scene. On the left Poseidon, holding a dolphin (?), threatens the ground with his trident. On the right Hades, a rod or sceptre in his hand, springs from his throne in terror. Zeus, standing between them, with *himátion* and sceptre, raises his hand to quell the tumult. The whole must refer to some historic earthquake, and may have been struck to commemorate it.

The Homeric lines, however effective, are not improbably a late

F. Durrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 60 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 814, 845, 1139 n. 2, E. H. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2798, 2813 ff., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 7 f.

[1] *Il.* 20. 56—65.

[2] My specimen came from the cabinet of a Greek collector on May 14, 1928. *Obv.* ΑΥΤ·Κ·Π·ΛΙΚ·Β ΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟC. Bust of Valerianus to right. *Rev.* ΘΕΟΙΑ ΚΡΑΙ ΟΙ|ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΑ ΙΩΝ. Scene as described above. Pl. i shows the reverse to a scale of $\frac{2}{1}$. L. Holstein's coin (*supra* ii. 873 n. 0(10)) had apparently the same reverse combined with an obverse resembling *supra* ii. 260 fig. 172.

Bronze medallion of Mytilene showing Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades as Theoi Akraioi.

See page 6 *n.* 2.

interpolation[1]. But in cantos of earlier date Homer calls Poseidon *enosíchthon*, the 'land-shaker' (?), or *ennosígaios*, the 'earth-shaker' (?), and often uses both appellatives as substitutes for his name[2]. Pindar

[1] R. C. Jebb *Homer: an Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey*[2] Glasgow 1887 p. 163, W. Leaf in the argument prefixed to his ed. of *Il.* 20 and in his book *A Companion to the Iliad* London 1892 p. 331. See, however, D. Mülder *Die Ilias unde ihre Quellen* Berlin 1910 p. 204 f. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 1019.

[2] The epithet ἐνοσίχθων is used of Poseidon 23 times in the *Iliad*, 18 times in the *Odyssey* (A. Gehring *Index Homericus* Lipsiae 1891 p. 289), always in the nominative case and always as last word of the hexameter—except *Od.* 3. 6 ἐνοσίχθονι κυανοχαίτῃ. The usual locution is Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων (24 times), for which κρείων ἐνοσίχθων (7 times) and εὐρυκρείων ἐνοσίχθων (once, *Il.* 11. 751) are convenient substitutes. Ἐνοσίχθων alone occurs 8 times (H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 424).

Ἐννοσίγαιος is similarly used of Poseidon 20 times in the *Iliad*, 6 times in the *Odyssey* (A. Gehring *op. cit.* p. 288). The common phrases are γαιήοχος ἐννοσίγαιος (nom. 4 times, acc. once, dat. twice)—extended in *Il.* 13. 43 Ποσειδάων γαιήοχος ἐννοσίγαιος (cp. Hom. *ep.* 6. 1 Ποσειδάων μεγαλοσθενὲς ἐννοσίγαιε—and κλύτος ἐννοσίγαιος (nom. 7 times, acc. twice). Ἐννοσίγαιος alone occurs 6 times (nom. twice, voc. thrice, acc. once), ἐννοσίγαι' εὐρυσθενές thrice. The word mostly occupies the end of the line, but not in *Il.* 7. 455, 8. 201, 12. 27, 20. 20, 20. 310, 21. 462, *Od.* 11. 102, 13. 140, *h. Pos.* 4 (H. Ebeling *op. cit.* i. 422).

Hence it may be inferred that the old pre-Homeric tags (*supra* i. 444, ii. 384 n. 0) for dactylic tripodies with anacrusis were Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων and γαιήοχος ἐννοσίγαιος, for dactylic dipodies with anacrusis κρείων ἐνοσίχθων and κλύτος ἐννοσίγαιος. In view of the extreme antiquity of such tags we can hardly expect their interpretation to be free from doubt.

The ν of ἐνοσίχθων becomes νν in ἐννοσίγαιος *metri gratia* (Cornut. *theol.* 22 p. 42, 2 Lang has ἐνοσίγαιον, a spelling found in late prose—Souid. ἐνοσίγαιος (cod. A gives νν against the *ordo verborum*), *et. mag.* p. 344, 43 ἐνοσίγαιος, Zonar. *lex.* ἐνοσίγαιος, Favorin. *lex.* p. 213, 27 ἐνοσίγαιε); and the same reason suffices to explain the lengthened first syllable of εἰνοσίφυλλος (*Il.* 2. 632, 2. 757, *Od.* 9. 22, 11. 316. Simon. *frag.* 41. 1 Bergk[4], 52. 1 Edmonds, 40. 1 Diehl *ap.* Plout. *symp.* 8. 3. 4 has ἐννοσίφυλλος, Favorin. *lex.* p. 658, 59 ἐννοσίφυλλον, Hesych. ἐνοσιφύλλων (A. Meineke cj. ἐνοσίφυλλον)) (W. Schulze *Quaestiones epicae* Gueterslohae 1892 p. 159 f.). But the common assumption (with query in Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 146, without query *ib.* p. 521 and in Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 258, 1080, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 254 f.) that ἐνοσι- ἐννοσι- εἰνοσι- are derived from ἐν-*ϝοθ* of ἐνωθέω (Hesych. ἔθει · φθείρει and ἔθων· ... φθείρων are misleading glosses, based on a wrong interpretation of *Il.* 9. 540, 16. 260. Cp. schol. A. *Il.* 9. 540) is thoroughly unsatisfactory. *ἐν-*ϝοθ*-τι-ς would have produced, not ἔνοσις, but *ἐν*ϝ*οστις *εἴνοστις *ἔνοστις (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 410, K. F. W. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1913 xlv. 234 n. 3. Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 1109 and Walde—Pokorny *op. cit.* i. 255 adduce unconvincingly ὦσις : ὠθέω, πεῖσις : πείθω, etc.). Besides, ἐνωθέω is a late compound (Ap. Rhod. 4. 1243, Plout. *v. Lucull.* 28) and yields no tolerable sense.

Impressed by these difficulties I endeavoured years ago to divide ἐν-νοσί-γαιος (a compound like ἐμπυριβήτης), 'the earth-god in the water,' cp. Poll. i. 238 γῆ...νότιος, ἔννοτος, ἐννότιος, if not also Eur. *I.T.* 161 f. γαίας ἐννοτίους (so A. Kirchhoff for ἐν νώτοις) | πηγάς. On this showing ἐνοσίχθων would be a later form due, like εἰνοσίφυλλος, to a misconception (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 176). The occurrence of Zeus Νόσιος for Νότιος at Miletos (*supra* i. 733 n. 6, ii. 317 n. 2) might indeed be held to support the connexion with νότιος, νοτίς, etc. and perhaps *Neptunus* (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] pp. 516 *s.v.* 'Neptūnus,' 521 *s.v.* 'no'). But the suggestion really makes shipwreck on the sense, which I now see to be nonsense. Dr B. F. C. Atkinson improved upon my notion by pointing out to me (Dec. 1925) that ἐ- might be a prothetic vowel, the epithets ἐ-νοσί-χθων, ἐ-ννοσί-γαιος denoting

follows suit with *Ennosídas*[1], and coins fresh compounds to express the god 'that waters the earth.' But, unknown to us both, A. Goebel of Magdeburg had already tried that tack fifty years ago. In a remarkable paper 'Ueber den homerischen Ποσειδάων γαιήοχος ἐννοσίγαιος' (*Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 1876 xxvii. 241—252) he had argued that there is in truth no Homeric evidence for Poseidon as an earthquake-god, *Il.* 20. 56 ff. being a 'späteres Einschiebsel' and *ἐννοσίγαιος, ἐνοσίχθων, εἰνοσίφυλλος* involving prothetic ε and the root *sna* of *νότιος, νοτίς*, etc.—to be rendered 'erdenetzend,' 'Erdbewässerer,' 'feuchtlaubig.'

Another possibility suggested to me by Dr Atkinson (Dec. 1925) is that *ἑνο-σί-χθων, ἐννο-σί-γαιος, εἰνο-σί-φυλλος* may be related to *onus* < * *enos*, 'burden' (Walde *op. cit. s.v.* 'onus'), and mean 'burdened with the ground,' 'burdened with earth,' 'laden with leaves.' The suffix *-σῐ-* is frequent in epic compounds (D. B. Monro *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect* Oxford 1891 p. 118 f.).

But against all these fancies must be set the solid fact that the said epithets are traditionally interpreted 'shaking the ground,' 'shaking the earth,' 'shaking the leaves' (so all lexicons, ancient or modern). And this tradition must be as old as Hesiod, since *ἔνοσις* is applied by him to a 'shaking' of the earth (Hes. *theog.* 681, 706) or sea (*Hes. theog.* 849). Euripides similarly uses the word of an earthquake (*Bacch.* 585) or a city's overthrow (*Tro.* 1326) or the whirling of *rhómboi* (*Hel.* 1363). Goebel *loc. cit.* p. 249 of course maintains that we have here to do with a learned, or unlearned, misunderstanding of *ἐνοσί-χθων*. On the whole, it is safer to accept the traditional rendering and to assume a verbal stem * *ἑνο-* without recognised cognates (L. Meyer *op. cit.* i. 410).

[1] Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 57 ff. *φάτο δ'* Εὐρύπυλος Γαι|αόχου παῖς ἀφθίτου Ἐννοσίδα | ἔμμεναι (*sc.* Eurypylos son of Poseidon), 306 ff. *δοιοὶ δ' ὑψιχαῖται* | *ἀνέρες*, Ἐννοσίδα | *γένος* (*sc.* Periklymenos son of Neleus, son of Poseidon, and Euphemos son of Poseidon).

C. T. Damm *Novum lexicon Graecum etymologicum et reale* Berolini 1765 p. 2867 *bis* connects the second element in the compound Ἐννοσί-δας with 'δᾶ dorice pro γῆ.' That δᾶ was Doric for γῆ is indeed affirmed by ancient scholiasts and lexicographers (Aisch. *P.v.* 568 ἄλευ' ὦ (ᾶ ex ᾰ factum cod. Med.) δᾶ with schol. ἄλευ' ὦ δᾶ : *οἱ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν δᾶν καὶ τὸν γνόφον δνόφον* (*τινὲς οὕτως, ἄλευ ᾰ δᾶ· ἄλευ, ἀναχώρει, ἔκκλινε· τὸ δὲ ᾰ δᾶ ὦ γῆ. οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν δῆν καὶ δᾶν φασιν, καὶ τὸν γνόφον δνόφον* cod. Med.), Aisch. *Ag.* 1072 *ὀτοτοτοῖ ποποῖ δᾶ*, Aisch. *Eum.* 841 *οἵ οἵ δᾶ, φεῦ* with schol. δᾶ, *φεῦ* : δᾶ γῆ (δᾶ : ὦ γῆ cod. Med.) Δωρικῶς, ὅθεν καὶ Δαμάτηρ, Eur. *Phoen.* 1296 *φεῦ δᾶ, φεῦ δᾶ* with schol. *τινὲς δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ φεῦ γῆ, κατὰ πάθος μεταβληθέντος τοῦ γάμμα εἰς τὸ δέλτα, ὡς ἐν τῷ Δημήτηρ, πηγή, πηδὴ παρὰ τὸ ὕδωρ πηδᾶν ἄνω*, Aristoph. *Lys.* 198 *φεῦ δᾶ, et. mag.* p. 60, 8 ff. ἄλευ' ᾰ δᾶ (so J. C. de Pauw for ἀλευάδα) *εἴρηται ὡς τὸ φεῦ δᾶ* (so J. C. de Pauw for *φεύδα*). *οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν δᾶν λέγουσι καὶ δαῖαν* (so J. C. de Pauw for *δίαν* Arnald cj. *κατ' ἰδίαν* H. L. Ahrens cj. *ὡς δῖαν* cod. Va. has *γᾶν καὶ δᾶν* but omits *καὶ δίαν*), *ὡς καὶ τὸν γνόφον δνόφον. φεῦ δᾶ* (so J. C. de Pauw for *φεύδα*) *οἶν φεῦ γῆ. οὕτως οἶν καὶ τὸ ἄλευ' ᾰ δᾶ* (so J. C. de Pauw for ἀλευάδα) ἄλευ' ὦ γῆ (sic ego. L. Kulenkamp cj. ἀλεύου γῆ for ἀλέου δᾶ), *τοῦ δᾶ ἀντὶ τοῦ γῆ κειμένου* = Favorin. *lex.* p. 112, 10 ff., Theokr. 4. 17 *οὐ Δᾶν* (γᾶν cod. k) with schol. vet. p. 139, 12 f. Wendel < *οὐ Δᾶν* : > *οὐ μὰ τὴν Γῆν· οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὸ γ̄ εἰς δ̄ τρέπουσιν* and schol. rec. p. 160, 13 Ahrens *οὐ δᾶν* : *μὰ τὴν γῆν*, Theokr. 7. 39 *οὐ Δᾶν* (γᾶν cod. k) with schol. vet. p. 250, 15 f. Ahrens *οὐ δᾶν...* : *μὰ τὴν γῆν* (*οὔ γᾶν* : *οὐ μὰ τῆν γῆν* cod. k), Theokr. 18. 25 *τᾶν οὐ Δᾶν τις ἄμωμος* (so H. L. Ahrens for *τᾶν οὔ δᾶν τις ἄμωμος* cod. Par. 2833 *τᾶν οὐδ' ἄν τις ἄμωμος* vulg. H. Köchly cj. *τᾶν οὐ μάν τις ἄμωμος* A. Meineke cj. *τάων οὔτις ἄμωμος* F. Bücheler cj. *τᾶν οὔτις πανάμωμος* J. M. Edmonds cj. *τᾶν οὐδ' ἦν τις ἄμωμος*), Hesych. *δῆ* (H. L. Ahrens cj. *Δῆ*)· *γῆ* (M. Schmidt *ad loc.* cites Kyrill. Alex. *lex.* cod. Dresd. 39 *δηῶ* (*sic*) *ἡ γῆ* and Io. Philop. *τονικὰ παραγγέλματα* 31, 13 *δῆ*), Souid. *Δημήτηρ ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ, οἱονεὶ Γημήτηρ τις οὖσα*, Zonar. *lex.* p. 499 < *Δημήτηρ· ἡ γῆ*, > *οἱονεὶ Γημήτηρ τις οὖσα*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 436, 41 *δάπεδον· γίνεται δὲ παρὰ τὸ δᾶ, δ δηλοῖ Δωρικῶς τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὸ πέδον*, p. 765, 21 f. *ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ Δημήτηρ, ὅ ἐστι γῆ μήτηρ ἀλληγορικῶς*, Tzetz. *in* Hes. *o.d.* 32 *Δημήτηρ γὰρ ἡ γῆ Δωρικῶς. οὗτοι γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ γ̄ δ̄ τιθέασι, δνοφερὸν γνοφερὸν καὶ Δήμητραν Γήμητραν λέγοντες*, Greg. Cor. p. 373 n. 35 Schaefer (cod. Voss.) *ἀντὶ τοῦ*

the same idea—*elasíchthon*[1], 'who smiteth the land,' *elelíchthon*[2], 'who

γ τῷ δ χρῶνται, οἷον Δημήτηρ Γημήτηρ (Schaefer transp. Γημήτηρ Δημήτηρ), γνόφος δνόφος, γνοφερὸν δνοφερόν. In *carm. pop.* 9 Bergk[4], 50 Diehl *ap.* Prokl. *in* Hes. *o.d.* 389 τριπόλεον δέ (cod. A), where T. Bergk prints τρὶς πολέουσιν and E. Diehl τρίπολον δή, J. M. Edmonds cj. τρίπολος ἡ δῆ). It should, however, be observed that the ancient grammarians in general are by no means committed to this view.

With the dawn of modern philology scholars began to doubt the equation δᾶ=γῆ. H. L. Ahrens *De dialecto Dorica* Gottingae 1843 p. 80 f. definitely denied it. He explained Ἐννοσίδας either as a simple derivative of ἔνοσις, or as a blundered form of *Ἐννοσίγας, or as equivalent to Ἐννοσίγαιος, Δᾶ being in this case an ancient but unrelated name of the goddess Γῆ (H. L. Ahrens in *Philologus* 1866 xxiii. 207 n. 20). Later, on the strength of Cypriote ζᾶ=Attic γῆ (W. Deecke and J. Siegismund in the *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik* herausgegeben von G. Curtius Leipzig 1875 vii. 221 f., O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 221, A. Thumb *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* Heidelberg 1909 p. 292, C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston 1910 p. 55, F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 411), Ahrens admitted δᾶ as a Doric form of γῆ (H. L. Ahrens in *Philologus* 1876 xxxv. 21)—an admission in which he was followed by J. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1881 xxv. 145 ff. and R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1889 ii. 221, 254, cp. G. Meyer *Griechische Grammatik*[3] Leipzig 1896 p. 268 ('δᾶ ist wohl bloss für die Erklärung von Δᾱμᾱ́τηρ erfunden'). But the normal Doric form of γῆ was γᾶ (É. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 48 f.), and no recent philologist—even when confronted with Laconian δίφουρα (Hesych. *s.v.* διφοῦρα (M. Schmidt corr. δίφουρα)· γέφυρα. Λάκωνες) and Gortynian δέφῦρα (D. Comparetti in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1893 iii. 293 ff. no. 154, II 14 ff. with facsimile= F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 286 f. no. 5000, II *b* 14 ff. τὰν δὲ ῥοὰν λεί[π]|εν ὅττον κατέχει ᾳ̣ (Comparetti reports Δ, a mason's error) ἐπ' ἀγορᾶ|ι δέφυρα ἢ πλίον, μεῖον δὲ μή)=γέφυρα—would support the claim that δᾶ is a legitimate Dorism for γῆ.

That being so, we must abandon the attempt to make Ἐννοσίδας a dialect form of Ἐννοσίγαιος. For all that, it may amount to much the same thing. Personally I incline to the view that Δᾶ was an ancient name of the earth-mother (*supra* ii. 584 nn. 0, 1, 585 n. 1), Δᾶς an ancient name of the sky-father, ultimately related to Ζεύς (H. L. Ahrens in *Philologus* 1866 xxiii. 206 f.) and found as second element in the compounds ποτι-Δᾶς, 'Lord Zeus' (*supra* ii. 582 ff.), and ἀϊ-Δάας ἀϊ-Δᾶς, 'Zeus of the Earth' (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 175 f., *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 280 ff.); and I should interpret ἐννοσι-Δᾶς as 'He that shaketh Da, the Earth' rather than as 'Das or Zeus of the earthquake' (cp. *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 175). The later accentuation Ποτίδας, Ἀΐδας, Ἐννοσίδας was due—I conceive—to the false analogy of patronymics.

Others prefer to suppose that in the tragic exclamation δᾶ we have the vocative and in the bucolic abjuration οὐ δᾶν the accusative case of Δᾶς, 'Zeus' (so H. L. Ahrens in *Philologus* 1866 xxiii. 206 f., R. Kühner—F. Blass *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*[3] Hannover 1890 i. 144, 459).

[1] Pind. *frag.* 18 Bergk[4] *ap.* Eustath. *comment. Pind. praef.* 16 (*opusc.* p. 56, 19 f. Tafel) καὶ 'ἐλασίχθονα Ποσειδῶνα' τὸν ἐννοσίγαιον. F. G. Schneidewin in his Eustathii *proœmium commentariorum Pindaricorum* Gottingae 1837 p. 7 n. 13 says: 'Hoc quoque novum.' But T. Bergk *ad loc.* adds: 'nisi forte Pyth. VI 50 pro τὶν δ' Ἐλέλιχθον olim etiam Ἐλάσιχθον legebatur.' L. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 669 C cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐλάτης· ὁ Ποσειδῶν, ἐν Ἀθήναις; which, however, J. A. Hartung *Die Religion und Mythologie der Griechen* Leipzig 1866 iii. 219 and O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2240 would translate 'Rower.' More probably it means 'Driver' of horses (so H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 348 f.=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 278 and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1161 n. 4, cp. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 17) = Poseidon Ἵππιος, Ἱππηγέτης, Ἴμψιος.

[2] Pind. *Pyth.* 6. 50 ff. Ἐλέλιχθον...|...|...Ποσειδάν.

maketh the land to reel,' *seisíchthon*[1], 'who maketh the land to quake.' Sophokles speaks of him as *tináktor gaías*[2], the 'agitator of the earth.' And the poets in general conceive of him as stirring both land and sea with his trident[3].

But behind the poets lay old-world tradition. The Homeric epithet *gaiéochos*[4] was an actual cult-title of the god in Lakonike at

[1] Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 76 Κρόνου σεισίχθον' υἱόν (*sc.* Poseidon), Bakchyl. 16. 57 ff. εἰ | δὲ καὶ σὲ (*sc.* Theseus) Τροιζηνία σεισίχθονι | φύτευσεν Αἴθρα Ποσει|δᾶνι, κ.τ.λ., 17. 21 f. Κρονίδα Λυταίου | σεισίχθονος τέκος (*sc.* Sinis son of Poseidon Λυταῖος (cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λυταί, χωρίον Θεσσαλίας, διὰ τὸ λῦσαι τὰ Τέμπη Ποσειδῶνα καὶ σκεδάσαι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ὕδωρ, Hesych. *s.v.* Λυταίη · Θετταλή)), Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 31 καλεῖται δὲ ὁ θεός, ᾧ ταῦτα ἐπιτελοῦσι, Κῶνσος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων · ὃν ἑξερμηνεύοντες εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶτταν, Ποσειδῶνα σεισίχθονά φασιν εἶναί τινες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπογείῳ τετιμῆσθαι βωμῷ λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν γῆν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἔχει. κ.τ.λ., Cornut. *theol.* 22 p. 42, 1 f. Lang εἶτα ἐνοσίχθονα καὶ ἐνοσίγαιον καὶ σεισίχθονα καὶ τινάκτορα γαίας κ.τ.λ., Gell. 2. 28. 1 antiquissimi Graecorum, qui Neptunum σεισίχθονα appellaverunt, Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 12 Neptunum humentis substantiae potestatem Ennosigaeon et Sisichthona poetae veteres et theologi nuncupaverunt, Orph. *Arg.* 345 f. αὐτόν τε Κρονίδην σεισίχθονα, κυανοχαίτην, | κύματος ἐκπροθορόντα μολεῖν ἐπιτάρροθον ὅρκων, Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 47. 1 f. = Orph. *frag.* 2, 1 f. Abel, 285, 1 f. Kern φράζεο δὴ καὶ τόνδε λόγον, τέκος, ὁππότε κεν δὴ | γαῖαν κινήσῃ Σεισίχθων κυανοχαίτης (Cougny and Abel print σεισίχθων Κυανοχαίτης), | κ.τ.λ., *oracl. Sib.* 3. 402 ff. (cp. 1. 184 ff.) Geffcken ὁππότε κεν Ῥείης μικρὸν γένος ἐν χθονὶ κῦμα (so Wilamowitz for ῥεῦμα, cp. 1. 184) | ἀέναον ῥίζῃσιν ἀδιψήτοισι τεθηλός | αὐτόπρεμνον ἄιστον ἰῇ ἐν νυκτὶ γένηται | ἐν πόλει αὐτάνδρῳ σεισίχθονος (so Castalio (S. Châteillon) for ἀτίσεις χθονὸς cod. Φ and ἀτήσεις χθονὸς cod. Ψ) ἐννοσιγαίου, | ἣν ποτε φημίξουσιν ἐπωνυμίην Δορύλαιον | ἀρχαίης Φρυγίης πολυδακρύτοιο κελαινῆς (allusion to Kelainai). [But in *oracl. Sib.* 2. 16 ff. Geffcken ὁπόταν σεισίχθων ἀστεροπητής | εἰδώλων ζῆλον θραύσει λαόν τε τινάξει | Ῥώμης ἐπταλόφοιο the reference is to the supreme Deity of the Jews or the Christians.] Cp. *et. mag.* p. 668, 54 σείσω, σεισίχθων.

Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 Ἐπίθετα Ποσειδῶνος (10) κινησίχθονος perhaps originated in a gloss, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* ἐννοσίγαιος· κινησίγαιος. ἐπίθετον Ποσειδῶνος.

[2] Soph. *Trach.* 500 ff. καὶ ὅπως Κρονίδαν ἀπάτασεν (*sc.* how Kypris beguiled Zeus) οὐ λέγω, | οὐδὲ τὸν ἔννυχον Ἄιδαν, | ἢ Ποσειδάωνα τινάκτορα γαίας, Cornut. *theol.* 22 p. 42, 2 Lang (quoted in the preceding note) = Eudok. *viol.* 769 (p. 569, 24 f. Flach) εἶτα ἐννοσίχθονα καὶ ἐνοσίγαιον καὶ σεισίχθονα καὶ τινάκτορα γαίας κ.τ.λ. Cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 21. 155 f. καὶ χθονὸς ἐπρήνυε (*sc.* Hera) τινάκτορα κυανοχαίτην | γνωτὸν ἐὸν καὶ Ζῆνα πόσιν καὶ μητέρα Ῥείην, κ.τ.λ.

[3] Aisch. *P.v.* 924 f. θαλασσίαν τε γῆς τινάκτειραν νόσον, | τρίαιναν, αἰχμὴν τὴν Ποσειδῶνος, σκεδᾷ (*sc.* Zeus) (Wilamowitz, accepting the νόσων of cod. Med.[1], rewrites θαλασσίαν τε γῆς τινάκτειραν νόσων | αἰχμήν, τρίαιναν ἣ Ποσειδῶνος σκεδᾷ), Aristoph. *eq.* 839 f. τῶν ξυμμάχων τ' ἄρξεις ἔχων τρίαιναν, | ᾗ πολλὰ χρήματ' ἐργάσει σεῖόν τε καὶ ταράττων (of Demos as Poseidon), *nub.* 566 f. τόν τε μεγασθενῆ τριαίνης ταμίαν, | γῆς τε καὶ ἁλμυρᾶς θαλάσσης ἄγριον μοχλευτήν with schol. *ad loc.* δοκεῖ γὰρ ὁ Ποσειδῶν οὐ τὴν θάλασσαν κινεῖν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γῆν, Nikephoros *progymn.* 7. 12 (C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae —Tubingae 1832 i. 498, 15 f.) Ποσειδῶν τὴν γῆν ἀνεμόχλευε, cp. Verg. *Aen.* 2. 418 f., 610 ff.

[4] Homer uses this epithet sometimes with (*Il.* 13. 43, 20. 34, *Od.* 1. 68, 3. 55, 8. 322, 8. 350, 9. 528, *h. Pos.* 6), sometimes without the name of the god (*Il.* 9. 183, 13. 59, 13. 83, 13. 125, 13. 677, 14. 355, 15. 174, 15. 201, 15. 222, 23. 584, *Od.* 11. 241, *h. Herm.* 187), but always of Poseidon. Later poets, misconceiving the second element in the compound, applied it to other deities (Aisch. *suppl.* 813 ff. σεβί|ζου δ' ἱκέτας σέθεν, γαι|άοχε παγκρατὲς Ζεῦ, Soph. *O.T.* 159 ff. πρῶτά σε κεκλόμενος, θύγατερ Διός, ἄμβροτ'

Therapne[1] and Gythion[2], in Attike at Athens[3], and in the archi-

Ἀθάνα, | γαιάοχόν τ' ἀδελφεὰν | Ἄρτεμιν, κ.τ.λ.) in the sense of 'holding' or 'guarding our land.' Nonnos makes it mean 'dwelling on earth' (Nonn. *interpr. ev. Io.* 1. 5 line 11 f. (xliii. 749 A Migne) ἐν ἀχλυόεντι δὲ κόσμῳ | οὐρανίαις σελάγιζε βολαῖς γαιήοχος αἴγλη). Another and less pardonable blunder in etymology accounts for Bekker *anecd.* i. 229, 8 γαιήοχος ἵππος, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῖς ὀχήμασι χαίρειν.

In Hes. *theog.* 15 ἠδὲ Ποσειδάωνα γαιήοχον ἐννοσίγαιον cod. D reads γεήοχον, which is accepted by K. W. Goettling—J. Flach and H. G. Evelyn White. But the vulgate is defensible as an example of internal shortening (R. Kühner—F. Blass *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*[3] Hannover 1890 i. 312 f.).

The supposed derivation from ἔχω gave rise to various forms in -οῦχος (Hesych. *s.vv.* γαιηούχῳ· τῷ τὴν γῆν ὀχοῦντι, καὶ συνέχοντι, γεοῦχος· ὁ τὴν γῆν ἔχων, γηοῦχος· ὁ τὴν γῆν συνέχων, Souid. *s.vv.* γαιοῦχος· ὁ τὴν γῆν ὀχῶν, γεοῦχος· ὁ Ποσειδῶν, ὁ τὴν γῆν ἔχων, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 Ἐπίθετα Ποσειδῶνος (4) γαιηούχου. γεούχου δέ, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1392, 23 ff. σημείωσαι δὲ ὡς γαιήοχος μὲν μοναχῶς διὰ διφθόγγου, γεοῦχος δὲ καὶ γηοῦχος καθ' Ἡρῳδιανὸν μὲν καὶ Δίδυμον διὰ ε̄ ψιλοῦ παρὰ τὴν ψιλογραφουμένην γέαν ἧς συναίρεμα ἡ γῆ· ἄλλοι δὲ διὰ τῆς αϊ διφθόγγου παρὰ τὴν λοιπὴν γαῖαν ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ γαιήοχος).

Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 Ἐπίθετα Ποσειδῶνος (3) γαιείου. γαιηΐου δέ possibly preserves a genuine appellative of Poseidon, though the glossator—according to O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 484—was thinking of the phrase Γαιήιος υἱός (*Od.* 7. 324, *Anth. Pal.* 14. 23. 1).

[1] Near Therapne was a sanctuary of Poseidon Γαιάοχος (Paus. 3. 20. 2 τούτου δὲ οὐ πολὺ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφέστηκεν ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Γαιαόχου) with a hippodrome, which was visited by Epameinondas' cavalry in 369 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* 6. 5. 30 ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ προῆλθον οἱ ἱππεῖς εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον εἰς Γαιαόχου κατὰ τάξεις, οἵ τε Θηβαῖοι πάντες καὶ οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ ὅσοι Φωκέων ἢ Θετταλῶν ἢ Λοκρῶν ἱππεῖς παρῆσαν). The festival of the god Γαιάοχος is mentioned repeatedly on a *stèle* of white marble, which was found in two portions—the one in the monastery of the Ἁγιοι Τεσσαράκοντα or Σαράντα between Sparta and Chrysapha (W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 ii. 521 with pl. 71 at end of vol. iii, Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 79, *id. Imagines inscriptionum Græcarum antiquissimarum*[3] Berolini 1907 p. 100 no. 17, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 262 ff. no. 264, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 10 f. no. 4416, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 946, M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 64 f. no. 440), the other in the ruined temple of Athena Χαλκίοικος at Sparta (H. J. W. Tillyard in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 174—182 with photographic fig., A. M. Woodward *ib.* p. 178, W. Kolbe in *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 213). Beneath a spirited, though much damaged, relief of a four-horse chariot driven from right to left (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *op. cit.* p. 176 no. 440) comes a long inscription in Doric, to be dated shortly before 431 B.C. The opening lines (1—5) contain a metrical dedication: Δαμόνον | ἀνέθεκε Ἀθαναία[ι] | Πολιάχοι κ.τ.λ. Then follow four lists of victories: (6—34) those of Damonon in chariot-races; (35—49) those of Damonon's son Enymakratidas; (49—65) those of Damonon as a boy; (66—96) those of Damonon and Enymakratidas at the same contests. The record includes various events ἐν Γαιαΐοχω, 'at (the festival) of *Gaiáochos*' (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 213, 6 ff. τάδε ἐνίκαϝε Δαμόνο[ν] | τῶι αὐτῶ τεθρίππο[ι] | αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον· | ἐν Γαιαΐοχο τετράκιν, 49 ff. καὶ Δαμόνον | ἐνίκε παῖς ἰὸν ἐν | Γαιαΐοχο στάδιον καὶ | [δί]αυλον, 81 ff. ὑπὸ δὲ Ἀριστῆ ἔφορον | τάδε ἐνίκε Δαμόνον· | ἐν Γαιαΐοχο ἐνηεβόϝαις | [ϝ]ίπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον | [κ]αὶ ϝο κέλεξ μιᾶς ἀμέρας | [ϝ]αμᾶ ἐνίκε καὶ ϝο ϝιὸς | στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ | δολιχὸν μιᾶς ἀμέρας | ἐνίκον πάντες ϝαμᾶ, 90 ff. ὑπὸ δὲ Ἐχεμένε ἔφορον | τάδε ἐνίκε Δαμόνον· | ἐν Γαιαΐοχο ἐνηεβόϝαις | ϝίπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον | [κ]αὶ ὁ ϝιὸς στάδιον κα[ὶ] | [δίαυλον καὶ δολιχὸν μιᾶς] | [ἀμέρας ϝαμᾶ ἐνίκε]). Cp. Hesych. *s.v.* γαιήοχος· ὁ τὴν γῆν συνέχων, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὀχούμενος (so M. Schmidt for ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς συνεχόμενος cod.). ἢ ὁ ἱππικός, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀχήμασιν ἢ ἅρμασι χαίρων (so J. V. Perger for ὀχήμασι ἄρξουσι χαίρειν cod.). Λάκωνες.

[2] There was at Gythion a sanctuary of Demeter and, adjoining it, a statue of Poseidon

Γαιάοχος (Paus. 3. 21. 8 *καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἄγιον καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα Γαιάοχου* (so codd. Va. Ag. Pc. Lb. *γαιαούχου* codd. Vb. La. R. Pa.)). Both deities figure on coins of the town—Demeter seated, holding corn-ears and sceptre, on a bronze coin struck by Geta (*Numismata quædam cujuscunque formæ et metalli musei Honorii Arigoni, Veneti* Tarvisii 1741 i. 9 no. 134, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 62 no. 5), Poseidon standing, naked, with dolphin in outstretched right hand and trident in raised left, on a bronze coin struck by Caracalla (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 62 no. 6 pl. O, 3).

[3] Athens had a priest of Poseidon Γαιήοχος and Ἐρεχθεύς (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 276 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 860, 37 = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 469 no. 268 a theatre-seat inscribed shortly before the Christian era *ἱερέως* | Ποσειδῶνος | Γαιήοχου *καὶ* | Ἐρεχθέως), otherwise styled Poseidon Ἐρεχθεὺς Γαιήοχος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 805 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 790 a base of Pentelic marble, on the akropolis at Athens, recording a statue of C. Iulius Spartiaticus erected in the time of Nero Γά(ϊον) Ἰούλιον Σπαρτια|τικόν, *ἀρχιερέα θε*|[*ῶν*] *Σεβαστῶν κ*[*αὶ*]|[*γέ*]*νους Σε*[*β*]*αστῶν* | *ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆ*[*ς*]| Ἀχαΐας *διὰ βίου πρῶ*|*τον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος*, | *ὁ ἱερεὺς* Ποσειδῶνο[*ς*] | Ἐρεχθέος Γαιήοχου | Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος Θεογέν[*ης*] | Παιανιεὺς *τὸν ἑαυτοῦ* | *φίλον*).

These inscriptions imply a rather half-hearted identification of Erechtheus with Poseidon Γαιήοχος. Other available evidence points in the same direction; for, whereas in *s.* iv B.C. the tribe Erechtheïs is careful to distinguish its eponymous hero from Poseidon (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 556 *c*, 1 ff. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 27, 1 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 1146, 1 ff. a decree of the tribe Erechtheïs, before 350 B.C. *θεοί.* | *Φίλτων εἶπεν· ἱ*[*ερᾶσθαι τῶι* Ποσειδῶ]|*νι καὶ τῶι* Ἐρε[*χθεῖ τὸν ἱερέα τὸν ἀεί*] | *λαχόντα τύχ*[*ηι ἀγαθῆι τῆς βολῆς καί*] | *τοῦ δήμο το*[*ῦ* Ἀθηναίων *καὶ τῆς φυλῆς*] | *τῆς* Ἐρεχθη[*ίδος* – – – – – –] | *πάτρια καὶ κα*[– – – – – *θύεν δ*]|*ὲ ταῦρον καὶ τ*[– – – – – – –] | *κ.τ.λ.*)—a distinction observed as late as *s.* ii A.D. (Paus. 1. 26. 5 *ἐσελθοῦσι δέ* (*sc.* into the Erechtheion) *εἰσι βωμοί,* Ποσειδῶνος, *ἐφ' οὗ καὶ* Ἐρεχθεῖ *θύουσιν ἔκ του* (so R. Porson and É. Clavier for *ἐκ τοῦ* codd.) *μαντεύματος, καὶ ἥρωος Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ* Ἡφαίστου. Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 20 f. no. 18 (a fragmentary marble base inscribed in *s.* ii (?) A.D. and built into a buttress on the southern wall of the akropolis at Athens) [. . . .]*α* Ποσειδω [*ν*. . . . .] | [.]*άνιον* Παιανιέα [. . . . .]|*ου* Ἀτερνίου Ἀβρω[*νος*. . . . .] | Ἐρεχθέως [. . . . .] | [. . . . .] is indecisive)—, there was, at least from *s.* v B.C. onwards, a growing tendency to equate Poseidon with Erechtheus, the earlier occupant of the Erechtheion (*supra* ii. 793), the result being a syncretistic god called Poseidon Ἐρεχθεύς (Lebas—Foucart *Attique* no. 104 = *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 387 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 580 a small column of Pentelic marble found near the Erechtheion and inscribed in lettering of *s.* v B.C. Ἐπιτέλες | Οἰνοχάρες | Σοιναύτο | Περγασῆθεν | Ποσειδόνι | Ἐρεχθεῖ | *ἀνεθέτεν*, Apollod. 3. 15. 1 Πανδίονος δὲ *ἀποθανόντος οἱ παῖδες τὰ πατρῷα ἐμερίσαντο, καὶ τὴν* <*μὲν* (ins. I. Bekker) > *βασιλείαν* Ἐρεχθεὺς *λαμβάνει, τὴν δὲ ἱερωσύνην τῆς* Ἀθηνᾶς *καὶ τοῦ* Ποσειδῶνος *τοῦ* Ἐρεχθέως (so C. G. Heyne, followed by R. Hercher, R. Wagner, Sir J. G. Frazer, for *ἐριχθονίου* codd. C. Müller, A. Westermann, I. Bekker accept Ἐριχθονίου) Βούτης, [Plout.] *de vitis decem oratorum* 7 Lykourgos 843 B Μήδειος, *ὃς τὴν ἱερωσύνην* Ποσειδῶνος Ἐρεχθέως *εἶχε*, *ib.* 843 C *καὶ Διοκλέα, διετάξατο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ* Ποσειδῶνος Ἐρεχθέως (*sc.* Medeios ii and Diokles iii in the *stemma* of the Eteoboutadai as given by J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Bonn 1889 p. 318. [Plout.] *loc. cit.* 843 E—F states that the *insigne* of the priesthood was a trident handed on from one man to another, and that a group of successive priests was painted by Ismenias of Chalkis *ἐν πίνακι τελείῳ* (on a tablet of full-length figures?) and dedicated in the Erechtheion by Habron son of Lykourgos the orator. A. Reinach *Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne* Paris 1921 i. 305 n. 4 shows that this ancestral group contained seven figures and must have been executed between 320 and 310 B.C.), Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐρεχθεύς· Ποσειδῶν *ἐν* Ἀθήναις (= Favorin. *lex.* p. 744, 36 f.), schol. Lyk. *Al.* 158 *τὸ δὲ* Ἐρεχθεὺς *τινὲς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ* Ποσειδῶνος, *ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἤκουσαν*, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 158 *ἔστειλεν ὁ* Ἐρεχθεὺς *ὁ Ζεὺς ἢ ὁ* Ποσειδῶν *παρὰ τὸ ἐρέχθω τὸ κινῶ λεγόμενος* (cp. *supra* ii. 793)) or less often Ἐρεχθεὺς Poseidon (Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 1 p. 1, 12 f. Schwartz *ὁ δὲ*

pelago at Thera[1]. The meaning of the epithet has been the subject of much discussion[2]; but there can nowadays be no doubt that it denotes the 'earth-bearer,' just as *aigíochos* is the '*aigís*-bearer[3].'

'Αθηναῖος 'Ερεχθεῖ Ποσειδῶνι θύει κ.τ.λ., A. N. Skias in the 'Εφ 'Αρχ. 1897 p. 62 ff. no. 49 (=*id. ib.* 1895 p. 107 f. no. 21+P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 436 ff., two portions of a marble block, which records the dedication, under M. Aurelius or Commodus, of a statue representing the granddaughter of Claudius Demostratos, one of the enemies of Herodes Attikos and his accuser before Aurelius), 21 ff. θυγατέρα Φ[ιλίπ]|πης Κλ(αυδίου) Δημοστράτου 'Αθηναίου, ἄρξαντος ἐν τῆ[ι πατρίδι] | τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχήν, στρατηγήσαντος ἐπ[ὶ τὰ ὅπλα,] | γυμνασιαρχήσαντος, κηρυκεύσαντος τῆς [ἐξ 'Αρείου] | πάγου βουλῆς, ἀγωνοθετήσαντος Παν[αθηναίων] | καὶ 'Ελευσεινίων, ἐξηγητοῦ μυστηρί[ων, ἱερέως] | 'Ερεχθέως Ποσειδῶν[ος]).

The fact that Poseidon at Athens bore the cult-title Γαιήοχος gives special point to Soph. *O.C.* 1070 ff. οἳ τὰν ἱππίαν | τιμῶσιν 'Αθάναν | καὶ τὸν πόντιον γαιάοχον | 'Ρέας φίλον υἱόν.

[1] A rough stone, about a foot long, dug up a little below the great wall which supports the eastern side of the *agorá* at Thera, is inscribed in lettering of *s.* vi (?) B.C. [Γ]αιάοχος (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv Arch. Anz. p. 183, *id.* in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1371 with fig.=my fig. 2, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 169 no. 4723).

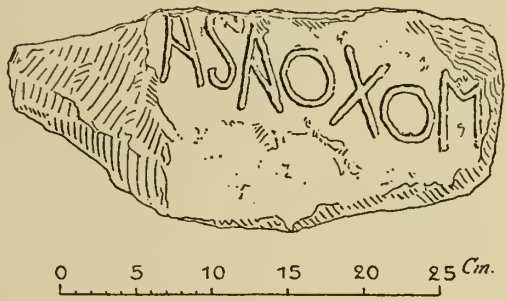


Fig. 2.

On the Poseidon-cults of Thera see Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 575 n. 1, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 246, 247, 268, 583 n. 7, 1139 n. 2, 1144 n. 2, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 90 n. 77, F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Thera* Berlin 1904 iii. 57 f., 63, 97, E. H. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2842 f.

[2] Ancient and modern opinions are listed by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 627, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 572 n. 1, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1139 n. 2 *sub fin.*, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 486. For a fuller discussion leading up to the right derivation, though not to the right interpretation, see A. Goebel in the *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 1876 xxvii. 243—246.

[3] In view of the form Γαιάϝοχος (*supra* p. 11 n. 1), philologists are all but unanimous in deriving the compound from γαῖα+-ϝοχος and in referring the second element to ϝέχω=Lat. *veho* (A. Bezzenberger in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 367 ff. no. 1267, 24 (Sillyon in Pamphylia) ϝεχέτω 'let him bring,' R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1889 ii. 168 f. no. 14[b], 2 (cp. p. 244 -ϝεχ- 'darbringen')=O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 46 no. 66, 2 (Chytroi in Kypros) ἔϝεξε 'he brought' an offering), ὄχος neut. (for *ϝέχος, cp. Hesych. ἔχεσφιν· ἅρμασιν, with ὀ- under the influence of ὄχος masc., ὀχεῖσθαι). See J. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiii. 456, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 88 'die Erde

bewegend, erschütternd,' Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 139 'qui secoue la terre,' but *ib.* p. 735 'qui véhicule la terre,' F. Bechtel *Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a.d.S. 1914 p. 17 'der die Erde bewegt,' G. Meyer in *Philologus* 1923 Suppl. xvi. 3. 71 n. 1 'erdbewegend,' Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 249 'der die Erde bewegt.' The history of ὄχος, ὀχεῖσθαι is—*pace* the pundits—decisive for the meaning 'earth-carrier' as against 'earth-shaker.'

P. Kretschmer ploughed a lonely and fruitless furrow, when he sought to take the epithet as the equivalent of Γαῖαν ὀχεύων 'mating with Gaia' (*Glotta* 1914 v. 303 and 1924 xiii. 270).

Poseidon appears as 'earth-carrier' in ceramic illustrations of the Gigantomachy (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Poseidon pp. 328—331 Atlas pl. 4, 6, 8, 12 b, pl. 5, 1 b, 1 c, pl. 12, 25—27, pl. 13, 1, B. N. Staes in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886 p. 88 pl. 7, 2, M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 pp. 316—319, H. Dibbelt *Quaestiones Coae mythologae* Gryphiswaldiae 1891 p. 14 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 70, 584, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 258 n. 16, Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 48—50, E. H. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2815 f., H. Bulle *ib.* iii. 2867, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 659, 669, 686, 754 f., J. Six in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 117 ff. pl. 1). According to the oldest accessible form of the myth 'Polybotes, chased through the sea by Poseidon, came to Kos; whereupon Poseidon, breaking off a piece of that island now called Nisyros, hurled it upon him' (Apollod. 1. 6. 2, cp. Strab. 489, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 525, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 133 f.). A variant version tells how Polybotes, when struck by Zeus, started to swim, and how Poseidon flung a trident at him but failed to hit, the missile becoming the island Nisyros or Porphyris (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Νίσυρος (=Eudok. *viol.* 764, Favorin. *lex.* pp. 1311, 14 f., 1536, 18 ff.)). Black-figured vases regularly show Poseidon moving from left to right and bearing on his left shoulder the mass of rock with which he is about to overwhelm his opponent (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 328 ff. enumerates fourteen such vases). But only one vase, an Ionian *amphora*, adds the name Polybotes (*supra* ii. 713 pl. xxx). Red-figured vases of the strong style (*c.* 500—460 B.C.) give Poseidon in the same attitude, but further characterise his rock as the island by representing on it an assortment of land- and sea-creatures (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 330 f. lists eight such vases. Typical are (1) an *amphora* from Vulci, now in the Vatican, referred by J. D. Beazley *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 52, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 111 no. 2 and by Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 206 f. no. 4 to 'the painter of the Diogenes *amphora*,' a contemporary of Myson and of 'the Eucharides painter' (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii pl. 56, 1 a (=ii² pl. 60, 1 a), Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 331 no. 8 Atlas pl. 12, 25, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ Leipzig 1912 i. 308 no. 489, with photographs by Moscioni (no. 8572) and Alinari (no. 35754=my pl. ii)): (2) a *kýlix* from Vulci, now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 589 ff. no. 2293), attributed to 'the Brygos painter' (*supra* ii. 777 n. 2, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 176 no. 6. R. Zahn in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 257 f. pl. 160 (part=my fig. 3) supersedes E. Gerhard *Griechische und etruskische Trinkschalen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin* Berlin 1843 pl. 10—11 (part=Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 330 no. 1 Atlas pl. 4, 12 b)): (3) a *kýlix* from Vulci, now at Paris, assigned by Hoppin to 'the Brygos painter' (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 136 no. 80), by Beazley to a dexterous but mechanical imitator of his style (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 189 no. 1) (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 429 ff. no. 573, P. Milliet—A. Giraudon *Vases peints du Cabinet des Médailles & Antiques* (*Bibliothèque Nationale*) Paris 1891 vi^e classe, xi^e série ii. pl. 70 interior, pls. 71, 72 exterior, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 330 no. 2 Atlas pl. 5, 1 a, 1 b (=my fig. 4), 1 c. My pl. iii is from fresh photographs. The rock on (1) shows a scorpion, a polyp, a hedgehog, and two fronds; on (2) a running fox (so Furtwängler and Zahn: Overbeck represents it as a galloping horse surrounded by a fringe of seaweed (?) etc.); on (3) exterior a hedgehog, a scorpion, a snake, and a goat (?); on (3) interior a snake (?), a fox, and *tertium quid*).

Only one of the red-figured vases names the Giant, and this calls him not Polybotes

Amphora from Vulci, now in the Vatican:
Poseidon, shouldering the island, attacks a Giant.

See page 14 *n.* 0 (1).

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

A

Kýlix from Vulci, now at Paris:

(*A*) Poseidon, shouldering the island, attacks a Giant.

(*B*) Apollon (?), Dionysos, and Ares (?) attack Giants.

(*C*) Hephaistos, Poseidon, and Hermes (?) attack Giants.

See page 14 *n.* o (3) and *page* 16 *fig.* 4.

B

C

Fig. 5.

It implies the ancient cosmological idea that the earth rests upon water[1]—an idea perpetuated on the one hand by the popular belief in floating islands[2], on the other hand by the philosophic belief that the world[3] or the earth is a ship[4] and that earthquakes are due to waves of the nether sea[5].

but Ephialtes (a *kratér* at Vienna published by J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* London 1822 i. 17—20 pls. 7 (=my fig. 5) and 8, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 10 f. pl. 5, A. de La Borde *Collection des vases grecs de M. le comte de Lamberg* Paris 1813—1824 i. pl. 41 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 188, 1, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 330 no. 3 Atlas pl. 13, 1. The rock shows a polyp, a dolphin, etc., a prawn (?), a goat, a snake, and a scorpion). The change of name is ingeniously explained by O. Benndorf in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1893 xvi. 106 (followed by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2784 f.), who conjectures that, just as Nisyros was believed to have been broken from Kos (probably from Cape Chelone: see Paus. 1. 2. 4) and flung by Poseidon at the Giant Polybotes, so Saros was believed to have been broken from Cape Ephialtion (Ptol. 5. 2. 33) in Karpathos and flung by Poseidon at the Giant Ephialtes. It is noteworthy that Nisyros occurs, not only as the name of the island off Kos, but also as that of a town on Kalydna (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 133) and as that of a town on Karpathos (Strab. 489, cp. an inscription from *Tristomo* in Karpathos published by M. Beaudouin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880 iv. 262 f. no. 1, 1 ff. = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 1035, 1 ff. Μελάνθιος | Μενεκράτευς | Βρυκούντιος, | Ἐπαίνετος Ῥάδιος | Νισύριος, | Σωσίπολις | Ἀρχικράτευς | Βρυκούντιος, | αἱρεθέντες ἱεραγω|[γ]οὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ σύνπαν|[τος] δάμου Πο[ειδᾶ][νι Πορ]θμί[ωι]). A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 pp. 51, 119 (Carian), 164 (Hittite, perhaps Lelegian).

[1] So in the cosmogonies of (1) Babylonia (P. Jensen *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* Strassburg 1890 pp. 253, 254 f., 257 with pl. (3) (= R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 628 fig. 80, cp. G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 542 f. with fig.), F. Lukas *Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmogonien der alten Völker* Leipzig 1893 pp. 4, 43, M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 430, *id. Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 pp. 87—91, F. Hommel *Die Insel der Seligen in Mythus und Sage der Vorzeit* München 1901 p. 37 fig., A. H. Sayce in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 128 f., A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 61 f.); (2) Palestine (J. Skinner *A critical and exegetical Commentary on Genesis* Edinburgh 1910 pp. 17, 164, S. R. Driver *A critical and exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*[2] Edinburgh 1896 p. 406, C. A. Briggs and E. G. Briggs *A critical and exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* Edinburgh 1906 i. 215, F. Lukas *op. cit.* p. 43 f.: see Gen. 7. 11, 8. 2, 49. 25, Ex. 20. 4, Deut. 4. 18, 5. 8, 33. 13, Job 38. 16, Ps. 24. 2, 136. 6, Prov. 8. 28, Am. 7. 4, etc.); (3) Egypt (?) (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 288 ff., F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 844 n. 4); (4) India (L. de la Vallée Poussin in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 131 Buddhist cosmogony, H. Jacobi *ib.* iv. 157 *Brāhmaṇa* and *Upaniṣad* cosmogony, *id. ib.* iv. 158 ff. epic and *Purāṇa* cosmogony, *id. ib.* iv. 161 Jain cosmography. See also A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 14, *supra* ii. 1035 f.); (5) Japan (M. Revon in J. Hastings *op. cit.* iv. 162 f.).

[2] *Infra* Append. P.

[3] For the cosmic ὀλκάς of the Pythagoreans see Philolaos *frag.* 12 Diels (*supra* i. 358 n. 3, ii. 44 n. 2). Cp. Philolaos *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 21. 6[d] p. 186, 27 ff. Wachsmuth = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 332 b 19 ff. = *id. Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 i. 306, 26 f. τὸ δὲ ἡγεμονικὸν ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ πυρί, ὅπερ τρόπεως δίκην προϋπεβάλετο τῆς τοῦ παντὸς < σφαίρας (*suppl.* A. H. L. Heeren) > ὁ δημιουργὸς θεός. Miss H. Richardson in an important paper on 'The Myth of Er (Plato, *Republic*, 616 B)' makes it

probable that Platon's picture combining a straight axis of light with a curved periphery of light (*supra* ii. 44) was derived from the Pythagorean doctrine, which combined a fire at the centre of the universe with a fire girdling the sphere of the universe, and further that Platon's phrase *οἷον τὰ ὑποζώματα τῶν τριήρων* presupposes the Pythagorean ὁλκάς (*Class. Quart.* 1926 xx. 113—133).

Georgios the Pisidian, who was deacon of St Sophia and record-keeper at Byzantion under the emperor Herakleios (610—641 A.D.), has introduced the same conception into his *ἑξαήμερον ἢ κοσμουργία*, a philosophico-theological poem in iambics on the creation of the world (K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches*[2] München 1897 p. 710). The passage is as follows: *ὦ γῆς ὑποστήριγμα τορνεύων ὕδωρ, | ἱστῶν δὲ τὴν βρίθουσαν ἀστάτῳ βάσει, | ἢ βάθρον αὐτῇ προσχέων τὸν ἀέρα, | οὐκ οἶδα ποίαν ἑδράσας ἄλλην βάσιν, | ποῖον δὲ ταύτῃ δημιουργῶν πυθμένα, | ὡς μὴ δεηθῇ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν πυθμένος, | σειραῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἠγνοημέναις ὅλοις | ποιῶν κρεμαστὴν τὴν πάνορμον ὁλκάδα | (ἡ γῆ γὰρ ὁλκάς ἐστιν εἰς ὕδωρ τάχα | ἐστῶσα καὶ φέρουσα τὴν οἰκουμένην), | ψάμμον δὲ τεῖχος τῇ θαλάσσῃ συλλέγων, | καὶ λεπτὸν ἀντίφραγμα τῇ ζάλῃ πλέκων, | κτίζων δὲ βροντήν, ἀστραπὴν δὲ θεσπίσας | ἐκ τῶν ἐνύγρων ἐκτρέχειν πυρεκβόλων* (Georg. Pisida *hexaemeron* 498—512 Hercher (printed in R. Hercher's ed. of Ail. *var. hist.* ii. 618 f.), a better text than xcii. 1474 A—1475 A Migne).

[4] Thales held that the earth was afloat like wood upon water (Aristot. *de caelo* 2. 13. 294 a 28 ff. *οἱ δ' ἐφ' ὕδατος κεῖσθαι* (*sc. τὴν γῆν φασι*). *τοῦτον γὰρ ἀρχαιότατον παρειλήφαμεν τὸν λόγον, ὃν φασιν εἰπεῖν Θαλῆν τὸν Μιλήσιον, ὡς διὰ τὸ πλωτὴν εἶναι μένουσαν ὥσπερ ξύλον ἤ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον* (*καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἐπ' ἀέρος μὲν οὐθὲν πέφυκε μένειν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὕδατος*), *ὥσπερ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ὄντα περὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ὀχοῦντος τὴν γῆν· κ.τ.λ.*, Simpl. *in* Aristot. *de caelo* p. 522, 14 ff. Heiberg *ἐπ' αὐτῇ δὲ τὴν Θαλοῦ τοῦ Μιλησίου τίθησιν* (*sc.* δόξαν) *ἐφ' ὕδατος λέγοντος ὀχεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν ὥσπερ ξύλον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπινήχεσθαι τῷ ὕδατι πεφυκότων. πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν δόξαν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀντιλέγει μᾶλλον ἴσως ἐπικρατοῦσαν διὰ τὸ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις οὕτως ἐν μύθου σχήματι λέγεσθαι καὶ τὸν Θαλῆν ἴσως ἐκεῖθεν τὸν λόγον κεκομικέναι*, cp. Aristot. *met.* 1. 3. 983 b 20 ff. *ἀλλὰ Θαλῆς μὲν ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγὸς φιλοσοφίας ὕδωρ εἶναί φησιν* (*διὸ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ὕδατος ἀπεφαίνετο εἶναι*), Simpl. *in* Aristot. *phys.* p. 23, 28 f. Diels *διὸ πάντων ἀρχὴν ὑπέλαβον* (codd. D. E. have *ὑπέλαβεν* but the reference is to Thales and Hippon) *εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ὕδατος ἀπεφήναντο κεῖσθαι*).

Artemidoros of Ephesos, who *c.* 100 B.C. issued his Γεωγραφούμενα in eleven books, utilising the results of the Peripatetic Agatharchides and others (H. Berger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1329 f., W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 423), seems to have described the earth as floating on the ocean (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 242 pars nostra terrarum, de qua memoro, ambienti, ut dictum est, oceano velut innatans longissime ab ortu ad occasum patet, hoc est ab India ad Herculis columnas Gadibus sacratas |LXXXV|. LXXVIII p., ut Artemidoro auctori placet, etc., Dicuilus *liber de mensura orbis terrae* 5. 1 (ed. G. Parthey Berolini 1870 p. 18, 1 ff.). Jdem dicit in tertio (Letronne cj. *secundo*): pars nostrarum terrarum de qua commemoro, ambienti ut dictum est oceano velut innatans, longissime ab ortu ad occasum patet, hoc est ab Jndia ad Herculis columnas Gadibus sacratas, centum mil. sexagies et sexies et XXXta [simpliciter triginta (*uncis inclusi* A.B.C.)] milia passuum, ut Artemidoro auctori placet). But it is not quite certain that the phrase 'floating on the ocean' goes back beyond Pliny to Artemidoros, nor, if it does, that we should see in it more than a rhetorical flourish.

Somewhat similar in expression, though diverse in origin, is Io. Chrys. *hom. in Genes.* 12. 2 (liii. 100 Migne) *ταύτην αὐτὴν τὴν βαρεῖαν, καὶ τὸν τοσοῦτον κόσμον ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκείων νώτων φέρουσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐθεμελίωσε, καθὼς ὁ προφήτης φησίν, 'ὁ θεμελιώσας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων τὴν γῆν'* (Ps. 135. 6).

[5] Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 3. 14. 1 quae sequitur Thaletis inepta sententia est. ait enim terrarum orbem aqua sustineri et vehi more navigii mobilitateque eius fluctuare tunc, cum dicitur tremere. non est ergo mirum, si abundet humore (so F. Haase. H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 i. 11, 7 follows Gercke in reading *si abundat humor*) ad flumina profundenda, cum in humore sit totus.

Now we have already seen reason to suppose that Poseidon was but a specialised form of Zeus[1], his trident being originally the lightning-fork of a storm-god[2]. We should therefore expect to find at least some traces of the conviction that earthquakes were ultimately caused and controlled by Zeus.

In point of fact, the earliest extant description of an earthquake attributes the phenomenon, naïvely enough, to the action of Zeus, who nods his head, shakes his hair, and thereby makes the mighty mass of Mount Olympos to tremble[3]. That is pure magic[4], and none the less magical because the magician was a god. Later epic writers imitate the scene[5], which must have appealed to folk-belief of a deep-seated and permanent sort. Indeed, the same belief still lurks in the background of the peasant's brain. B. Schmidt[6] pointed out that in Zakynthos, an island peculiarly liable to seismic vibrations[7], people explain them by saying 'God is nodding his head towards the earth' or 'God is shaking his hair[8]'—both expressions being virtually identical with those used in the Homeric episode.

Other poets, classical and post-classical, associate the most awe-inspiring of nature's moods with the anger of the greatest nature-

[1] *Supra* i. 717 n. 2, ii. 31 n. 8, 582 ff., 786 f., 846, 850, 893 n. 0.

[2] *Supra* ii. 789 ff., 850.

[3] *Il.* 1. 528 ff. ἦ, καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων· | ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο (Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1885, 60 has ἐπερρώοντο) ἄνακτος (cod. E[b] reads ἄνακτι) | κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον with schol. A. *ad loc.* ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ λέγεται τῶν στίχων Φειδίαν τὸν ἀγαλματοποιὸν ποιῆσαι τὸν ἐν Ἠλιδι χαλκοῦν (*sic*) ἀνδριάντα οὕτως καμπτόμενον καὶ συνωθούμενον and schol. T. (cp. scholl. L.V.) *ad loc.* Εὐφράνωρ δὲ Ἀθήνησι τοὺς ⟨ι⟩β' θεοὺς γράφων ἐν τῇ στοᾷ, ὡς ἠπόρει ποῖον ἀρχέτυπον περιθείη Διί, παριὼν ἐν διδασκάλου τῶν ἐπῶν ἤκουσε, κεκραγώς τε ὡς ἔχοι τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἀπιὼν ἔγραψεν. ἴσως οὖν τοῦτο ἐνεφάνισεν αὐτῷ ἡ Ἥρα (cp. Loukian. *imagg.* 7 ὁ μὲν Εὐφράνωρ χρωσάτω τὴν κόμην οἵαν τῆς Ἥρας ἔγραψεν). The former anecdote is a commonplace (*supra* i. 2 n. 1). The latter occurs here only and in Eustath. *in Il.* p. 145, 10 ff., who combines the two (C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1193, A. Reinach *Recueil Milliet: Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne* Paris 1921 i. 284 f. no. 356, E. Pfuhl *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* München 1923 ii. 749 f.).

[4] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1.

[5] *Il.* 8. 198 f. ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος· νεμέσησε δὲ πότνια Ἥρη, | σείσατο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνῳ, ἐλέλιξε δὲ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον, *h. Dion.* 13 ff. ἦ, καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων· | ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος | κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον. Of these passages *Il.* 8. 198 f. has been condemned as a late interpolation (W. Leaf in the argument prefixed to his ed. of *Il.* 8, in his note *ad loc.*, and in his book *A Companion to the Iliad* London 1892 p. 164) and *h. Dion.* 13 ff. as an alternative version of *h. Dion.* 16 ὣς εἰπὼν ἐπένευσε καρήατι μητίετα Ζεύς (T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, D. B. Monro, etc. *ad loc.*). Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 27 ff. describes the wrath of Typhoeus (*supra* ii. 449 n. 0 (2)) in language reminiscent of the Homeric original (29 Ὀλύμπῳ, 32 ἐθείραις, 35 ἐλελίζετο).

[6] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 33 f.

[7] *Supra* p. 3 n. 0, *infra* p. 29.

[8] τινάζει τὰ μαλλιά του.

god. At the close of Aischylos' *Prometheus bound* the defiant Titan challenges the Almighty and bids him do his worst:

> Let his blast rock the earth, roots and all, from its base[1].

And when the answering thunderstorm bursts, the very first symptom of the wrath of Zeus is an earthquake-shock:

> Lo, now in deed and no longer in word
> The earth is a-quake[2].

Similarly in the brilliant *éxodos* of Aristophanes' *Birds* Pisthetairos, who is clearly conceived as the new Zeus[3], wields the nether thunders and thereby causes an earthquake[4]. The same feeling that the failure of the solid ground can be ascribed to no power lower than the highest prompts the Orphic hymn-writer boldly to transfer the epithet *seisíchthon*, 'who maketh the land to quake,' from Poseidon[5] to Zeus[6] and the author of a Sibylline oracle to use the like language of his supreme Deity[7].

The fact is that, as the centuries went by, Poseidon lost while Zeus gained in religious significance. Earthquakes came to be connected less and less with the former, more and more with the latter. A short series of examples will here be instructive. In 464 B.C. a great earthquake laid waste the town of Sparta: the Spartans themselves believed that this was because they had once put to death certain Helot suppliants, who had fled for refuge to the sanctuary of Poseidon at Cape Tainaros[8]. In 387 B.C.[9] the Spartans under Agesipolis i were invading the Argolid, when they were overtaken near Nemea by an alarming earthquake: they at once raised the paean to Poseidon, and most of them were for beating a retreat; but their commander, putting the best construction he could on the ominous incident, offered sacrifice to that god and pushed on into the territory of the Argives[10]. In 373 B.C. Helike and Boura on or

[1] Aisch. *P.v.* 1046 f. [2] *Id. ib.* 1080 f.

[3] I have elaborated the point in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 213—221, *infra* p. 59 f.

[4] Aristoph. *av.* 1750 ff. ὦ μέγα χρύσεον ἀστεροπῆς φάος, | ὦ Διὸς ἄμβροτον ἔγχος πυρφόρον (*supra* ii. 704), | ὦ χθόνιαι βαρυαχέες ὀμβροφόροι θ' ἅμα βρονταί (*supra* ii. 805 n. 6), | αἷς ὅδε νῦν χθόνα σείει. | Δῖα δὲ πάντα (διὰ σὲ τὰ πάντα codd. P. P. Dobree cj. δῖα σκῆπτρα. A. Meineke, followed by B. B. Rogers, cj. δῖα δὲ πάντα) κρατήσας | καὶ πάρεδρον Βασίλειαν ἔχει Διός.

[5] *Supra* p. 10 n. 1.

[6] Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 8 f. σεισίχθων, αὐξητά, καθάρσιε, παντοτινάκτα, | ἀστράπιε, βρονταῖε, κεραύνιε, φυτάλιε Ζεῦ.

[7] *Oracl. Sib.* 2. 16 ff. Geffcken (cited *supra* p. 10 n. 1).

[8] Thouk. 1. 128, cp. 1. 101, 3. 54, Paus. 4. 24. 5 f.

[9] E. Meyer *Geschichte des Alterthums* Stuttgart—Berlin 1902 v. 271.

[10] Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7. 4 f. For the sequel see *supra* ii. 7.

near the coast of Achaia were swallowed in a single night[1] by the most appalling of all Greek earthquakes: the catastrophe was attributed to the vengeance of Poseidon, who was angry because the men of these towns had refused to allow their colonists in Ionia to carry off or copy their statue of him or even to sacrifice unmolested on the ancestral altar[2]. Apameia in Phrygia was repeatedly devastated by earthquakes—a fact which, according to Strabon, explains the honours granted to Poseidon by that inland city[3]. But Poseidon was not the only deity concerned. In the days of Apollonios of Tyana (*s.* i A.D.), when the towns on the left side of the Hellespont were visited by earthquakes, Egyptians and Chaldaeans went about collecting ten talents to defray the cost of sacrifices to Ge as well as to Poseidon[4]. An interesting transitional case is afforded by an earthquake at Tralleis (*s.* ii A.D.), which was authoritatively set down as due to the wrath felt by Zeus for the city's neglect of Poseidon: the Trallians were ordered to make ample atonement to both gods[5]. But when in 115 A.D. Antiocheia on the Orontes was severely shaken, the survivors of the disaster ignored Poseidon altogether and founded a temple at Daphne for Zeus *Sotér*[6]. Again, in or about the year 178 A.D. Smyrna was overthrown by an earthquake. P. Aelius Aristeides[7], who was living in the neighbourhood, received divine injunctions to sacrifice an ox in public to Zeus *Sotér*. At first he hesitated to do so. But he dreamed that he was standing beside the altar of Zeus in the market-place and begging for a sign of the god's approval, when a bright star shot right over the market and confirmed his intention. He carried through the sacrifice, and from that moment the dread disturbances ceased. Moreover, five or six days before the first shock he had been bidden to send and sacrifice at the ancient hearth adjoining the sanctuary of Zeus *Olýmpios* (at Dios Chorion in Mysia[8]) and also to set up altars on the crest of the Hill of Atys. No sooner were these precautions taken than the earthquake came and spared his estate Laneion, which lay to the south of the Hill[9].

Frequently, of course, an earthquake is recorded without explicit mention of any deity. Neither Poseidon nor Zeus is named as subject of the vague reverential phrases 'He shook[10]' or, more often, 'God

[1] Herakl. Pont. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 200 n. 2 Müller) *ap.* Strab. 384.
[2] *Id. ib.* 385, Diod. 15. 49, Paus. 7. 24. 6 with slight divergence in detail.
[3] Strab. 579.
[4] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 6. 41 p. 252 Kayser.
[5] *Supra* ii. 959 n. o.
[6] *Supra* ii. 1191.
[7] *Supra* ii. 127.
[8] L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 677.
[9] Aristeid. *or.* 25. 317 ff. (i. 497 ff. Dindorf).
[10] Thouk. 4. 52 ἔσεισεν, cp. Aristeid. *or.* 25. 318 (i. 499 Dindorf) πρότερον ἢ σεῖσαι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

shook[1].' Scholars have assumed that the god in question was Poseidon[2]. But the analogy of similar expressions relating to the weather points to the possibility that the name suppressed was that of Zeus[3]. And certainly in late times earthquakes were reckoned as a particular variety of Zeus-sign (*Diosemía*)[4].

The Romans exhibited, on the whole, a more marked tendency towards cautious anonymity. They said that once during an earthquake a voice was heard from the temple of Iuno on the Capitol directing them to sacrifice a pregnant sow—a direction which earned for the goddess the title of *Moneta*[5]. A pregnant sow was on other occasions sacrificed to Tellus[6] or Terra Mater[7] or Ceres[8] or Maia[9]

[1] Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7. 4 ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός, Paus. 3. 5. 8 ἔσεισέ τε δὴ ὁ θεός, cp. Aristoph. *Lys.* 1142 χὠ θεὸς σείων ἅμα, Paus. 1. 29. 8 Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν πόλιν τοῦ θεοῦ σείσαντος, 3. 5. 9 οὐ παρίει σείων ὁ θεός, 3. 8. 4 τοῦ θεοῦ σείσαντος, Dion Cass. 68. 25 σείοντος τοῦ θεοῦ.

[2] Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 1142, cp. Aristoph. *Ach.* 510 f. καὐτοῖς ὁ Ποσειδῶν οὑπὶ Ταινάρῳ (Ταινάρου *v.l.* in Souid. *s.v.* Ταίναρον) θεὸς | σείσας ἅπασιν ἐμβάλοι τὰς οἰκίας.

[3] *Supra* ii. 1 ff. [4] *Supra* ii. 5.

[5] Cic. *de div.* 1. 101 (cp. 2. 69) with a useful note by A. S. Pease *ad loc.* The derivation of *Moneta* from *moneo* (Cic. *ib.* 2. 69, Isid. *orig.* 16. 18. 8, cp. Souid. *s.v.* Μονήτα. Hence also Moneta as Latinised Mnemosyne in Livius Andronicus *frag.* 25 *ap.* Priscian. *inst.* 6. 6 (i. 198 Hertz), Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 47, Hyg. *fab.* praef. pp. 10, 4 and 12, 7 Schmidt) is merely folk-etymology. The attempt to connect it with the Semitic *machanat*, 'camp,' a legend found on silver Carthaginian coins current in Sicily and Italy before the Punic wars (E. Assmann 'Moneta' in *Klio* 1906 vi. 477—488, V. Costanzi 'Moneta' *ib.* 1907 vii. 335—340, G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 8, A. W. Hands 'Juno Moneta' in the *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1910 x. 1—12) is more ingenious than probable. Relation to Gothic *mēnōþs*, Old High German *mānōt*, 'month,' implying that Moneta was a moon-goddess (K. F. Johansson *Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde* (= *Upsala Universitets Årsskrift* 1890 Abh. iii) Upsala 1891 p. 129 f.), does not adequately account for her *ŏ*. Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 493 concludes: 'Wohl vielmehr eine Bildung vom Namenstamme, der in *Monnius*, *Monianius* usw. (Schulze Eigenn. 195) vorliegt, vgl. zum Suffix *Orata*, etr. *urata*, *Lepta*, *Valutius: Val(l)ius* (ibd. 195, 396), so dass eine Sondergöttin einer etrusk. *gens Monēta* vorliegt im Sinne Otto's Rh. Mus. LXIV, 449 ff.'

[6] Fest. p. 238 *a* 28 f. Müller, p. 274, 6 Lindsay plena sue Tellu<ri sacrificabatur (*suppl.* J. J. Scaliger)>, Ov. *fast.* 1. 671 ff. placentur frugum matres, Tellusque Ceresque, | farre suo gravidae visceribusque suis. | officium commune Ceres et Terra tuentur: | haec praebet causam frugibus, illa locum, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 7. 22 Telluri, inquiunt, matri scrofa inciens (sic vet. lib. Ernstii, marg. Ursini. *ingens* codd.) immolatur et feta, etc.

[7] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 32323, 136 f. = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5050, 136 f. (*acta sacrorum saecularium* for June 2, 17 B.C.) Terra mater! uti tibi in ill[is libris scriptum est, quarumque rerum ergo quodque melius siet p. R. Quiritibus,] | uti tibi sue plena propri[a . . . . . sacrum fiat: te quaeso precorque; c]etera [uti supra.] Cp. *oracl. Sib. ap.* Phlegon *frag.* 29. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 611 Müller) and *ap.* Zosim. 2. 6 (p. 70, 2 f. Bekker) = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 214. 10 f. αὖθι δὲ Γαίη | πληθομένη χοίροις ὗς ἱερεύοιτο μέλαινα (so Dessau after Mommsen. The MS. of Phlegon has πληθογένῃ χώροις ὅϊς ἱερεύοιτο μέλαινα, Zosimos gives πληθομένῃ χοιρός τε καὶ ὗς ἱεροῖτο μέλαινα).

[8] Verg. *georg.* 1. 345 ff. terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges, | omnis quam chorus et socii comitentur ovantes, | et Cererem clamore vocent in tecta, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 345 'felix hostia' id est fecunda. dicit autem ambarvale sacrificium, quod de porca et saepe fecunda et gravida fieri consueverat, Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 11. 10 notum autem

as a means of communicating fertility to the ground[1], so that it had probably come to be regarded as a victim suited to the earth-goddess and therefore appropriate to a grave disturbance of the earth. Again, in 268 B.C., when Rome was waging war in Picenum, the battlefield was shaken by a seismic crash[2], whereupon P. Sempronius Sophus, the Roman general, vowed a temple to Tellus and in due time paid his vow[3]. But such cases were exceptional. As a rule the Romans were studiously vague and non-committal. Aulus Gellius, who brought out his *Attic Nights* in 169 A.D.[4], has some interesting remarks on the point[5]:

THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN DISCOVERED TO WHAT GOD SACRIFICE SHOULD BE MADE ON THE OCCASION OF AN EARTHQUAKE.

The ostensible cause of earth-tremors has not been discovered by the common experience and judgment of mankind, nor yet satisfactorily settled by the various schools of natural science[6]. Are they due to the force of winds pent

esse non diffitebere, quod a. d. duodecimum Kalendas Ianuarias Herculi et Cereri faciunt sue praegnate, panibus, mulso. Cp. *supra* n. 6.

[9] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 12. 20 adfirmant quidam, quibus Cornelius Labeo (on whom see G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1351 ff.) consentit, hanc Maiam cui mense Maio res divina celebratur terram esse hoc adeptam nomen a magnitudine, sicut et Mater Magna in sacris vocatur: adsertionemque aestimationis suae etiam hinc colligunt quod sus praegnans ei mactatur, quae hostia propria est terrae.

The connexion of *Maia* with *magnus*, *maior*, etc. is philologically sound (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 455, Muller *Altital. Wörterb.* p. 249 f.) and accords with the cult of Iupiter *Maius* at Tusculum (Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 12. 17 sunt qui hunc mensem ad nostros fastos a Tusculanis transisse commemorent, apud quos nunc quoque vocatur deus Maius qui est Iuppiter, a magnitudine scilicet ac maiestate dictus. The inscription from Frascati published by R. Garrucci *I piombi antichi raccolti dall' eminentissimo...Cardinale L. Altieri* Roma 1847 p. 45 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5637 Iovi | Maio | sacrum and by R. Garrucci *Sylloge inscriptionum Latinarum aevi Romanae rei publicae* Turin 1877 p. 174 under no. 564 Iovi | Maio | sacrum | P. Mucius pater is now held to be of doubtful authenticity: see H. Dessau in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 216* and in the *Ephem. epigr.* 1892 vii. 383 no. 1276).

[1] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 7. 22 Telluri gravidas atque fetas ob honorem fecunditatis ipsius... et quod Tellus est mater...gravidis accipienda est scrofis—an explanation knocked down by Arnobius, but set on its legs again by Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 334.

[2] Iul. Obseq. 26, Oros. 4. 4. 5 ff. In Frontin. *strat.* 1. 12. 3 the consul is wrongly called T. Sempronius Gracchus.

[3] Flor. *epit.* 1. 14. For the *aedes Telluris* on the western slope of the Mons Oppius see O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 pp. 323—325, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 323—326, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 33, Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 336—339, S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 511.

[4] M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1905 iii. 188, K. Hosius in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 993.

[5] Gell. 2. 28. 1—3.

[6] See Plout. *de plac. philos.* 3. 15 = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 379*a* 8 ff., Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 6. 5 ff., Suet. *frag.* 159 Reifferscheid *ap.* Isid. *de natura rerum* 46.

in caverns and clefts of the ground? Or to the pulsation and undulation of waters that surge in subterranean hollows, as the ancient Greeks, who called Poseidon *seisichthon*, seem to have supposed? Or to any other specific cause, or to the force and will of another deity? As I said, belief does not yet amount to certainty. Accordingly the Romans of yore, who in all the affairs of life and above all in the ordering of religious ritual and the tending of immortal gods displayed the utmost propriety and prudence, whenever an earthquake had been perceived or reported, proclaimed by edict a solemn holiday on account of it, but refrained from fixing and publishing as usual the name of the god for whom the holiday was to be kept, lest by naming one in place of another they might bind the people in the bonds of a false prescription. If the said holiday had been polluted by any man and need for a piacular sacrifice had therefore arisen, they slew the victim 'to god or to goddess' (*si deo, si deae*)[1]; and this regulation was strictly observed in accordance with the decree of the pontiffs, as M. Varro[2] states, because it was uncertain to what force and to which of the gods or goddesses the earthquake was due.

Two centuries later Ammianus Marcellinus, *à propos* of a devastating earthquake at Nikomedeia in 358 A.D., observes that, when

1—3 (lxxxiii. 1015 B—C Migne) and *orig.* 14. 1. 2 f., Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 9—12, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 2. 479 (= Isid. *orig.* 14. 1. 2 f.), and the section 'Die wissenschaftliche Seismologie der Griechen' in the valuable article on 'Erdbebenforschung' by W. Capelle in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iv. 362—374.

[1] The usage of this *formula* may be illustrated from Cato *de agri cult.* 139 lucum conlucare Romano more sic oportet. porco piaculo facito, sic verba concipito: 'si deus, si dea es, quoium illud sacrum est,' etc., Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 9. 7 est autem carmen huiusmodi quo di evocantur, cum oppugnatione civitas cingitur: 'si deus, si dea est, cui populus civitasque Carthaginiensis est in tutela,' etc., *Corp. inscr. Lat.* i[1] no. 632 = vi no. 110 (*ib.* no. 30694) = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2135 = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 48 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4015 sei deo sei deivae sac(rum). | C. Sextius C. f. Calvinus pr(aetor) | de senati sententia | restituit (on a large altar now standing at the southern angle of the Palatine (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 47 n. 31[b])), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 111 = Orelli *op. cit.* no. 2136 = Dessau *op. cit.* no. 4018 sive deo | sive deae, | C. Ter. Denter | ex voto | posuit (formerly in the church of St Ursus at Rome), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2099, ii 3 f. = Orelli *op. cit.* no. 2270 = Wilmanns *op. cit.* no. 2884 = Dessau *op. cit.* 5047 sive deo sive deae, in cuius tutela hic lucus locusve | est, oves II, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2099, ii 10 = Orelli *op. cit.* no. 1798 = Wilmanns *op. cit.* no. 2884 = Dessau *op. cit.* 5047 sive deo sive deae oves II (from the *acta fratrum Arvalium* for 183 A.D.), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2104, *a* 2 sive deo sive deae ov(es) n(umero) II (from the *acta fratrum Arvalium* for 218 A.D.), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2107, *a* + *b* 9 = Orelli *op. cit.* no. 961 = Wilmanns *op. cit.* no. 2885 = Dessau *op. cit.* no. 5048 sive deo sive deae verb(eces) II (from the *acta fratrum Arvalium* for 224 A.D.), J. Schmidt in the *Ephem. epigr.* 1884 v. 480 f. no. 1043 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii Suppl. 3 no. 21567, *B* 7 ff. Genio summ[o]| Thasuni et de|o sive deae [nu]|mini sanc[to] | etc. (found at *Aftû* in Mauretania Caesariensis and referable to the date 172—174 A.D.), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* i[1] no. 1114 = xiv no. 3572 = Orelli *op. cit.* no. 2137 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5952 = Dessau *op. cit.* no. 4017 sei deus | sei dea (found at Tibur on a *cippus* of local stone), G. Gatti in the *Not. Scavi* 1890 p. 218 = Dessau *op. cit.* no. 4016 si deo si deai, | Florianus rexs (found at Lanuvium: Florianus was presumably *rex sacrorum*).

See further D. Vaglieri in Ruggiero *Dizion. epigr.* ii. 1726 and Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 38. The '*sive...sive...*' invocations are discussed by E. Norden *Agnostos Theos* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 p. 144 ff.

[2] Varr. *antiquitatum rerum divinarum lib.* 8 de feriis *frag.* 1 (in R. Merkel's ed. of Ov. *fast.* Berolini 1841 p. cliii f.).

such things happen, the priests prudently abstain from mentioning any deity by name, lest they should indicate some god not really responsible and so incur the guilt of sacrilege[1].

While the clash of creeds was in progress, pagans of course blamed Christians[2] and Christians blamed pagans[3] for all the horrors

[1] Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 10 unde et in ritualibus et pontificiis observatur obtemperantibus sacerdotiis caute, ne alio deo pro alio nominato, cum, quis eorum terram concutiat, sit in abstruso, piacula committantur.

Libanios, who composed a special and somewhat hysterical lamentation for the downfall of Nikomedeia (*or.* 61 *monodia de Nicomedia* (iv. 322 ff. Foerster)), appeals *in primis* to Poseidon (3, 6), but also to Helios (16), etc.

[2] Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 7. 1 ff. cites *in extenso* a letter of Maximinus ii (305—313 A.D.), copied from a *stéle* at Tyre, in which he congratulates his eastern subjects on having returned to the faith of their forefathers and, after a characteristic (cp. *supra* ii. 1194 ff.) laudation of Zeus (*hist. eccl.* 9. 7. 7 ἐκεῖνος τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ὕψιστος καὶ μέγιστος Ζεύς, ὁ προκαθήμενος τῆς λαμπροτάτης ὑμῶν πόλεως, ὁ τοὺς πατρῴους ὑμῶν θεοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἑστίαν καὶ οἴκους ἀπὸ πάσης ὀλεθρίου φθορᾶς ῥυόμενος, ταῖς ὑμετέραις ψυχαῖς τὸ σωτήριον ἐνέπνευσε βούλημα, ἐπιδεικνὺς καὶ ἐμφαίνων ὅπως ἐξαίρετόν ἐστι καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ σωτηριῶδες μετὰ τοῦ ὀφειλομένου σεβάσματος τῇ θρησκείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἱεροθρησκείαις τῶν ἀθανάτων θεῶν προσιέναι), explains drought, hurricane, earthquake, etc. as due to divine anger called down by the spread of the new religion (*ib.* 9. 7. 8 ff.).

Arnob. *adv. nat.* 1. 3 had recently met, and refuted, a whole string of similar charges. So *c.* 252 A.D. had Cypr. *ad Demetrian.* 2—5 (i. 352, 7 ff. Hartel). The calumny crystallised into a proverb (Aug. *enarrat. in psalm.* 80. 1 (iv. 1225 D ed.[2] Bened.) non pluit deus, duc ad Christianos (variants *ib.*[2] p. lii), *de civ. Dei* 2. 3 pluvia defit, causa Christiani sunt). In this connexion earthquakes played a large part (Tertull. *apol.* 40 si Tiberis ascendit in moenia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si caelum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim Christianos ad leonem! adclamatur=*ad nat.* 1. 9, Orig. *in Matth. comment. series* 39 (xiii. 1654 A—B Migne) cum haec ergo contigerint mundo, consequens est quasi derelinquentibus hominibus deorum culturam, ut propter multitudinem Christianorum dicant fieri bella et fames et pestilentias. frequenter enim famis causa Christianos culparunt gentes, et quicumque sapiebant quae gentium sunt; sed et pestilentiarum causas ad Christi ecclesiam rettulerunt. scimus autem et apud nos terrae motum factum in locis quibusdam, et factas fuisse quasdam ruinas, ita ut qui erant impii extra fidem causam terrae motus dicerent Christianos, propter quod et persecutiones passae sunt ecclesiae, et incensae sunt. non solum autem illi, sed et qui videbantur prudentes, talia in publico dicerent, quia propter Christianos fiunt gravissimi terrae motus, Firmillianus in Cypr. *epist.* 75. 10 (ii. 816, 17 ff. Hartel: the letter is of 256 A.D. (A. Jülicher in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2379)) volo autem vobis et de historia quae apud nos facta est exponere ad hoc ipsum pertinente. ante viginti enim et duos fere annos temporibus post Alexandrum imperatorem multae istic conflictationes et pressurae acciderunt vel in commune omnibus hominibus vel privatim Christianis: terrae etiam motus plurimi et frequentes extiterunt, ut et per Cappadociam et per Pontum multa subruerent, quaedam etiam civitates in profundum recepta (*leg.* receptae) dirupti soli hiatu devorarentur, ut ex hoc persecutio quoque gravis adversum nos nominis fieret, quae post longam retro aetatis pacem repente oborta de inopinato et insueto malo ad turbandum populum nostrum terribilior effecta est. Serenianus tunc fuit in nostra provincia praeses, acerbus et dirus persecutor. in hac autem perturbatione constitutis fidelibus et huc atque illuc persecutionis metu fugientibus et patrias suas relinquentibus atque in alias regionum partes transeuntibus (erat enim transeundi facultas eo quod persecutio illa non per totum mundum sed localis fuisset), emersit istic subito quaedam mulier quae in extasin constituta propheten se praeferret et quasi sancto spiritu plena sic ageret. ita autem principalium daemoniorum impetu ferebatur ut per longum

of a quaking world. But ultimately men in general and moralists in particular settled down to the belief that an earthquake as such was a divine visitation meant to vindicate the power of the Creator[1] or to chasten and reform his erring creatures[2].

Painters and poets, who from time to time personified the Earthquake, naturally reverted to earlier mythological conceptions[3]. Raphael in one of the marvellous tapestries designed by him (1515—1516)[4] for the Sistine Chapel at Rome and woven by Pieter van Aelst of Brussels[5] represented the imprisonment of St Paul at

tempus sollicitaret et deciperet fraternitatem, admirabilia quaedam et portentosa perficiens et facere se terram moveri polliceretur: non quod daemoni tanta esset potestas ut terram movere aut elementum concutere vi sua valeret, sed quod nonnumquam nequam spiritus praesciens et intellegens terrae motum futurum id se facturum esse simularet quod futurum videret. etc.). See further J. E. B. Mayor's notes on Tertull. *apol.* 40.

[3] Obviously two could play at that game, and of the two the Christians were likely to compile the bigger score. Cp. the *leges novellas ad Theodosianum pertinentes* ed. adiutore Th. Mommseno Paulus M. Meyer Berolini 1905 p. 10 *de Iud. Sam. haer. et pag.* 3. 8 an diutius perferemus mutari temporum vices irata caeli temperie, quae paganorum exacerbata perfidia nescit naturae libramenta servare? unde enim ver solitam gratiam abiuravit...nisi quod ad inpietatis vindictam transit legis suae natura decretum?

[1] *E.g.* Io. Chrys. *in terrae motum* etc. 1 (xlviii. 1027 Migne) εἴδετε Θεοῦ δύναμιν, εἴδετε Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν; δύναμιν, ὅτι ἐτίναξε τὴν οἰκουμένην· φιλανθρωπίαν, ὅτι πίπτουσαν αὐτὴν ἔστησε· κ.τ.λ. (perhaps in allusion to the earthquake which shook Antiocheia on the Orontes in 396 A.D.: W. Capelle in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iv. 356).

[2] *E.g.* Io. Chrys. *ad populum Antiochenum hom.* 3. 7 (xlix. 57 Migne) μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἠδύνατο κωλῦσαι τὰ γεγενημένα ὁ Θεός; ἀλλ' ἀφῆκεν, ἵνα τοὺς καταφρονοῦντας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τοῦ συνδούλου φόβῳ σωφρονεστέρους ἐργάσηται, *id. in acta Apost. hom.* 7. 2 (lx. 66 Migne) εἰ μέμνησθε ὡς, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν ἔσεισεν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πάντες ἦσαν συνεσταλμένοι, οὕτω τότε ἐκεῖνοι διέκειντο· οὐδεὶς ὕπνους ἦν, οὐδεὶς πονηρός. καὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτον φόβος, τοιοῦτον ἡ θλῖψις. κ.τ.λ. (during the earthquake at Constantinople in 400 or 401 A.D.), *id. in Acta Apost. hom.* 41. 2 (lx. 291 Migne) εἰπέ γάρ μοι, οὐ πέρυσιν ἐτίναξεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν; τί δαί; οὐχὶ πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ φώτισμα ἔδραμον; κ.τ.λ. (at Constantinople in 399 A.D.), Philastrius *diversarum hereseon liber* 102. 1—3 Fabricius (74. 1—3 Marx) alia est heresis quae terrae motum non dei iussione et indignatione fieri, sed de natura ipsa elementorum opinatur,... quod etiam in huiusmodi rebus indignatio dei et potentia operatur et suam commovet creaturam conversionis causa et utilitatis quippe multorum peccantium ac redeuntium ad dominum salvatorem atque creatorem (written *c.* 385—391 A.D.: M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* München 1904 iv. 1. 359), Philostorg. *eccl. hist.* 12. 9 (lxv. 617 C Migne) καὶ ἄλλα δὲ τοιουτότροπα πάθη τηνικαῦτα ἐνεωχμώθη, δεικνύντα μὴ φυσικῇ τινι ταῦτα προελθεῖν ἀκολουθίᾳ, ὡς Ἑλλήνων παῖδες ληροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ θείας ἀγανακτήσεως μάστιγας ἐπαφεθῆναι, *id. ib.* 12. 10 (lxv. 620 A Migne) ὅτι διαφόροις ἐπιχειρήμασι κατασκευάζειν πειρᾶται τοὺς σεισμοὺς μήτε διὰ πλημμύραν ὑδάτων συνίστασθαι, μήτε πνευμάτων ἐναπολαμβανομένων τοῖς κόλποις τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γῆς τινος (*an leg.* τινι?) ὅλως παρεγκλίσει, μόνῃ δὲ τῇ θείᾳ γνώμῃ πρὸς ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ διόρθωσιν τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων (published *c.* 425—433 A.D.: W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] ii. 2. 1433).

[3] Not so Chrysostom, who in purely rhetorical vein personifies the Antiochene earthquake as a herald announcing God's anger (Io. Chrys. *in terrae motum* etc. 1 (xlviii. 1027 f. Migne)) and even makes him on another occasion quote Ps. 103. 8 (Io. Chrys. *hom. post terrae motum* (l. 714 f. Migne)).

[4] H. Knackfuss *Raphael* trans. C. Dodgson Bielefeld—Leipzig 1899 p. 102.

[5] H. Strachey *Raphael* London 1900 p. 30.

Fig. 6.

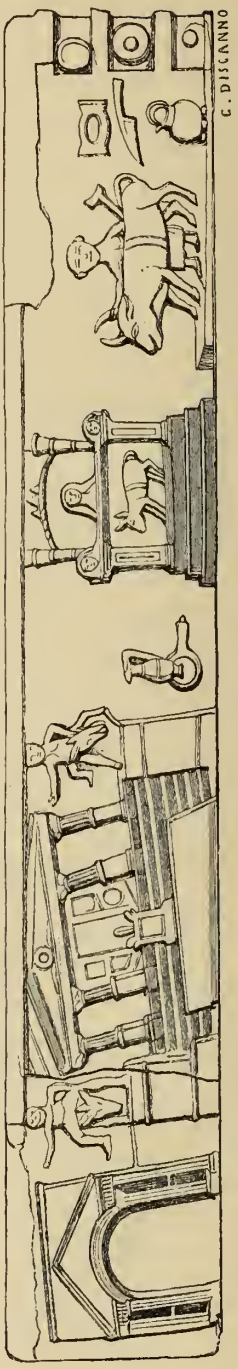


Fig. 7.

Philippoi (fig. 6). Above we see the gaol and the gaoler about to kill himself; below, the earth cracking as a gigantic nude bearded figure emerges breast-high with scowling forehead and uplifted fists[1]. In the Second Part of Goethe's *Faust* (1827—1832) an earthquake suddenly disturbs the peace of the upper Peneios. Seismos, 'rumbling and grumbling down below,' groans out:

> Heave again with straining muscle,
> With the shoulders shove and hustle,
> So our way to light we justle,
> Where before us all must fly[2].

He is however conscious that he makes the mountains picturesque, and claims that by so doing he benefits the very gods:

> Apollo now dwells blithely yonder,
> With the blest Muses' choir. 'Twas I
> For Jove himself, with all his bolts of thunder,
> That heaved the regal chair on high[3].

Less intelligent, but more intense, and quite refreshingly direct is the attitude of the modern Greek peasant in regions where the earthquake is no theme for artistic representation[4] or academic interest. Natives of Zakynthos, when the shock is felt, will cry out in deprecation 'My God, cease thine anger![5]' And the inhabitants of Arachova on Mount Parnassos fancy that God in rage and fury 'rolls his eyes and is minded to ruin the world, only the Blessed Virgin beseeches him and stays his wrath[6].'

[1] E. Müntz *Les tapisseries de Raphaël au Vatican* Paris 1897 p. 20 fig. (=my fig. 6), P. Oppé *Raphael* London 1909 p. 160 f. pl. 115, 2. The cartoons are now in the South Kensington Museum, the tapestries themselves in the Vatican.

[2] Goethe's *Faust* trans. A. G. Latham London 1908 Part ii. 138.

[3] *Ib.* Part ii. 139. See further F. Piper *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1851 i. 2. 481—489 ('Erdbeben').

[4] A small marble frieze found on the base of a *lararium* in the house of the auctioneer L. Caecilius Iucundus at Pompeii (J. Overbeck—A. Mau *Pompeji*[4] Leipzig 1884 p. 69 f. fig. 31 = my fig. 7, C. Weichardt *Pompeji vor der Zerstoerung* Leipzig s.a. 81 f. fig. 102) has a relief representing the north side of the Forum. We see the *façade* of the temple of Iupiter, flanked by two equestrian statues, with a commemorative arch to the left and an altar etc. to the right. The slanting forms of the temple and arch have been supposed to show the dire effects produced by the earthquake of 63 A.D. (M. Neumayr *Erdgeschichte* Leipzig 1886 i. 139 cited by C. Weichardt *op. cit.* p. 82 n.*, W. H. Hobbs *Earthquakes* New York 1907 p. 9 fig. 3), but are of course merely due to a careless craftsman who stood too far towards the right in carving the relief (J. Overbeck—A. Mau *op. cit.*[4] p. 70 'ein unglücklicher Versuch, die perspectivische Verschiebung wiederzugeben' does him too much honour).

[5] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 34 (Θέ μου, πάψε τὴν ὀργή σου!).

[6] *Id. ib.* i. 34 n. 1 (γουρλώνει τὰ μάτια του κῆ θέλ' νὰ χαλάσῃ τοὺν κόσμου, ἀλλ' ἡ Παναγιὰ τοὺν παρακαλεῖ κῆ παύ' τ'ν ὀυργή 'τ').

D. H. Kerler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 86 f. gives a list of saints

§6. *Zeus and the Clouds.*

(a) Zeus and the Clouds in Literature.

One of Homer's favourite epithets for Zeus is *nephelegeréta*, 'the cloud-gatherer.' This arresting compound, which occurs eight times in the *Odyssey*[1] and twenty-eight times in the *Iliad*[2], is in reality

whose business it is to protect their votaries against earthquake. They include: (1) St Agatha of Catania (Feb. 5), during whose martyrdom in 251 A.D. a fearful earthquake occurred. (2) St Emygdius of Ascoli (Aug. 5), whose father, a prominent citizen of Augusta Trevirorum, tried to make him forswear his faith before a heathen altar till the very ground gave way beneath his feet. Others said that the saint averted an earthquake from Ascoli, where he was martyred in 303 or 304 A.D. (3) St Justus of Catalonia (May 28), bishop of Urgel from before 527 until after 546 A.D., whose body was found uninjured beneath the ruins of a wall that had collapsed above his grave. (4) St Petrus Gonsalez, better known to Spanish sailors as Sant Elmo (April 15), who died in 1240 A.D. He was once preaching in the open air near Bayonne, when an earthquake threatened. The congregation was for fleeing into the town; but the preacher detained it, and all ended well. (5) St Petrus Paschalis (Dec. 6), bishop of Jaen, who was martyred by the Moors at Granada in 1300 A.D. Soon after his death the town was plagued with famine, pestilence, earthquakes, and storms. (6) St Albertus of Trepano (Aug. 7), who died at Messina in 1307 A.D. and is reckoned as patron of all Sicily, an island much given to seismic shocks. (7) St Francesco Borgia (Oct. 10), duke of Gandia, who died in 1572 A.D. In 1625 A.D. he was chosen as a recent and popular saint to protect the new realm of Granada against earthquakes. (8) St Philippus Neri of Rome (May 26), who died in 1595 A.D. When, on June 5, 1688 A.D., an alarming earthquake visited Beneventum, Pope Benedict xiii escaped by lying directly under the saint's reliquary. (9) St Franciscus Solanus of Lima (July 24), who died in 1610 A.D. Seven years before his death he predicted the downfall of the town Truxillo. It was destroyed by earthquake on Feb. 14, 1618 A.D.

[1] *Od.* 1. 63, 5. 21, 9. 67, 12. 313, 384, 13. 139, 153, 24. 477 *νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς* (always at the end of the line). Of these passages two have a noteworthy context: 9. 67 ff. *νησὶ δ' ἐπῶρσ' ἄνεμον Βορέην νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς | λαίλαπι θεσπεσίῃ, σὺν δὲ νεφέεσσι κάλυψε | γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον· ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ* = 12. 313 ff. *ὦρσεν ἔπι ζαὴν ἄνεμον νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς | λαίλαπι θεσπεσίῃ, σὺν δὲ νεφέεσσι κάλυψε | γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον· ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ.* Much the same is said of Poseidon in *Od.* 5. 291 ff. *ὣς εἰπὼν σύναγεν νεφέλας, ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον | χερσὶ τρίαιναν ἑλών· πάσας δ ὀρόθυνεν ἀέλλας | παντοίων ἀνέμων, σὺν δὲ νεφέεσσι κάλυψε | γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον· ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ*, on which Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1538, 7 ff. remarks *θεωρητέον ὅτι τὸ σύναγε νεφέλας νεφεληγερέτην καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα εἶναι ὑποδηλοῖ. ἐπειδήπερ ὕδωρ ὕλη τοῖς νέφεσιν, εἰς ὃ μεταλαμβάνεται ὁ Ποσειδῶν. ὀκνεῖ δὲ ὅμως ὁ ποιητὴς τὸν τὰς νεφέλας συνάγοντα Ποσειδῶνα καὶ νεφεληγερέτην συνθέτως εἰπεῖν. ἀπεκληρώθη γὰρ τοῦτο Διὶ τῷ ποιητικῷ τῶν νεφελῶν αἰτίῳ.*

[2] *Il.* 1. 511, 517, 560, 4. 30, 5. 764, 888, 7. 280, 454, 8. 38, 469, 10. 552, 11. 318, 14. 293, 312, 341, 15. 220, 16. 666, 17. 198, 20. 19, 215, 22. 182, 24. 64 *νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς* (always at the end of the line and, except in 7. 280, 11. 318, 14. 293, 17. 198, 20. 215, preceded by *προσέφη*). So *h. Dem.* 78, *h. Ap.* 312, also Hes. *o.d.* 53, *theog.* 558.

Il. 5. 631, 736, 8. 387, 15. 154, 20. 10, 21. 499 *Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο* (always at the end of the line). So too *h. Ap.* 96, Hes. *o.d.* 99, *theog.* 730, 944.

Nonnos alone places the word in the first half of his hexameter (*Dion.* 23. 228 f. (Dionysos to Hydaspes) *ἐκ νεφέων βλάστησας ἐμοῦ Κρονίδαο τοκῆος, | καὶ νεφεληγερέταο Διὸς βλάστημα διώκεις*; 38. 202 f. *οὐ νεφέλας Ἥφαιστος ἑοῦ γενετῆρος ἀγείρει, | οὐ νεφεληγερέτης κικλήσκεται οἷα Κρονίων*).

a pre-Homeric tag[1] originally descriptive of Zeus as a rain-making[2] magician[3]. In Greece, as elsewhere[4], the primitive rain-maker, probably clad in a sheep-skin to imitate the fleecy vapours[5], mounted some neighbouring height and did his puny best to allay the mid-summer heat by calling the clouds to draw their welcome veil across the sky. This at least seems a plausible inference[6] from one curious Greek custom, the procession of men clad in thick sheep-skins which on the very hottest day of the year toiled up the slopes of Mount

[1] *Supra* i. 444 n. 6.

[2] Hesych. *s.vv.* νεφεληγερέτα· νεφεληγερέτης, ὁ τὰς νεφέλας ἀγείρων, ὅ ἐστι συναθροίζων· ὁ τοὺς ὄμβρους ποιῶν. κλητικὴ ἀντὶ εὐθείας, νεφελογερέτης (M. Schmidt cj. νεφεληγερέτης (?). Cp. Tzetz. *alleg. Il.* 17. 35 Ζεὺς ὁ νεφεληγερέτης)· τὰ αὐτά, *et. Gud.* p. 406, 46 νεφεληγερέταο· τοῦ τὰς νεφέλας ἀθροίζοντος, *et. mag.* p. 601, 55 νεφεληγερέτης· ὁ τῶν νεφῶν ἀθροιστικὸς Ζεύς, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1066, 38 ff. κλητικὰς ἐκφέρειν ἀντὶ εὐθειῶν τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐστίν, οἷον νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς ἀντὶ τοῦ νεφεληγερέτης.

[3] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1, 758, ii. 258 n. 3, 694 n. 0, 695 n. 0, 1146 f. Cp. Medeia in Ov. *met.* 7. 201 f. nubila pello | nubilaque induco.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 249 f., 256 f., 260 ff., 275, 323.

[5] Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 1. 13 καὶ ὅταν νεφέλαι πόκοις ἐρίων ὅμοιαι ὦσιν ὕδωρ σημαίνει = Arat. *phaen.* 206 f. πολλάκι δ' ἐρχομένων ὑετῶν νέφεα προπάροιθεν | οἷα μάλιστα πόκοισιν ἐοικότα ἰνδάλλονται = Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 356 si nubes ut vellera lanae spargentur multae ab oriente, aquam in triduum praesagient, Apul. *de deo Socr.* 10 atque ideo umectiores humilius meant aquilo[nis] agmine, tractu segniore[s]; sudis vero sublimior cursus e<s (*ins.* P. Thomas)>t, cum lanarum velleribus similes aguntur, cano agmine, volatu perniciore. Accordingly the Latin poets speak of fleecy clouds as *vellera* (Verg. *georg.* 1. 397, Varr. Atac. *frag.* 21 Baehrens *ap.* anon. *brev. expos. Verg. georg.* 1. 397 (in the ed. of Servius by G. Thilo and H. Hagen iii. 2. 265, 3 f.), Lucan. 4. 124 f., cp. Mart. *ep.* 4. 3. 1 f., Prosp. Aquit. *in psalm.* 147. 16 (li. 420 c Migne))—a usage hardly to be paralleled in Greek.

It is possible that the dappled fawnskin of the Bacchant, trimmed with tufts of white wool (Eur. *Bacch.* 111 ff. στικτῶν τ' ἐνδυτὰ νεβρίδων | στέφετε λευκοτρίχων πλοκάμων | μαλλοῖς and Sir J. E. Sandys *ad loc.*), was intended as a rough imitation of the starry, cloud-flecked sky, just as the fawnskin of Dionysos himself, bespangled with pearls (Claud. *de quarto cons. Honor.* 606 f. talis Erythraeis intextus nebrida gemmis | Liber agit currus), seems to have borne a cosmic character (R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 76, 256 n. 4, who cites Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 577 f. Ἡρακλέης δὲ | ἀστραίῳ Διόνυσον ἀνεχλαίνωσε χιτῶνι and cp. the vase-painting figured *supra* ii. 262 pl. xvii).

Attic vases signed by the potter Brygos (*c.* 505—475 B.C.) or attributed to his painter (lists in Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 106 ff., J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 175 ff.) often show garments decorated with dots (O. S. Tonks 'Brygos: his Characteristics' in *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 1908 xiii. 69, 95, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 460). In view of Brygos' name with its northern connexions (Βρύγοι, Βρύγες = Φρύγες: see W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 231, E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 920 f.) it is just conceivable that this craftsman was popularising at Athens a custom which originated in Thraco-Phrygian ritual. But the hypothesis would be *risquée*, since dotted garments are not strictly confined to the output of Brygos (P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 310 n. 4).

[6] *Supra* i. 420 n. 3, where I was perhaps unduly sceptical of O. Gilbert's conclusions.

Pelion to the sanctuary of Zeus *Aktaîos* on its summit[1]. And the sheep-skin of the human magician would be readily transferred to his divine counterpart[2]—witness the title of Zeus *Melósios*, Zeus 'Clad in a sheep-skin' (*melotê*)[3]. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that already in Homeric times the word *nephelegeréta* had lost something of its early import and had taken on a meaning half-religious and half-picturesque. But worse was in store, for in the fifth century B.C. it was frankly travestied. Perikles[4] as the greatest man of his age was dubbed Zeus by the comedians[5] and figures in a brilliant fragment of Kratinos, not as *nephelegeréta*, 'the cloud-gatherer,' but as *kepha-*

[1] *Supra* i. 420, ii. 869 n. 2.

[2] *Supra* i. 11 ff.

[3] *Supra* i. 164 f. The boundary-inscription of Zeus Μηλώσιος is more accurately published by F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 48 ὅρος Διὸς Μηλω|σίου. To the literature there cited add E. Preuner in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1924 xlix. 144.

[4] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 302.

[5] Kratin. *Thressae frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 61 f. Meineke) *ap.* Plout. *v. Per.* 14 διὸ καὶ πάλιν Κρατῖνος ἐν Θρᾴτταις παίζει πρὸς αὐτόν· 'ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε | προσέρχεται (so M. Fuhr and F. Blass, after C. G. Cobet, for ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε (I. Bekker and F. A. Gotthold, followed by A. Meineke, cjj. ὁδὶ) *προσέρχεται* | Περικλέης (A. Meineke cj. ὁ Περικλέης)) τῷδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου | ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ τοὔστρακον παροίχεται.'

Kratin. *Nemesis frag.* 10 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 85 Meineke) *ap.* Plout. *v. Per.* 3 τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν Κρατῖνος...καὶ πάλιν ἐν Νεμέσει· 'μόλ', ὦ Ζεῦ Ξένιε καὶ Καραιέ (μακάριε vulg. *κάριε* libri H. Stephani. K. H. F. Sintenis cj. *καραῖε*. A. Meineke cj. *καραιέ*).'

Telekleides *fab. incert. frag.* 6 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 373 f. Meineke) *ap.* Plout. *v. Per.* 3 Τηλεκλείδης δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἠπορημένον καθῆσθαί φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει 'καρηβαροῦντα' (cp. Poll. 2. 41 καὶ καρηβαρικὸν τὸ πάθος Τηλεκλείδης), ποτὲ δὲ 'μόνον ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐνδεκακλίνου | θόρυβον πολὺν ἐξανατέλλειν.'

Aristoph. *Ach.* 530 f. ἐντεῦθεν ὀργῇ Περικλέης οὐλύμπιος | ἤστραπτ' (so R. Bentley, K. W. Dindorf, etc. cp. Plin. *ep.* 1. 20), ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα—a passage to which later writers make frequent allusion (see F. H. M. Blaydes *ad loc.*).

Com. anon. *frag.* 307 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 677 Meineke) *ap.* Plout. *v. Per.* 8 αἱ μέντοι κωμῳδίαι τῶν τότε διδασκάλων σπουδῇ τε πολλὰς καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἀφεικότων φωνὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ μάλιστα τὴν προσωνυμίαν (*sc. τοῦ* Ὀλυμπίου) γενέσθαι δηλοῦσι, 'βροντᾶν' μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ 'ἀστράπτειν,' ὅτε δημηγοροίη, 'δεινὸν' δὲ 'κεραυνὸν...ἐν γλώσσῃ φέρειν' λεγόντων. F. H. M. Blaydes restores 'δεινὸν κεραυνὸν οὗτος ἐν γλώσσῃ φέρει.' A. Meineke prints γλώττῃ.

Similarly Aspasia was styled Hera by Kratinos (*Chirones frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 148 Meineke) *ap.* Plout. *v. Per.* 24 ἐν δὲ ταῖς κωμῳδίαις Ὀμφάλη τε νέα καὶ Δηϊάνειρα καὶ πάλιν Ἥρα προσαγορεύεται. Κρατῖνος δ' ἄντικρυς παλλακὴν αὐτὴν εἴρηκεν ἐν τούτοις· 'Ἥραν τέ οἱ Ἀσπασίαν τίκτει Καταπυγοσύνη (καὶ καταπυγοσύνην codd. T. Bergk del. καί. A. Emperius cj. Καταπυγοσύνη) | παλλακὴν κυνώπιδα,' schol. Plat. *Menex.* 235 E p. 923 b 37 ff. Κρατῖνος δὲ Ὀμφάλην αὐτὴν καλεῖ Χείρωσιν, τύραννον (? τυραννοδαίμονα cp. Hesych. *s.v.*) δὲ Εὔπολις Φίλοις (so A. Meineke for Κρατῖνος δὲ Ὀμφάλῃ τύραννον αὐτὴν καλεῖ, χείρων Εὔπολις Φίλοις. T. Bergk cj. Κρατῖνος δὲ τύραννον αὐτὴν καλεῖ Χείρωσιν, Ὀμφάλην Εὔπολις Φίλοις)· ἐν δὲ Προσπαλτίοις Ἑλένην αὐτὴν καλεῖ· ὁ δὲ Κρατῖνος καὶ Ἥραν, ἴσως ὅτι καὶ Περικλῆς Ὀλύμπιος προσηγορεύετο) and perhaps by Eupolis (Hesych. *s.v.* βοῶπις· μεγαλόφθαλμος, εὐόφθαλμος. μεγαλόφωνος. Εὔπολις δὲ τὴν Ἥραν (Eupol. *fab. incert. frag.* 81 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 571 Meineke))), possibly also by Aristophanes (yet schol. Hermog. περὶ τῶν στάσεων 72 (C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1833 iv. 186, 14 ff.) καὶ τὰ ἐσχηματισμένα· ἐν οἷς δεῖ τὸν μεταχειριζόμενον ἄλλο μὲν λέγειν, ἄλλο δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἤθους ἐμφαίνειν· οἷον τοῦ Περικλέους Ὀλυμπίου κληθέντος, εἰσηγεῖται Ἀριστοφάνης Ἥραν τὴν Ἀσπασίαν καλεῖν may be a mere slip).

legeréta, 'the crowd-gatherer[1].' Truth to tell, a parody of the old appellative can still raise a laugh. Does not Clough in the immortal *Bothie* speak of his cheery, cigar-loving friend Lindsay as 'the Piper, the Cloud-compeller?[2]'

Of course, on occasion, magic might be employed, not to collect the clouds, but to scatter them. If for example hail threatened, old-fashioned farmers had recourse to magicians who chased the clouds away[3] and were known as *nephodiôktai*[4]. Nowadays magic or ancient science has joined hands with science or modern magic, and on many a Swiss hillside may be seen the mortar from which maroons are fired when hail-clouds are gathering above the vineyard.

Less magical but more majestic is a second stock epithet of the epic minstrel—*kelainephès* Kronion, Kronos' son 'of the dark clouds[5].' For, though sundry scholiasts and lexicographers attempt to render it 'he who gathers the black, or dark, clouds together[6]' and expound

[1] Kratin. *Chirones frag.* 3 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 147 f. Meineke) *ap.* Plout. *v. Per.* 3 τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν Κρατῖνος ἐν Χείρωσι· 'Στάσις δὲ' (φησὶ) 'καὶ πρεσβυγενὴς Κρόνος (so anon. for χρόνος vulg.) ἀλλήλοισι μιγέντε μέγιστον | τίκτετον τύραννον, | ὃν δὴ κεφεληγερέταν θεοὶ καλέουσι (A. Meineke prints καλοῦσιν).' I have assumed that Kratinos meant 'collector of heads, crowd-collector,' but there is of course a further hint at the peculiar shape of Perikles' cranium, as is clear from the context. With Kratinos, as with Aristophanes (*e.g. supra* ii. 2 n. 4, 118 n. 3, 1166 n. 3), word-play tends to produce harmonics.

[2] A. H. Clough *The Bothie of Tober-na-vuolich* 3. 83.

[3] E. Fehrle *Studien zu den griechischen Geoponikern* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ iii) Leipzig—Berlin 1920 p. 8 cites a text parallel to *Geopon.* 1. 14 from cod. Parisin. 2313 (Anatolios) περὶ χαλάζης ἀποτροπήν. 1. πλεῖστα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὑρίσκεται βοηθήματα· ἥ τε διὰ τῆς ἐχίδνης θεραπεία· καὶ ἡ διὰ τοῦ ἀσφάλακος· καὶ ἡ διὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν διωκόντων τὰ νέφη τῆς χαλάζης· καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἀπίθανα· ἃ δὲ εὐκολώτερα καὶ πάγκοινα καὶ εὐκατάληπτα δοκεῖ εἶναι, συνάγομεν.

[4] Pseudo-Iust. Mart. *quaestt. et responss. ad orthod.* 31 (vi. 1277 C—D Migne) Εἰ νεύματι θείῳ αἱ νεφέλαι τὸν ὑετὸν τῇ γῇ καταπέμπουσι, διὰ τί τὰς νεφέλας οἱ καλούμενοι νεφοδιῶκται ἐπαοιδίαις τισὶ κατασκευάζονται, ἔνθα βούλονται, χαλάζας καὶ ἀμέτρους ὑετοὺς ἀκοντίζειν; Τοῦτο ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὰς ἁγίας Γραφὰς μαρτυρεῖς, τοὺς ὑετοὺς εἶναι ἐκ τῶν ἐπαοιδῶν ἄπιστον. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ ταύτην περὶ τούτου ἐρωτήσας τὴν ἐρώτησιν, οὐκ ἀφ' ὧν ἐθεάσω γινομένων τὴν ἐρώτησιν πεποίηκας, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἤκουσας. Clearly the νεφοδιῶκται claimed the ability to divert the clouds from their course and to precipitate them as hail or drenching rain in any desired direction. Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1466 A quotes from the *Synod. in Trullo* can. 61 καὶ οἱ τύχην καὶ εἱμαρμένην καὶ γενεαλογίαν φωνοῦντες καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι νεφοδιῶκται, from which we conclude that in *s.* vii A.D. the superstition was yet living. More, from Latin sources, in Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v.* 'tempestarii, tempestuarii.'

[5] The word is a syncopated form of κελαι[νο]-νεφής, as was clearly perceived by Herodian (περὶ παθῶν *frag.* 261 (ii. 259, 14 ff. Lentz) *ap. et. mag.* p. 501, 48 ff., cp. *et. Gud.* p. 313, 43 ff.), though he erroneously regarded the first element in the compound as a verb κελαίνω=μελαίνω instead of the adjective κελαινός (yet see Herodian. περὶ παθῶν *frag.* 595 (ii. 363, 25 f. Lentz) *ap. et. mag.* p. 59, 61 f.). On the etymology of κελαινός consult Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 214 f., Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 430, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] pp. 113 f., 179.

[6] Hesych. *s.v.* κελαινεφές·...ὁ (M. Schmidt cj. ὦ (?)) κελαινὰ συνάγων τὰ νέφη, schol. D. *Il.* 2. 412 κελαινεφές· μελανονεφές, μέλανα νέφη συνάγων πρὸς κατάπληξιν.

it as meaning 'the rain-maker[1],' yet the title itself calls up no such primitive picture, nor has it quite the same claim as *nephelegeréta* to be recognised as a poetic heirloom of fixed and unalterable pattern[2]. A point deserving of notice is its constant association with Kronion or Kronides. It is seldom, if ever, used of Zeus pure and simple till long after classical times. Normally Zeus is *kelainephés* as being the son of Kronos; or, more rarely, both the divine names are dropped and *kelainephés* stands as an independent appellative. It looks as though this particular title had been attached to Zeus in early Homeric days as affiliated successor of the 'Minoan' storm-god Kronos[3].

According to the *Iliad*, the three sons of Kronos divided the world between them and

> Zeus' portion was
> Broad heaven in the *aithér* and the clouds[4].

Zeus sits on the peak of Mount Olympos and, when he is visited by Hera and Athena, the Horai fling wide a cloudy portal to admit them:

> Then Hera with the lash swift smote the steeds,
> And of their own accord the gates of heaven
> Groaned, held by the Horai. These are they who keep
> Great heaven and Olympos; theirs the task
> To ope the thick cloud or to close the same.
> So through the gateway guided they their steeds
> Patient o' the goad, and Kronos' son they found
> Sitting apart from all the other gods
> On the topmost peak of many-ridged Olympos[5].

[1] Schol. D. *Il.* 1. 397 κελαινεφεῖ· τῷ τὰς νεφέλας μελαίνοντι, ὀμβροποιῷ. Cp. Orion p. 83, 12 f. κελαινεφής· ὁ Ζεύς. ὁ τὰ νέφη κλονῶν καὶ κινῶν, ἢ μελανοποιῶν ἐν τῷ ὕειν.

[2] At the end of a hexameter we find κελαινεφεῖ Κρονίωνι (*Il.* 1. 397, 6. 267, 24. 290 (cp. Tzetz. *alleg. Il.* 24. 162), *h. Dem.* 91, 468, *h. Herakl. Leont.* 15. 3, *h. Diosk.* 17. 4, *h. Diosk.* 33. 5, Hes. *sc. Her.* 53), κελαινεφέα Κρονίωνα (*Il.* 11. 78, *h. Aphr.* 220), Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεῖ Κρονίωνι (*h. Dem.* 316), πατρὶ κελαινεφεῖ Κρονίωνι (*h. Dem.* 396).

At the beginning of a hexameter the *formula* is Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεῖ Κρονίδῃ (*Od.* 9. 552, 13. 25, but never in the *Iliad*). Κρονίδῃ is not omitted except by late authors (Maximus περὶ καταρχῶν 605 Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεῖ refers to the planet Zeus and is followed immediately by a *lacuna* (see A. Ludwich *ad loc.*). Tzetz. *alleg. Od.* 9. 118, 13. 7 (in P. Matranga *Anecdota Graeca* Romae 1850 i. 277, 293) Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεῖ is more *ad rem*).

After the *caesura* κελαινεφές occurs either in conjunction with other vocatives (*Il.* 2. 412 Ζεῦ κύδιστε, μέγιστε, κελαινεφές, 22. 178 ὦ πάτερ ἀργικέραυνε, κελαινεφές) or standing by itself (*Il.* 15. 46, *Od.* 13. 147 where Nikanor read διοτρεφές of Artemis (schol. L.T. *Il.* 9. 538), *Anth. Pal.* 6. 332. 7 (Adrianos) cited *supra* ii. 982 n. 0). *Il.* 21. 520 κὰδ δ' ἷζον παρὰ πατρὶ κελαινεφεῖ (with variants πὰρ Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεῖ and κελαινεφεῖ πὰρ Ζηνὶ) is an isolated dative.

[3] *Supra* ii. 554 ff., 601, 845.

[4] *Il.* 15. 192 (cited *supra* i. 25 n. 5), cp. *Il.* 15. 20 (*supra* i. 25 f.).

[5] *Il.* 5. 748 ff. The first half of the passage is repeated in *Il.* 8. 395 ff.

Similarly Apollon and Iris, when sent by Hera to Mount Ide, discover Zeus seated on the summit of Gargaron[1]—

> And ringed about him was a fragrant cloud[2].

It was on the same mountain-top that Zeus, succumbing to the wiles of Hera, promised privacy within a cloud:

> Hera, fear not: nor god, nor man shall see it;
> So thick the golden cloud that I will wrap
> Around us, Helios himself could ne'er—
> Though keen his radiance beyond all—espy us[3].

And Zeus was as good as his word. The sequel tells how

> o'er them spread a cloud magnificent
> And golden: glittering dew-drops from it fell[4].

Clearly cloudland is characteristic of the sky-god. Later poets harp on the theme. Aischylos says simply 'the clouds of Zeus[5].' Pindar *more suo* mints fresh and ringing epithets for Zeus himself—*orsinephés*, 'he that causeth the clouds to rise[6],' *hypsinephés*, 'he of the towering clouds[7],' *polynephélas*, 'the many-clouded' ruler of the sky[8]. There is a would-be return to Homeric *naïveté* in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, when the Chorus of songsters chant:

> Then take us for Gods, as is proper and fit,
> And Muses Prophetic ye'll have at your call
> Spring, winter, and summer, and autumn and all.
> And we won't run away from your worship, and sit
> Up above in the clouds, very stately and grand,
> Like Zeus in his tempers: but always at hand
> Health and wealth we'll bestow, as the formula runs,
> ON YOURSELVES, AND YOUR SONS, AND THE SONS OF YOUR SONS[9]—

or when Prometheus, much in awe of his Aeschylean persecutor, asks in a scared tone:

> What's Zeus about?
> Clearing the clouds off, or collecting them[10]?

[1] *Supra* ii. 950 n. o.

[2] *Il.* 15. 153 ἀμφὶ δέ μιν θυέεν νέφος ἑστεφάνωτο.

[3] *Il.* 14. 342 ff.

[4] *Il.* 14. 350 f. (*supra* i. 154).

[5] Aisch. *suppl.* 780 μέλας γενοίμαν καπνὸς νέφεσι γειτονῶν Διός.

[6] Pind. *Nem.* 5. 62 ff. ὁ δ' εὖ φράσθη κατέ|νευσέν τέ οἱ ὀρσινεφὴς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ | Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς.

[7] Pind. *Ol.* 5. 39 f. σωτὴρ ὑψινεφὲς | Ζεῦ.

[8] Pind. *Nem.* 3. 16 f. οὐρανοῦ πο|λυνεφέλᾳ κρέοντι θύγατερ.

[9] Aristoph. *av.* 723 ff. trans. B. B. Rogers. Lines 726 ff. run κοὐκ ἀποδράντες | καθεδούμεθ' ἄνω σεμνινόμενοι | παρὰ ταῖς νεφέλαις ὥσπερ χὠ Ζεύς.

[10] Aristoph. *av.* 1501 f. τί γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ποιεῖ; | ἀπαιθριάζει τὰς νεφέλας ἢ ξυννέφει;

Latin poets likewise associate the clouds with the sky-god—Statius for instance speaks of 'cloudy Iupiter[1]'—and the notion passed into the common poetic stock.

(b) Zeus and the Clouds in Art.

This canonical conception of the sky-god sitting among his clouds can be illustrated from early imperial art. A fine fresco from Herculaneum, now in the Museo Nazionale at Naples (pl. iv, fig. 8)[2],

Fig. 8.

shows a fair-haired[3] Zeus reclining amid the clouds. He wears an oak-wreath on his head, a reddish[4] *himátion* round his left shoulder and both legs, and a sandal on his foot. His right hand grasps a double lotiform thunderbolt, his left a long sceptre. His face, backed by a whitish[5] *nimbus*, expresses serious thought, and a small winged

[1] Stat. *Theb.* 12. 650 f. qualis Hyperboreos ubi nubilus institit axes (axe cod. P) | Iuppiter et prima tremefecit sidera bruma, | etc.

[2] *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 289 no. 1259, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 32 f. no. 113, B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1834 x pl. 23 with text pp. 1—3, E. Braun *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 p. 10 pl. 15 (= my fig. 8), Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iv. 104 f. ('Jupiter im Wolkenrevier'), O. Benndorf 'Zeus und Eros' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1864 xix. 442—449 with pl., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 189 ff. (η) Atlas pl. 1, 43, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 9 no. 7, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 186 (=my pl. iv) Text p. 253.

[3] This detail I owe to Miss P. B. Mudie Cooke (Mrs E. M. W. Tillyard), who kindly inspected for me all the frescoes representing Zeus that are in the Naples collection.

[4] B. Quaranta *loc. cit.* 'un pallio di color bianco livido,' but W. Helbig *loc. cit.* 'Ein röthlicher Mantel.'

[5] H. W. Schulz in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1841 p. 104 'col nimbo bianco,' L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 13 (extr. from the *Mémoires de l' Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg.* vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361 ff.) 'weiss,' W. Helbig *loc. cit.* 'einen weisslichen Nimbus um das Haupt.'

Fresco from Herculaneum, now at Naples:
Zeus reclining amid the clouds.

See page 36 f. *with fig.* 8.

Eros appearing behind his right shoulder points downwards to some cause of interest, not improbably to Ganymedes or some other of the god's numerous flames[1]. Above the pair stretches the arc of a rainbow, beyond which, half-hidden by the clouds, is perched an eagle looking towards its master. So much is certain. But further, a comparison of this fresco with 'Apulian' vase-paintings[2] or with the relief by Archelaos of Priene[3] raises a suspicion that here, as there, Zeus is really couched on a mountain-top, say the cloudy summit of Olympos. Be that as it may, the painter has managed to combine a variety of Hellenistic *motifs*—the recumbent Zeus[4], the prompting Eros[5], the expectant eagle[6]—in a fairly consistent and effective whole.

Somewhat similar is the design that adorned the central medallion in the barrel-ceiling of Room 60, the famous *Volta Dorata*, of Nero's Golden House (fig. 9)[7]. Here against a circular field of blue is seen

[1] F. G. Welcker *loc. cit.* p. 104 held that Eros is directing attention to the sceptre of Zeus, O. Benndorf *loc. cit.* p. 444 that he is indicating the heart as the seat of the god's malady. E. Braun *loc. cit.* had come nearer to the truth, when he assumed that Eros is pointing downwards to some human fair.

[2] *Supra* i. 127 fig. 96, i. 128 f. pl. xii.

[3] *Supra* i. 131 fig. 98 pl. xiii.

[4] With the works of art recorded in the two preceding notes cp. a numismatic type *supra* i. 116 fig. 85. See further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 161, *supra* i. 125 ff.

[5] The history of the type is worth tracing. Its several stages are enumerated and exemplified *infra* Append. Q.

[6] *Supra* i. 34 Frontispiece and pl. i, 35 pl. ii, 42 pl. vi, 131 pl. xiii and fig. 98, 598 n. 1 fig. 461, 752 fig. 552, ii. 15 f. figs. 4—6, 285 n. o fig. 184 f., 400 n. 11 fig. 303, 575 fig. 481, 576 fig. 484, 705 fig. 635, 707 figs. 639, 640, 754 n. 2 fig. 694, 771 fig. 735, 798 fig. 761, 833 fig. 793, 895 n. 1 fig. 821, 956 n. o fig. 846, 1125 n. 1 fig. 951, 1143 fig. 964, 1161 fig. 969, 1230 fig. 1024, 1232 tailpiece. Sometimes the eagle hovers (ii. 708 fig. 643), or is perched on a *cornu copiae* (ii. 1225 fig. 1023) or grape-bunch (i. 596 fig. 457) or tree (ii. 282 n. 2 pl. xix) or on the reins of a car (ii. 285 n. o fig. 180) or in the pediment of a temple (ii. 285 n. o fig. 186) or on a globe (ii. 95 fig. 54, *a*, 578 n. 1 fig. 491 (?)) or holds a wreath (i. 42 fig. 12, 276 fig. 202 (?), ii. 232 n. o fig. 160 (?), 754 n. 2 fig. 695), or is duplicated to flank a throne (ii. 754 n. 1 fig. 693, cp. 1102 n. o fig. 939), or mounts guard over the *regalia* (ii. 811 fig. 778), or appears in relief on an altar (i. 713 fig. 528). The same bird attends upon Sarapis (i. 188 fig. 137) and Iupiter *Dolichenus* (i. 611 f. figs. 480, 481), and upon emperors who play the part of Zeus, *e.g.* Domitian (ii. 811 n. 5 fig. 777), Commodus (ii. 1185 fig. 987), Geta (ii. 1185 f. fig. 988), Caracalla (ii. 1186 fig. 989).

See further K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus* (Besonderer Abdruck aus dem vierzehnten Supplementbande der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie) Leipzig 1884 pp. 3—42.

[7] P. S. Bartoli—G. P. Bellori *Le pitture antiche del Sepolcro de Nasonii nella Via Flaminia* Roma 1680 p. 6 ('*In un foglio si rappresenta la testudine di una Camera divisata in ripartimenti di vari colori, nel cui mezzo in una sfera celeste sono dipinte le Nozze di Giove, il quale sopra una nubbe, abbraccia Giunone con Amore che scocca verso di lui uno strale. Evvi incontro Pallade, e Mercurio col vaso dell' ambrosia*'), G. Turnbull *A treatise on ancient painting* London 1740 p. 176 pl. 10 ('*Jupiter* on his Eagle caressing *Juno*, probably, because *Minerva* is there; yet he was wont to receive his Daughter

Zeus seated on a cloud with a crimson *himátion* wrapped about his legs. He turns to embrace the naked and rather effeminate form of Ganymedes[1], who wears turban-wise his Phrygian cap (?) and has

Fig. 9.

a wind-swept *chlamýs* fluttering from his shoulder. The great eagle, which has just arrived with the beauteous boy, is already nestling—

Venus very kindly, according to *Virgil'* (*Aen.* 1. 254 ff.)) from a drawing by Bartoli in the Massimi collection = my fig. 9, F. Weege in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxviii. 176 col. pl. 6 ('Auf einer Wolke sieht man Zeus, von dem Adler getragen, mit einer nackten Frau (oder Ganymed?), vor ihm links die bewaffnete Athena und Hermes mit einer Schale. Von oben schwebt ein Eros auf das Liebespaar zu'), Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 15 no. 2 ('Jupiter, Ganymède, Minerve, Mercure, Eros').

[1] Other identifications (see the preceding note) are much less probable. Iuno would not have been represented as a naked woman, and Venus could at most claim a parental kiss. Besides, the eagle spells Ganymedes.

TABULA VI.
Vetus Pictura, qua cubiculi Thermarum Titi Imperatoris lacunar exornabatur. Iuppiter nubi insidet, proximè adstante Aquila, dextraque fulmen minax in hominum exitium torquere videtur: circumstant triplici ordine Deorum, Dearumque imagines: quartumque ordinum implent Tritonum lusus
Petrus Sancte Bartoli delin.

A frescoed ceiling from a room in the Golden House: Zeus enthroned in heaven, surrounded by gods, goddesses, Tritons, etc.

See page 39.

its wings still spread—beneath the left foot of Zeus, to serve him as a living footstool. Eros hovers near at hand with welcoming arms. Hermes in winged *pétasos* and loosely draped *chlamýs* holds up, from a lower level of cloud, a *phiále*—possibly that from which Ganymedes had fed the eagle[1]. In the background to the left Athena, equipped with helmet, spear, and Gorgon-shield, turns her head to address another goddess imperfectly seen behind her. The painting no doubt has merits. The choice of subject suits its position of central importance. The blue circle overhead suggests the sky and helps the spectator to realise that this is no mountain-top but the heaven above it[2]. Hermes' gesture secures uplift[3]. Detachment from earth is complete. Yet the composition in general is not very well adapted to fill the circular space. The fusion of three types—Zeus enthroned, Zeus on the eagle[4], Ganymedes on the eagle—is decidedly awkward. Hermes' action after all is a little meaningless. And the two goddesses, perhaps intended for those of the Capitoline triad, are obviously *de trop*.

These weaknesses disappear in a third fresco, which again formed the ceiling-decoration in a room of the Golden House (pl. v)[5]. The circular design, according to a sketch of it made by that consistently careful draughtsman P. S. Bartoli, depicts Zeus seated on a cloudy throne with a *himátion* wrapped about his legs, a thunderbolt brandished in his right hand, and an eagle perched at his side. The medallion was surrounded by a triple row of gods and goddesses with, beyond them, a series of sportive Tritons.

An engraved onyx in my collection (fig. 10)[6] represents the whole company of heaven as conceived in Roman imperial times.

[1] *Infra* Append. P. [2] *Supra* i. 115.

[3] Cp. the attitude of Ganymedes himself, not to mention the eagle and the dog, in the Vatican group after Leochares (*supra* ii. 281 n. 4).

[4] *Supra* ii. 102 f. n. 0 figs. 59—64, ii. 462 n. 0.

[5] J. P. Bellorius et M. A. Causseus *Picturae antiquae cryptarum Romanarum, et sepulcri Nasonum* Romae 1750 p. 89 Append. pl. 6 ('Juppiter nubi insidet, proximè adstante Aquila, dextraque fulmen minax in hominum exitium torquere videtur: circumstant triplici ordine Deorum, Dearumque imagines: quartumque ordinem implent Tritonum lusus') = my pl. v, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 9 no. 5.

[6] The stone, which is circular and plano-convex (here figured to a scale of $\frac{2}{1}$), possibly served as a pendant or ear-ring. On such purely ornamental *phalerae* see E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 427. This one is from the Wyndham Cook and Sir Francis Cook collections. It does not appear in the privately printed Catalogue of the Wyndham Cook Collection, but was in the Sale of Humphry W. Cook (July 1925), who inherited from Sir Francis Cook. There is an impression of the same intaglio in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, no. 472 in the Impressions of Engraved Gems (Ancient and Modern) got together by John Wilson (1790—1876). It is described in the MS. *Catalogue* as 'Jupiter between Juno & Minerva to witness a Chariot Race'!

The convex circular field is admirably suggestive of a cosmic scene. Above a thick stratum of cloud sit the Capitoline three. Iupiter in the centre, with a *himátion* draped round his knees and over his left shoulder, has a small twisted thunderbolt in his right hand[1] and a long sceptre in his left. At his right side Minerva, in *chitón*,

Fig. 11.

Fig. 12.

Fig. 10.

Fig. 13.

Fig. 14.

himátion, and helmet, holds a short sceptre in one hand and raises the other as if she grasped a spear[2]. At his left side is Iuno, in

[1] The thunderbolt, though present in the position indicated *supra* ii. 754 ff., is minimised and liable to confusion with the lines of the arm and hand.

[2] Cp. *e.g.* a terra-cotta lamp of *s.* iii. A.D., which figures the Capitoline deities all seated and puts a spear in the raised right hand of Minerva (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* p. 167 no. 1110 fig. 234). The *motif* is normal in the standing type of the Capitoline Minerva (*e.g. supra* i. 44 fig. 13, 45 fig. 14). The omission of the spear on the onyx may imply that the pose was modified into a gesture of entreaty or the like (C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 51, 188 ff.).

chitón, himátion, and veil. She too holds a short sceptre in one hand and with the other extends a *patera* towards Iupiter. The triad is flanked by a pair of nude beardless wind-gods blowing conch-shells[1] as they emerge from the cloudy band. Beneath the clouds Sol in a *quadriga* pursues Luna in a *biga*: he is distinguished by his *chlamýs* and radiate crown, she by her arched drapery and crescent. Lowest of all reclines Oceanus portrayed as an elderly river-god with water flowing from his urn[2]. The Capitoline group as here represented resembles so closely—even to the modified gesture of Minerva's hand—the same group as it appears on bronze medallions of Antoninus Pius (fig. 11)[3] and of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (fig. 12)[4] that we may fairly attribute the intaglio to a period not much later than the middle of the second century A.D. Similar in age and *motif* are two, if not three, gems in our national collection[5]. Ultimately the deities, seated or standing, are accompanied by their favourite birds—graphic labelling of the usual sort (figs. 13, 14).[6] It is interesting to observe that the whole subject was used with happy effect in the decoration of a terra-cotta lamp, now at Berlin (fig. 15)[7], which—to judge from its heart-shaped nozzle—can be referred to the third century A.D.[8]

[1] F. Piper *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1851 i. 2. 437, H. Steinmetz in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 37 ff.

[2] P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 817 f. fig. 1, O. Navarre in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 144.

[3] Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 49 fig. (Paris) = Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 380 f. no. 1134 fig. (= my fig. 11) (Paris) (Minerva 'porte la main droite à sa tête') = E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 758 fig., Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 16 no. 66 pl. 50, 5 a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius (140—143 A.D.) with *obv.* legend ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P COS III (Milan).

[4] Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 130 no. 5 ('*Autrefois M. Carpentier*') (Minerva 'porte la main droite à sa tête') = Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 43 no. 6 pl. 71, 6 (= my fig. 12) a medallion, in two bronzes, of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161—165 A.D.) with *obv.* legend IMP ANTONINVS AVG COS II[I] IMP VERVS COS II (Berlin).

[5] (1) a sapphirine chalcedony (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 143 no. 1257 pl. 18, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 44, 48, ii. 215, H. B. Walters *Art of the Romans* London 1911 pl. 48, 21). (2) a sard (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 143 no. 1258 pl. 18). (3) a fragmentary sard, *minus* the upper part of Minerva (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 143 no. 1259).

[6] Nos. 7228 and 8889 in the Wilson Collection of Gem-impressions (*supra* p. 39 n. 6). Scale $\frac{2}{1}$.

[7] In the Berlin Museum terra cotta no. 871 figured by L. Beger *Thesauri Regii et Electoralis Brandenburgici* vol. iii (Coloniæ Marchicæ s.a.) p. 439 f. fig. H, P. S. Bartoli—G. P. Bellori *Le antiche lucerne sepolcrali figurate* Roma 1704 Pt. ii. p. 4 f. pl. 9 (= my fig. 15), H. Moses *A Collection of Vases*... London 1814 pl. 81 (after Bartoli), cp. O. Jahn *Archäologische Beiträge* Berlin 1847 p. 83, F. Piper *op. cit.* i. 2. 435.

[8] J. Fink in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1900 p. 685 ff. 'Formen und Stempel römischer Thonlampen' (Class iv), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* pp. xxv, 167 ff.

In Greece and Italy the belief that the gods were enthroned above the cloud-belt goes back, through a long line of literary tradition, to Homer and the Homeric Olympos[1]. Further east even earthly

Fig. 15.

monarchs laid claim to a like exaltation. Thus Kushāṇa kings of the Kābul valley, during the first two centuries of our era, issued numerous gold coins on which their supramundane position was duly indicated. V'ima Kadphises, son of Kujūla Kadphises and conqueror

[1] *Supra* i. 101 f. pl. ix, 1 and 2.

of northern India, whose reign ended in 78 A.D.[1], appears either half-emergent from a pile of clouds (fig. 16)[2] or sitting cross-legged upon them as on comfortable cushions (fig. 17)[3]. Kanishka, his successor from 78 A.D. onwards[4], raises his head proudly above a thick mass of clouds (fig. 18)[5]. Huvishka, who probably followed Kanishka on the throne *c.* 111—129 A.D.[6], repeats the types of V'ima Kadphises and either emerges half his height above the clouds (figs. 19, 20)[7] or sits cross-legged on the top of them (fig. 21)[8].

Finally, in mediaeval times, the cloud-stratum was stylised into the nebuly of ecclesiastical[9] and heraldic[10] art.

Fig. 16.

Fig. 17.

Fig. 18.

Fig. 19.

Fig. 20.

Fig. 21.

[1] E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 581 ff., cp. L. D. Barnett *Antiquities of India* London 1913 p. 43. V. A. Smith *The Early History of India*[4] rev. by S. M. Edwardes Oxford 1924 p. 271 makes Kadphises ii reign *c.* 78—*c.* 110 A.D.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 124 f. pl. 25, 8 and 9 (=my fig. 16), L. D. Barnett *op. cit.* p. 213 f. pl. 5, 1.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 124 pl. 25, 7 (=my fig. 17), C. J. Brown *The Coins of India* Calcutta 1922 p. 35 pl. 4, 3 ('the king seated cross-legged on a couch').

[4] E. J. Rapson *loc. cit.* V. A. Smith *op. cit.*[4] pp. 274, 286 makes Kanishka succeed Kadphises ii and reign *c.* 120—*c.* 160 A.D. L. D. Barnett *op. cit.* p. 42 had placed Kanishka's reign 58—*c.* 34 B.C.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 132 pl. 26, 16 (=my fig. 18) and 17.

[6] *Supra* ii. 791 n. 2. V. A. Smith *op. cit.*[4] p. 286 ff. dates Huvishka's reign *c.* 160—*c.* 182 A.D. L. D. Barnett *op. cit.* p. 42 had placed it *c.* 25 B.C.—*c.* 2 A.D.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 136 ff. pl. 27, 9 (=my fig. 19), 11, 16, pl. 28, 9, V. A. Smith *op. cit.*[4] p. 76 coin-pl. figs. 4, 5. Fig. 20 is from a specimen in my collection.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 145 pl. 28, 10 (=my fig. 21).

[9] *Supra* ii. 137 n. 0 pl. viii.

[10] O. Barron in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[11] Cambridge 1910 xiii. 317, A. C. Fox-Davies *A complete Guide to Heraldry* London 1925 pp. 79 f., 91 f. fig. 47, G, H, 94.

(c) Nephelokokkygia[1].

It remains to consider in greater detail the most famous conception of Cloud-land bequeathed to us by classical antiquity, the Nephelokokkygia of Aristophanes' *Birds*. That remarkable drama raises many problems, some of which we must attempt to solve. Why did the poet choose Birds for his theme? Why lay such stress on the Hoopoe, the Woodpecker, the Cuckoo? Who is Pisthetairos? Who is Basileia? And what light does the whole *fantasia* throw on the relation between Zeus and the Clouds? I begin by passing in review the relevant incidents of the play.

Two typical Athenians, Pisthetairos and Euelpides, tired of Athens and its perpetual lawsuits, set out, under the guidance of a crow and a jackdaw, to seek the hoopoe Tereus. They would learn from him, since he too had been a man and suffered like troubles, where they may find peaceful quarters—

Fleecy as a rug and soft to lie upon[2].

They want something more comfortable than their own Rock Town, but scout his suggestions of the Red Sea in the east, Lepreos down south, Opous up north. Euelpides thinks there is much to be said for staying where they are, with the Birds. And Pisthetairos is struck by a grand idea. If Tereus and the Birds would but hearken to him, they might take possession of the Clouds—why not?—and transform the very *pólos* into a *pólis*. This would enable them to starve out the gods, who could receive no savoury sacrificial smoke without first paying tribute to them! Hereupon Tereus and his mate, Prokne the nightingale, summon an assembly of the Birds, a suspicious and hostile crowd[3].

To allay their fears, Pisthetairos in a persuasive speech develops his scheme[4]. He tells them that the Birds were formerly lords of creation, being of older lineage than Kronos, the Titans, or Earth herself—witness Aesop's fable of the Lark which, before earth existed, had to bury her father in her own head[5]. Clearly then the Birds are

[1] The first draft of this section appeared as '*Nephelokokkygía*' in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 213—221 with pl. It is here republished with considerable alterations and additions.

[2] Aristoph. *av.* 121 f.

[3] *Id. ib.* 1—450.

[4] *Id. ib.* 451—538.

[5] This fable, which is of a type still common in the Balkans (cp. M. Gaster *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* London 1915 p. 236 f. no. 78 'Why has the lark a tuft?', p. 238 f. no. 79 'Why is the tuft of the lark dishevelled?'), is not found in any ancient collection of Aisopika. F. de Furia (Lipsiae 1810) *fab.* 415 and C. Halm (Lipsiae 1860) *fab.* 211

more ancient than the gods, and Zeus ought to relinquish his sceptre to the Woodpecker[1]. Again, the Birds are the rightful rulers of mankind. The Cock with his upright tiara was once king of Persia, and still summons men to their labours[2]. The Kite lorded it over

merely paraphrase or transcribe Aristophanes. Galen *de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus* 11. 37 (xii. 360 f. Kühn) likewise cites Aristophanes and rightly cp. the ἐπιτυμβίδιαι κορυδαλλίδες of Theokr. 7. 23 (see O. Crusius on Babr. 72. 20 κορυδαλλὸς οὐν τάφοις παίζων). Ail. *de nat. an.* 16. 5 (copied by the paroemiographers Apostol. 7. 74, Arsen. *viol.* p. 239 Walz *s.v.* ἔποπος Ἰνδοῦ στοργή) thinks that the Greeks got their story of the Lark from one told by the Brachmanes about the Hoopoe, a bird which the Indians deem the right pet for royalty. The story is as follows. A certain Indian king had a son, whose [two?] elder brothers grew up lawless and violent. They scorned their brother as too young and scoffed at their father and mother as too old. So the parents took their youngest boy and fled. Their journey was too much for them and they died. But the boy, far from despising them, split his own head with a sword and buried them in it. The Sun, who sees all, amazed at this remarkable instance of filial piety, turned the boy into a beautiful and long-lived bird. On his head is a crest, which keeps his exploit in memory....An Ogygian length of time has elapsed since the Indian Hoopoe was a boy and treated his parents thus. A. Hausrath in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1727, 1730 f. makes it probable that the simple Greek tale is not actually derived from the more rhetorical Indian tale. Nevertheless the two are so similar that they cannot be regarded as wholly unrelated. There is of course a superficial resemblance between the crested lark (*e.g.* R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1894—95 iii. 420 f. with fig. on p. 418) and the hoopoe (*id. ib.* 1895 iv. 57 ff. with col. pl.), and it is reasonable to suppose that Greeks and Indians, distant cousins by race, elaborated analogous stories to account for parallel features. But D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 97 is in danger of going too far when he says: 'The κορυδός and ἔποψ (both crested birds) are frequently confused: the very word *Alauda* is possibly an Eastern word for the Hoopoe, Arab. *al hudhud*.' This etymology, first found in, or rather implied by, the Pandectarius Arabicus Matthaei Sylvatici (an Arab commentator on the *Pandectae* of Matthaeus Sylvaticus, physician of Salerno, published at Naples in 1474) quoted by S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 115, is nowadays commonly rejected in favour of a Celtic origin (Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 121 Gallico vocabulo, Suet. *Iul.* 24 vocabulo...Gallico, Marcell. *de medicamentis* 28. 50 p. 299, 1 Helmreich Gallice): see L. Diefenbach *Origines Europaeae* Frankfurt am Main 1861 pp. 219—222, C. W. Glück in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1866 xii. 166 f., A. Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* Leipzig 1896 i. 75 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 23.

[1] *Supra* ii. 697 n. 0. May we infer that the woodpecker, like the wren (first in Aristoph. *av.* 569 βασιλεύς ἐστ' ὀρχίλος ὄρνις, cp. its later names βασιλίσκος (Aisop. *ap.* Plout. *praec. gerend. reipubl.* 12, *alib.*), τύραννος (Aristot. *hist. an.* 8. 3. 592 b 23), *regaliolus* (Suet. *Iul.* 81 regaliolum with *v.l.* regaviolum, on which see De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'regaliolus'), *regulus* (*carm. de philomel.* 43 in *Poet. Lat. min.* v. 366 Baehrens), 'kinglet' (C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 25)) and sundry other birds (Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 203 dissident...aquila et trochilus, si credimus, quoniam rex appellatur avium, cp. 8. 90 parva avis, quae trochilos ibi vocatur, rex avium in Italia, with the remarks of D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 171 f.), was popularly held to be a king? Keleos the Green Woodpecker (*supra* i. 226) was one of the 'kings' at Eleusis (*supra* i. 211).

[2] F. Baethgen *De vi ac significatione galli in religionibus et artibus Graecorum et Romanorum* Gottingae 1887 pp. 6, 8, 11 (somewhat slight). The best account of the cock in Persian religion is still that of K. Schwenck *Die Mythologie der Perser* Frankfurt am Main 1850 pp. 304—307. See also F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2521 ff.

Hellas: Hellenes grovel yet at the sight of him[1]. The Cuckoo was sovereign of Egypt and Phoinike, and his cry sent the circumcised to reap their plains: young stalwarts still follow their example[2]. Tragedy-kings bear a bird-tipped sceptre[3]. Zeus himself has an eagle on his head, Athena an owl, Apollon a hawk[4]. No wonder men swear 'by the Goose[5].'

[1] The kite was in general a bird of ill omen (L. Hopf *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit* Stuttgart 1888 p. 94 f. ('Weihen')), whose advent shortly before the vernal equinox (Gemin. *calendarium*: *Pisces* p. 228, 1 f. Manitius *ἐν δὲ τῇ ιζ* (March 9) *Εὐδόξῳ χειμαίνει· καὶ ἱκτῖνος φαίνεται*, 6 f. *ἐν δὲ τῇ κβ* (March 14) *Εὐκτήμονι ἱκτῖνος φαίνεται· ὀρνιθίαι πνέουσι μέχρις ἰσημερίας*, 10 f. *ἐν δὲ τῇ λ* (March 22) *Καλλίππῳ τῶν Ἰχθύων ὁ νότιος ἐπιτέλλων λήγει· ἱκτῖνος φαίνεται· βορέας πνεῖ* with the observations of D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 68 f. Cp. Aristoph. *av.* 713 f.) might well be greeted by the superstitious with grovelling prostration (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 501 *προκυλινδεῖσθαι· ἔαρος ἀρχομένου* (*ἐρχομένου* cod. R.) *ἵκτινος φαίνεται εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἐφ' ᾧ ἡδόμενοι κυλίνδονται* (*ὡς ἐπὶ γόνυ. παίξας οὖν ὡς βασιλεῖ φησι τὸ κυλινδεῖσθαι*). *ἴδιον γὰρ βασιλέως τὸ γονυπετεῖσθαι ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. ἄλλως.* (*τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δηλονότι. τὸ διὰ μεταβολὴν δὲ καιροῦ γινόμενον εἰς βασιλικὴν ἐπέτρεψε τιμήν.*) *οἱ γὰρ ἵκτινοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἔαρ ἐσήμαινον. οἱ πένητες οὖν ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐκυλινδοῦντο καὶ προσεκύνουν αὐτούς.* Souid. *s.v. ἵκτινος* merely copied this scholion, prefixing the words *καὶ παροιμία· προκυλινδεῖσθαι ἱκτίνοις*. No such saying, however, appears in the paroemiographers). There is no doubt that Aristophanes has here preserved for us a genuine scrap of ancient folk-custom. W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 483 adduces an interesting parallel: 'Beim ersten Kukuksruf wälzt sich der Meininger, hessische, westfälische Bauer ein paarmal auf der Erde, um das Jahr hindurch frei von Rückenschmerzen zu bleiben[5]. ([5] Zs. f. D. A. III, 362, 13. XII, 400. Zs. f. D. Myth. IV, 447. Kuhn, Westfäl. Sag. II, 74, 221.) Gradeso warf sich im alten Griechenland rücklings (*ὕπτιος*) nieder und wälzte sich auf dem Boden, wer zum erstenmale im Frühling eines Weihen (*ἵκτινος*) ansichtig ward[6]. ([6] Aristophan. av. 498 ff. c. schol.)' See further Seemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1933 v. 713, 721 n. 170.

[2] We have no reason to think that Egyptians and Phoenicians were specially devoted to the Cuckoo. But it is likely enough that they regarded his cry in the spring-time as a signal for returning to work in the fields (cp. J. Hardy 'Popular History of the Cuckoo' in *The Folk-Lore Record* 1879 ii. 56 ff.). Aristophanes uses words with a double meaning: *κόκκυ* suggests at once 'cuckoo' and 'cuckold' (W. Mannhardt 'Der Kukuk' in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* 1855 iii. 246 ff. 'Vor allem stand der kukuk den functionen der zeugung vor.' Etc.); *ψωλοί* means both *circumcisi* and *verpi*; *πεδίον* is not only 'plain' but also *pudendum* (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 507 *ἄλλως. τὸ αἰδοῖον*, cp. *λειμών*, *κῆπος*, *hortus*, and the like).

[3] *E.g. supra* i. 251 pl. xxii (Kreon).

[4] The type is so unusual that the scholiast *ad loc.* is reduced to saying *δέον εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ σκήπτρου εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς*! His alternative explanation *ἐπειδὴ εἰώθεσαν τὰ ἀφιερωμένα ἑκάστῳ θεῷ ὄρνεα ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἰδρύεσθαι* is simply untrue. Hieratic effigies of the sort are all pre-Hellenic, *e.g.* the faience goddesses surmounted by snake and lioness (? leopard) from the temple-repository of 'Middle Minoan iii' date at Knossos (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 74 ff. figs. 54—57, *id. The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 500 ff. with col. Frontispiece and figs. 359—362, H. T. Bossert *Altkreta*[2] Berlin 1923 pp. 22, 72 ff. figs. 103—106) or the terra-cotta goddess with a dove on her head from the small shrine of 'Late Minoan iii' date on the same site (*supra* ii. 536 fig. 406 *c*). We need not suppose that such archaic forms had survived into classical Greece. If a bird on the head was modified into a bird on the helmet, that would lend point enough to Aristophanes' lines. And of this usage we have some few traces. There was a chrysele-

phantine statue of Athena with a cock on her helmet, said to be the work of Pheidias, on the *akrópolis* of Elis (Paus. 6. 26. 3, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 54 where the same (?) statue is attributed to Kolotes the pupil of Pheidias: see further H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. *loc. cit.*). A bronze formerly in the cabinet of St Germain des Prez represents Athena wearing a helmet the crest of which is supported by a cock (Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 82 f. pl. 39, 19 ('*Hermathena*'!) = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 276 no. 10). Another bronze at Agram makes her crest-support an owl (J. Brunšmid 'Monuments du Musée d'Agram' in the *Viestnik* 1914 [*Vjesnik* N. S. xiii 1913/1914] p. 212 cited by Reinach *Rép. Stat.* v. 120 no. 9). A third, in the Bammeville collection, repeats the *motif* (W. Fröhner *Collection de feu M. Joly de Bammeville* Paris 1893 pl. 19 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 278 no. 9).

[5] E. von Lasaulx *Der Eid bei den Griechen* Würzburg 1844 p. 27 f. and R. Hirzel *Der Eid* Leipzig 1902 pp. 96 n. 2, 100 n. 3 collect most of the passages that bear on this curious practice. From them we learn (*a*) that Rhadamanthys would not suffer his subjects to take an oath by the gods, but bade them swear by goose, dog, ram, etc., and (*b*) that Sokrates conformed to the same usage, swearing by dog, plane-tree, etc. Cp. Plat. *apol.* 21 E, *Gorg.* 466 C, *Phaedr.* 228 B, *rep.* 399 E, *Phaed.* 98 E *νὴ τὸν κύνα*, *Gorg.* 461 A *μὰ τὸν κύνα*, *Gorg.* 482 B *μὰ τὸν κύνα τὸν Αἰγυπτίων θεόν*, *Phaedr.* 236 D—E *ὄμνυμι... τὴν πλάτανον ταυτηνί.*

Sosikrates (on whom see Laqueur in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 1160—1165) Κρητικά *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 501 Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *av.* 521 *Λάμπων δ' ὄμνυσι: (τῶν εἰκῆ δαιμόνων. ὅτι* (F. Dübner cj. *οὐ*) *πρῶτοι οἱ Σωκρατικοὶ ἐπετήδευσαν οὕτως ὀμνύναι. Σωσικράτης* (so J. Meursius and L. Küster for *Σωκράτης*) *γὰρ ἐν τῷ β'* (so W. Dindorf for *ιβ'*) *τῶν Κρητικῶν οὕτως φησὶ "'Ραδάμανθυς δὲ δοκεῖ διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασίλειαν δικαιότατος γεγενῆσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. λέγεται δὲ αὐτὸν πρῶτον οὐδένα ἐᾶν ὅρκους ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλ' ὀμνύναι κελεῦσαι χῆνα καὶ κύνα καὶ κριὸν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια"*) (goose, dog, ram). This is abridged by Souid. *s.v. Λάμπων ὄμνυσι τὸν χῆν', ὅταν ἐξαπατᾷ τινα* (goose, dog, ram) and *s.v. χῆνα ὀμνύναι* (goose, ram).

Schol. Plat. *apol.* 21 E *νὴ τὸν κύνα· 'Ραδαμάνθυος ὅρκος οὗτος ὁ κατὰ κυνὸς ἢ χηνὸς ἢ κριοῦ ἤ τινος ἄλλου τοιούτου· "οἷς ἦν μέγιστος ὅρκος ἅπαντι λόγῳ κύων, | ἔπειτα χήν· θεοὺς δ' ἐσίγων,"* Κρατῖνος Χείρωσι (*frag.* 11 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 155 f. Meineke, who with T. Gaisford would divide the lines *λόγῳ | κύων*, not *κύων, | ἔπειτα*)). *κατὰ τούτων δὲ νόμος ὀμνύναι, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ θεῶν οἱ ὅρκοι γίγνωνται. τοιοῦτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Σωκράτους ὅρκοι* (dog, goose, ram). This is copied by the schol. *V.G.* Loukian. *vit. auct.* 16 (dog, goose, plane, ram), Phot. *lex. s.v. 'Ραδαμάνθυος ὅρκος* (goose, dog, plane, ram), Souid. *s.v. 'Ραδαμάνθυος ὅρκος* (goose, dog, plane, ram), Apostol. 15. 17 (goose, dog, plane, ram), Arsen. p. 423 f. Walz (goose, dog, plane, ram), and in part by Zenob. 5. 81 (goose, dog), Hesych. *s.v. 'Ραδαμάνθυος ὅρκος* (goose, dog) and *s.v. χῆνα ὀμνύειν* (goose), Makar. 7. 49 (ram, swan, vegetables), cp. *Append. prov.* 2. 91 *Εὐριπίδειος ὅρκος· ἴσως ὁ κατὰ κυνὸς ἢ χηνός* (where E. L. von Leutsch notes: 'Euripides Socraticus hoc imitatus est') (dog, goose).

Further allusions in Loukian. *vit. auct.* 16 *ΣΩ. καὶ μὴν ὀμνύω γέ σοι τὸν κύνα καὶ τὴν πλάτανον οὕτω ταυτ' ἔχειν. ΩΝΗΤΗΣ. 'Ηράκλεις τῆς ἀτοπίας τῶν θεῶν. ΣΩ. τί σὺ λέγεις; οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ὁ κύων εἶναι θεός; οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὸν "Ανουβιν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὅσος; καὶ τὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ Σείριον καὶ τὸν παρὰ τοῖς κάτω Κέρβερον;* (dog, plane), *Icarom.* 9 *οἱ δὲ κατὰ κυνῶν καὶ χηνῶν καὶ πλατάνων ἐπώμνυντο* (dog, goose, plane), Theophil. *ad Autol.* 3. 2 p. 152 Humphry *τί ὠφέλησεν...Σωκράτην τὸ ὀμνύειν τὸν κύνα καὶ τὸν χῆνα καὶ τὴν πλάτανον καὶ τὸν κεραννωθέντα 'Ασκληπιὸν καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ἃ ἐπεκαλεῖτο;* (dog, goose, plane), Tert. *apol.* 14 taceo de philosophis, Socrate contentus, qui in contumeliam deorum quercum et hircum et canem deierabat (oak, goat, dog) = *ad nat.* 1. 10 taceo de philosophis, quos... nonnullus etiam afflatus veritatis adversus deos erigit: denique et Socrates in contumeliam eorum quercum et canem et hircum iurat (oak, dog, goat), Athen. 370 A—C (Nik. *frag.* 11 a description of the *κράμβη*) *"ἣν μάντιν λαχάνοισι παλαιόγονοι ἐνέπουσιν." μήποτε δὲ ὁ Νίκανδρος μάντιν κέκληκε τὴν κράμβην, ἱερὰν οὖσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρ' Ἱππώνακτι ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις (frag.* 37 Bergk[4], 40 Diehl) *·ἐστί τι λεγόμενον τοιοῦτον "ὁ δ' ἐξολισθὼν ἱκέτευε τὴν*

κράμβην | τὴν ἐπτάφυλλον, ᾗ θύεσκε Πανδώρη | Θαργηλίοισιν (T. Bergk prints ἣν θύεσκε Πανδώρῃ from his own cj. and Ταργηλίοισιν from that of F. W. Schneidewin) ἔγχυτον πρὸ φαρμακοῦ (so Schneidewin for φαρμάκου)." καὶ Ἀνάνιος δέ φησι (*frag.* 4 Bergk⁴, 3 Diehl) "καὶ σὲ πολλὸν ἀνθρώπων | ἐγὼ φιλέω μάλιστα, ναὶ μὰ τὴν κράμβην." καὶ Τηλεκλείδης Πρυτάνεσι (*frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 368 Meineke)) "ναὶ μὰ τὰς κράμβας" ἔφη. καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Γᾷ καὶ Θαλάσσᾳ (*frag.* 25 Kaibel) "ναὶ μὰ τὰν κράμβαν." Εὔπολις Βάπταις (*frag.* 13 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 451 Meineke) *ap.* Priscian. *de metr. Ter.* 23 (ii. 427, 25 f. Hertz)) "ναὶ μὰ τὴν κράμβην." ἐδόκει δὲ Ἰωνικὸς εἶναι ὁ ὅρκος. καὶ οὐ παράδοξον εἰ κατὰ τῆς κράμβης τινὲς ὤμνυον, ὁπότε καὶ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεὺς ὁ τῆς Στοᾶς κτίστωρ (*apophthegm.* 48 Pearson, *de vita testim.* 32 a von Arnim) μιμούμενος τὸν κατὰ τῆς κυνὸς ὅρκον Σωκράτους καὶ αὐτὸς ὤμνυε τὴν κάππαριν, ὡς Ἐμπεδός (so Kaibel and J. von Arnim, after C. Müller, for Ἔμποδος cod.) φησιν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 403 f. Müller) (cabbage; dog; caper), Diog. Laert. 7. 32 ὤμνυε δέ (*sc.* Zenon), φασί, καὶ κάππαριν, καθάπερ Σωκράτης τὸν κύνα (dog; caper), Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 6. 19 p. 232 Kayser πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θεσπεσίων, "ἐγένετό τις," ἔφη, "Σωκράτης Ἀθηναῖος ἀνόητος, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, γέρων, ὃς τὸν κύνα καὶ τὸν χῆνα καὶ τὴν πλάτανον θεούς τε ἡγεῖτο καὶ ὤμνυ." "οὐκ ἀνόητος," εἶπεν (*sc.* Apollonios), "ἀλλὰ θεῖος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφός, ὤμνυ γὰρ ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς θεούς, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ θεοὺς ὀμνύοι" (dog, goose, plane), Porph. *de abst.* 3. 16 Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ ὤμνυεν κατ' αὐτῶν (*sc.* τῶν ζῴων), καὶ ἔτι πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ῥαδάμανθυς... Κρησὶ δὲ νόμος ἦν Ῥαδαμάνθυος, ὅρκον ἐπάγεσθαι πάντα τὰ ζῷα. οὐδὲ Σωκράτης τὸν κύνα καὶ τὸν χῆνα ὀμνὺς ἔπαιζεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Δίκης παῖδα (*sc.* Rhadamanthys) ἐποιεῖτο τὸν ὅρκον, οὐδὲ παίζων ὁμοδούλους αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν τοὺς κύκνους (dog, goose, swan?), Lact. *div. inst.* 3. 20 p. 247, 10 f. Brandt verum idem (*sc.* Socrates) per canem et anserem deierabat (dog, goose), Lact. *inst. epit.* 32 p. 708, 7 f. Brandt quam (*sc.* religionem) quidem Socrates non modo repudiavit, verum etiam derisit per anserem canemque iurando (goose, dog), Aug. *de vera religione* 2 (i. 1207 B ed.² Bened.) Socrates tamen audacior cæteris fuisse perhibetur iurando per canem quemlibet, et lapidem quemlibet, et quidquid iuraturo esset in promptu, et quasi ad manum occurrisset (dog, stone), Prokop. of Gaza *epist.* 63 p. 554 f. Hercher νυνὶ δὲ ὄμνυμι οὐ τὴν πλάτανον τὴν Σωκράτους ἀλλὰ τοὺς λόγους αὐτούς, μήπω γε τετυχηκέναι τοῦ κτήματος (plane), Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1871, 4 ff. Ῥαδάμανθυς δέ, φασιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ θεὸν ὀνομάζειν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκέλευσέ, φασι, κατὰ χηνὸς καὶ κυνὸς καὶ κριοῦ ὀμνύναι. ὤμνυε δέ, φασι, χῆνα καὶ Σωκράτης· ἄλλος δέ τις κράμβην· ὃν ζηλώσας ὕστερον ὁ χυδαΐζων ὄχλος διόμνυται κατὰ λαχάνων (cp. the late glosses in Souid. *s.v.* λαχάνοις· ὅτι πολλὴν εὐορκίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι πρὸς λάχανα ὀμνύουσι, μὰ τὰ λάχανα καὶ μὰ τὰ καλὰ λέγοντες and *s.v.* μὰ τὰ λάχανα· σημεῖον τοῦτο περὶ ὅρκου· ὃ καὶ νῦν ἐπιχωριάζει. πολλοὶ γὰρ πρὸς λάχανα ὀμνύουσιν, εὐορκίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι. ἐπιχωριάζει δ' εἰσέτι καὶ τοῖς ἑλλογίμοις Ἀρμενιακοῖς τὸ μὰ τὰ καλά). ὅτι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ὤμνυον ἐπὶ οἴνῳ Ξέναρχος παίζων δηλοῖ ἐν τῷ "ὅρκον δ' ἐγὼ γυναικὸς εἰς οἶνον γράψω" (*leg.* γράφω: Xenarch. πένταθλος *frag.* 3 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 620 f. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 441 E, cp. Hellad. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 530 a 15 ff. Bekker, Phrynich. *praep. soph.* p. 95, 16 ff. I. de Borries) (goose, dog, ram; goose; cabbage; vegetables; wine?). G. Ménage in his note on Diog. Laert. 2. 40 ends a similar string of extracts with a *bon mot*: 'Cum autem frequenter ei (*sc.* Socrati) uxor adversaretur, dissidiumque sit feles inter et canes, Italus quidam, cuius excidit mihi nomen, Xanthippen per felem iurare scripsit'!

But we have yet to determine the origin and significance of the oath by goose, dog, ram, etc. No one nowadays is likely to share the view of Tertullian and Lactantius (*locc. citt.*) that Sokrates was deliberately making a mock of the gods by his appeal to some trumpery substitute. Nor, on the other hand, shall we rest satisfied with the contention of L. Preller (Preller—Plew *Gr. Myth.* ii. 130 n. 4) that the said substitutes were originally sacred trees and animals. The Platonic Sokrates, to be sure, says μὰ τὸν κύνα τὸν Αἰγυπτίων θεόν (Plat. *Gorg.* 482 B). But then the Platonic Phaidros can retort ὦ Σώκρατες, ῥᾳδίως σὺ Αἰγυπτίους καὶ ὁποδαποὺς ἂν ἐθέλῃς λόγους ποιεῖς (Plat. *Phaedr.* 275 B). The Lucianic Sokrates, who identifies the 'dog' with Anoubis or Seirios or Kerberos (Loukian. *vit. auct.* 16), would presumably have interpreted the 'ram' as Ammon. A *mántis* like Lampon might swear by the 'goose' as a mantic bird (schol. Aristoph. *av.*

521 ὁ δὲ Λάμπων θύτης ἦν καὶ χρησμολόγος καὶ μάντις· ...ὤμνυε δὲ κατὰ τοῦ κηνὸς ὡς μαντικοῦ ὀρνέου). And a little mythological ingenuity could doubtless discover some spark of sanctity in the 'plane-tree,' the 'cabbage,' the 'poppy' (Souid. *s.v.* μὰ μήκωνος κλόην· "ναὶ ναὶ μὰ μήκωνος κλόην" and *s.v.* ναὶ ναὶ μὰ μήκωνος κλόην· ὅρκος ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ), and what not? All the same, there was sound sense in the *dictum* of Apollonios that Sokrates swore by these things οὐχ ὡς θεούς, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ θεοὺς ὀμνύοι (Philostr. *loc. cit.*). Finally, we shall not subscribe to the well-meant but unconvincing claim of St Augustine, that Sokrates' attribution of divinity to natural objects was an expedient intended to deter men from the worship of artificial objects and to direct their thoughts toward the one true God (Aug. *de vera religione* 2 (i. 1207 C ff. ed.[2] Bened.) credo, intelligebat qualiacumque opera naturae, quae administrante divina providentia gignerentur, multo quam hominum et quorumlibet opificum esse meliora, et ideo divinis honoribus digniora, quam ea quae in templis colebantur. non quod vere lapis et canis essent colenda sapientibus, sed ut hoc modo intelligerent qui possent, tanta superstitione demersos esse homines, ut emergentibus hic esset tam turpis demonstrandus gradus, ad quem venire si puderet, viderent quanto magis pudendum esset in turpiore consistere. simul et illos qui mundum istum visibilem, summum deum esse opinabantur, admonebat turpitudinis suae, docens esse consequens ut quilibet lapis tanquam summi dei particula iure coleretur. quod si exsecrarentur, mutarent sententiam, et unum deum quaererent, quem solum supra mentes nostras esse, et a quo omnem animam et totum istum mundum fabricatum esse constaret. etc.).

What then, after all, is the explanation of these strange oaths? J. Vendryes *Language* trans. P. Radin London 1925 p. 221 observes: 'In many languages oaths undergo a conventional alteration which allows them to be introduced into the best society; thus, for example, *bigre*, or *fichtre*. The French say: *palsambleu*, *parbleu*, *pargnieu*, *pardienne* instead of *par le sang de Dieu* or *par Dieu*, just as the English turned "By Mary" into "Marry," "By God's Little Body" into "Odds Boddikins".' Similarly E. Weekley *The Romance of Words* London 1912 p. 60: 'In *drat*, formerly *'od rot*, *zounds*, for *God's wounds*, *'sdeath*, *odsbodikins*, etc., there is probably a deliberate avoidance of profanity. The same tendency is seen in *Gogs* (*Shrew*, iii. 2), Fr. *parbleu*, and Ger. *Potz* in *Potztausend*, etc.' Accordingly W. A. Becker long since conjectured that χῆνα in this connexion was a distorted form of Ζῆνα (W. A. Becker *Charikles*[2] Leipzig 1854 i. 154 'Es kann fast scheinen, als ob man ausweichend τὸν χῆνα statt τὸν Ζῆνα gesagt habe, wie auch bei uns dergleichen Verdrehungen nicht ungewöhnlich sind'). The same view was advocated by K. Lehrs *Platos Phädrus und Gastmahl* Leipzig 1870 p. 142. R. Hirzel *Der Eid* Leipzig 1902 p. 96 n. 2 objects that nobody said νὴ τὸν Ζῆνα (despite *Il.* 23. 43 and *Od.* 20. 339 οὐ μὰ Ζῆν', Soph. *Trach.* 1188 ὄμνυμ' ἔγωγε, Ζῆν' ἔχων ἐπώμοτον, *Phil.* 1324 Ζῆνα δ' ὅρκιον καλῶ, Eur. *Hipp.* 1025 f. νῦν δ' ὅρκιόν σοι Ζῆνα καὶ πέδον χθονὸς | ὄμνυμι κ.τ.λ.) and consequently nobody would have altered it into νὴ τὸν χῆνα. But this objection ignores the fact that in Crete—the very home of Rhadamanthys—oaths were regularly taken at Dreros by τὸν Δῆνα (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 463 (*ib.*[3] no. 527), 14 ff. cited *supra* i. 729 n. 2), at Priansos, Gortyna and Hierapytna by Τῆνα (F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5024, 59 ff. cited *supra* ii. 723 n. 0), at Hierapytna and one of its colonies by Τῆνα (F. Blass *ib.* iii. 2. 311 f. no. 5039, 11 f. cited *supra* ii. 723 n. 0), at Lyttos by Τῆνα (F. Blass *ib.* iii. 2. 380 f. no. 5147 *b*, 5 cited *supra* ii. 934 n. 0) and by Ζῆνα (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 29, 13 f. cited *supra* ii. 723 n. 0).

I conclude, therefore, that in Crete, where men swore officially by τὸν Δῆνα or Τῆνα or Τῆνα or Ζῆνα—so many ways of representing the initial Δ- in the name of Zeus (É. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 153, G. Meyer *Griechische Grammatik*[3] Leipzig 1896 p. 338, C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston 1910 pp. 31, 67, 86)—a popular distortion νὴ τὸν χῆνα arose and was in due course fathered upon Rhadamanthys. R. Hirzel *loc. cit.* aptly observes that in Crete people still say μὰ τὸ θεριό, 'by the beast, dragon, giant,' or μὰ τὸ χυλό, 'by the sap,' for μὰ τὸ θεό, 'by God' (A. Jeannaraki [= A. N. Jannaris] ΑΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΚΡΗΤΙΚΑ Leipzig 1876 p. 327 'μὰ τὸ θεριό, statt μὰ τὸ θεό, bei Gott, ἀνάλεμα statt ἀνάθεμα, verflucht etc.,' *ib.* p. 379 'Da

The Birds, flattered and fluttered by this speech, are willing to accept the plan of Pisthetairos, to build a great wall[1] round the air,

sich das Wort χυλός mit dem Worte θεός reimt, so sagt man sehr oft μὰ τὸ χυλό statt μὰ τὸ θεό um die Gotteslästerung zu vermeiden. Gleichfalls sagt man μὰ τὸ θεριό, μὰ τὸ νιό, auch διάβοντρος statt διάβολος (vgl. hole mich der Kukuk)'). Perhaps κύνα in turn was a substitute for χῆνα, if not κριόν for Κρόνον (*supra* ii. 548 ff.). But successive links soon become impossible to trace.

[1] The notion of a cosmic wall is found in the teaching of Parmenides (Aët. 2. 7. 1 (H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 335 a 11 ff., b 8 ff.) *ap.* Plout. *de plac. phil.* 2. 7 καὶ τὸ περιέχον δὲ πάσας (*sc.* τὰς στεφάνας) τείχους δίκην στερεὸν ὑπάρχειν and *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 22. 1ª p. 195, 7 f. Wachsmuth = H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 i. 144, 16 f. καὶ τὸ περιέχον δὲ πάσας τείχους δίκην στερεὸν ὑπάρχειν, ὑφ' ᾧ πυρώδης στεφάνη). It reappears in the Epicureanism of Lucretius (Lucr. 1. 73 flammantia moenia mundi, cp. 1. 1102, 2. 1045, 1148, 3. 16, 5. 119, 454, 1213, 6. 123), and as a Lucretian touch in the poems of Ovid (Ov. *met.* 2. 401 f. at pater omnipotens ingentia moenia caeli | circuit) and Manilius (Manil. 1. 150 f. summaque complexus stellantis culmina caeli | flammarum vallo naturae moenia fecit, 486 f. qui primus moenia mundi | seminibus struxit minimis inque illa resolvit). Hence the imitations of later poets, *e.g.* Milton *Paradise Lost* 3. 721 'The rest in circuit walls this universe,' R. Browning *Easter-Day* 15 *fin.* 'Leaving exposed the utmost walls | Of time, about to tumble in | And end the world,' *Epilogue* to *Dramatis Personæ* 3. 11 'Why, where's the need of Temple, when the walls | O' the world are that?'

Analogous conceptions are found here and there in the religious imaginings of the ancient world. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 627 notes that the cosmic wall figures in a cuneiform text (an astronomical document of 138 B.C. published by J. Epping and J. N. Strassmaier in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 1891 vi. 243 Sp. i. 131, 30). The Manichaeans recognised a whole series of such walls (Epiphan. *adv. haer.* 2. 66. 31 (iii. 52 f. Dindorf) αἱ δὲ προβολαὶ πᾶσαι, ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἐν τῷ μικρῷ πλοίῳ, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ οἱ δώδεκα κυβερνῆται, καὶ ἡ παρθένος τοῦ φωτός, καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτης ὁ τρίτος ὁ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πλοίῳ, καὶ τὸ ζῶν πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ μεγάλου πυρός, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ ἔσωθεν πυρὸς τοῦ ζῶντος πρὸς τὸν μικρὸν φωστῆρα οἰκοῦσιν, ἄχρις ἂν τὸ πῦρ καταναλώσῃ τὸν κόσμον ὅλον ἐν ποσοῖς ποτε ἔτεσιν, ὧν οὐκ ἔμαθον τὴν ποσότητα = Hegemonios *acta Archelai* 13. 2 (p. 21 f. Beeson) prolationes autem omnes Iesus est in modica navi, et mater vitae et duodecim gubernatores et virgo lucis et senior tertius. unde et maiori in navi vivens spiritus adhibetur, et murus ignis illius magni, et murus venti et aëris et aquae et interioris ignis vivi, quae omnia in luna habitabunt, usquequo totum mundum ignis absumat; in quot autem annis numerum non didici. On this Latin version C. H. Beeson *ad loc.* remarks 'eine ziemlich ungenaue Paraphrase' and F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 326 n. 1 'which appears to be nonsense')—five in number, according to the fragments in Estrangelo script from Turfan, which mention one of *aithér*, one of wind, one of light, one of water, and one of fire, together with twelve or fourteen heavenly gates (F. W. K. Müller in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1904* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 38 f. *frag.* M. 98, 7 ff. 'Sie ferner auf zur Grenze und | dem Obersten des Lichtes führte er hinauf und | aus Wind und Licht, Wasser und Feuer, | welches aus der Mischung geläutert war, hat er Licht- | Fahrzeuge? zwei jenes der Sonne aus | Feuer und Licht mit fünf Mauern, | einer ätherischen, windigen, leuchtenden, wässerigen | und einer feurigen und zwölf Toren und | Häusern fünf und Thronen drei und | seelensammelnden Engeln fünf sc. in | der feurigen Mauer, und jenes [Fahrzeug] | des Mond-Gottes aus Wind und Wasser | mit fünf Mauern, einer ätherischen, windigen | leuchtenden, feurigen und wässerigen und | vierzehn Toren und Häusern fünf und | Thronen drei und seelensammelnden Engeln | fünf, sc. in der wässerigen Mauer, | hat er gemacht und angeordnet'). Somewhat similar is the vision of 'the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming

down out of heaven from God' (Rev. 21. 2, cp. 21. 10), 'having a wall great and high; having twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels' etc. (Rev. 21. 12).

Later the church fell to a lower level and was content with would-be scientific speculation. So Kaisarios, brother to Gregorios of Nazianzos, in his *πεύσεις καὶ ἀποκρίσεις* (on which see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 1415 n. 6) *dialogus* 1 *interrogatio* 99 (xxxviii. 964 Migne) *πῶς οὖν δύνει ὁ ἥλιος, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ γῆν φέρεται; καὶ τίς τόπος ὁ τὰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ σκιάζων; responsio* *ὠκυποδήσας τὰ οὐράνια τέρματα, καὶ ὑπό τινα τοῖχον, τὸ βόρειον γενόμενον κλῖμα, ὑπερανεστῶτος τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν ἐδάφους, ἀποσκιάζεται μὲν τὴν ἀστραπὴν τῶν ἀκτίνων ταῖς λόχμαις καὶ τοῖς ὕδασι, τῷ ὑπερτεροῦντι πιεσμῷ τοῦ στερεώματος, διακλωμένων τῶν μαρμαρυγῶν ἐπὶ τὰ πλάγια, καὶ τῇ ὑπεροχῇ τῆς χέρσου τὴν φαῦσιν εἰργόμενος, κατὰ τὴν προεκδοθεῖσαν εἰκόνα τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν* λαμπάδος and Severianus of Gabala (on whom see Lietzmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 1930 ff., W. Christ *op. cit.*[6] ii. 2. 1467 ff.) *de mundi creatione* 3. 5 (lvi. 452 f. Migne) *ἥλιος ἀνατέλλων καὶ μέλλων δύνειν οὐχ ὑπὸ γῆν δύνει ἀλλ' ἐξελθὼν τὰ πέρατα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τρέχει εἰς τὰ βορρινὰ (βοῤῥινὰ* cod. Vat. Sir H. Savile cj. *βόρεια) μέρη, ὥσπερ ὑπό τινα τοῖχον κρυπτόμενος, μὴ συγχωρούντων τῶν ὑδάτων φανῆναι αὐτοῦ τὸν δρόμον, καὶ τρέχει κατὰ βορρινὰ (βοῤῥινὰ* cod. Vat. Sir H. Savile cj. *βόρεια) μέρη καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὴν ἀνατολήν.* Cp. Kosmas Indikopleustes *top. Christ.* 4. 189 (lxxxviii. 188 D Migne) *τοῦτο πάλιν τὸ μέρος τῆς γῆς, τὸ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ βορρᾶ, ἐστὶ τὸ ἀοίκητον, ἔνθα διατρέχουσιν ἀπὸ δύσεως διὰ τοῦ βορρᾶ ἐπὶ ἀνατολάς, ὀρθὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τοίχου ὑπάρχον· ἐν ᾧ γινόμενος ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τὸ ἄλλο μέρος αὐτῆς τὸ οἰκούμενον νύκτα ἀπεργάζεται* and the whole structure of the world as indicated *ib.* 4. 187 f. (lxxxviii. 185 A—C Migne) *εἰς ταύτην τὴν γῆν τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ πανταχόθεν ἄκρα τοῖς ἄκροις ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ πρῶτος ὁ καμαροειδὴς συνδέδεται, κατὰ μὲν τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος καὶ ἀνατολικὸν τοῖχος ὀρθ[ι]ος ὡς ἄνω ἐμβαίνων εὑρίσκεται, κατὰ δὲ τὸ νότιον καὶ βόρειον τοῖχος μὲν ἴσος τὸ κάτωθεν, ἕως φανεροῦ κατὰ τὸν τύπον ὄντος καμάρας· ἄνωθεν δὲ ὑψηλότατος ἐλισσόμενος, ὡς θόλος λουτροῦ μεγάλη, κάτωθεν πέλμα ἔχουσα, αὐτός τε τοῖχος καὶ καμάρα ὑπάρχων. εἶτα καὶ πρώην ἔφημεν πολλάκις, τὸ στερέωμα μέσα μέσοις ἐξηπλωμένον κατὰ τὸ ὕψος, συνδέδεται αὐτῷ τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἵνα γένωνται δύο χῶροι ἀνάγαιον (sic) καὶ κατάγαιον. ἔστι δὲ ὁ χῶρος ὁ εἰς τουτέστι τὸ κατάγαιον, ἔνθα εἰσὶν ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ ἄστρα, ὁ κόσμος οὗτος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ στερεώματος· γῆν μὲν ἔχων ἔδαφος, τοίχους δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου οὐρανοῦ, στέγην δὲ τὸ στερέωμα· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στερεώματος ἕως τῆς καμάρας τοῦ πρώτου οὐρανοῦ, χῶρος δεύτερος, τουτέστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν· ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνελήλυθε, καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι μετὰ ταῦτα μέλλουσιν ἀνιέναι· οὐρανὸν μὲν ἤτοι τὸ στερέωμα ἔχων ἔδαφος, καὶ οὐρανὸν τὸν πρῶτον τοίχους καὶ στέγην καμαροειδῆ.* See further a valuable section in R. Eisler *op. cit.* ii. 619 ff. ('Die Himmelsmauer,' 'Das Welthaus in der syrischen Kosmographie,' etc.).

The cosmic walls of philosophy, religion, and so-called science presuppose mythopoeic attempts to explain the construction of the visible world. More frankly mythological is Pindar's 'road of Zeus' leading up 'to Kronos' tower' (*supra* ii. 36, 52), which—like its Celtic counterpart the 'castle of Gwydion' (*supra* ii. 52)—appears to be the poetic survival of some otherwise forgotten myth.

It seems possible that in the west, if not also in the east, the belief in a celestial city was partly based upon popular interpretations of cloudland. E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 88 f. collects a whole series of relevant folk-names from the Germanic area. Thus at Glandorf near Iburg in Prussia a black storm-cloud that rears itself above the horizon is called a *grommeltorn* or 'rumbling tower' (A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 ii. 89 no. 277 a, cp. *eund.* in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* 1855 iii. 378 'noch heut begegnet man nicht selten der bezeichnung grummel- oder grommelthurm für gewitter'), while on the Moorhausmoor in Thüringen the *witte tôrn* or 'white tower' seen in the sky is a sign of bad weather (A. Kuhn—W. Schwartz *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche* Leipzig 1848 p. 458 no. 428, W. Mannhardt *Germanische Mythen* Berlin 1858 p. 186). In Oldenburg the northern lights are also known as *Turm*, the 'tower,' and taken to be a vivid red cloud (L. Strackerjan *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg* Oldenburg 1867 ii. 63 f.); in the same locality heavy, white clouds are called *Mauern*,

and to demand the submission of Zeus. If he refuses, they will proclaim a holy war against him and forbid the gods to traverse their realm in search of fresh amours. A herald will be sent to inform men that in future all must worship birds before gods—the coot[1] before Aphrodite, the duck[2] before Poseidon, the sea-gull[3] before Herakles, the wren[4] before Zeus. Birds have wings, good evidence

'walls' (*id. ib.* ii. 64). P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 128 f. adduces French examples. Sailors in the Channel regard certain big black clouds as dangerous and speak of them as *les Châteaux* (*id.* in the *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari* v. 521). In Provence black clouds brushing past the horizon are called an *emparo* or 'wall.' A long stretch of *emparo* is termed *bérri*, 'ramparts.' A small coloured cloud rising above these 'ramparts' is dubbed *tourello*, a 'turret.' A big cloud may tower up charged with thunder and hail; it is then called *tourrougat* a 'keep.' Finally, when black threatening clouds begin to break up, with their towers and ramparts, they are known as *castèu*, 'castles' (G. de Montpavon 'Mistral' in *Armana Prouvençau* 1877 p. 45).

This was at least one reason for the first element in Aristophanes' *Nephelo-kokkygía*—a typical 'castle-in-the-air.'

[1] φαληρίς, though a derivative of φαλός, 'white' (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 481, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 1013 f.), hints at φαλλός (Athen. 325 B καὶ Ἀφροδίτη φαλαρίδα, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ὄρνισι (*av.* 565), κατὰ συνέμφασιν τοῦ φαλλοῦ, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 565 ἐσχημάτισε δὲ παρὰ τὸν φαλλόν) or Φαλῆς (J. van Leeuwen *ad loc.* cp. Aristoph. *Ach.* 263): D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 176 is unusually obtuse.

[2] This is not religion, but common sense. Athen. 325 B καὶ τὴν νῆτταν δὲ καλουμένην Ποσειδῶνί τινες οἰκειοῦσι, as is clear from the previous clause (cited *supra* n. 1), depends on Aristoph. *av.* 566.

[3] The λάρος is assigned to Herakles merely because of its notorious greed (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 557 τὸν λάρον διὰ τὴν ἀδηφαγίαν Ἡρακλεῖ προσανάπτει, cp. Aristoph. *eq.* 956, *nub.* 591).

[4] Aristoph. *av.* 567 ff. κἂν Διὶ θύῃ Βασιλεῖ κριόν, βασιλεὺς ἔστ' ὀρχίλος ὄρνις, | ᾧ προτέρῳ δεῖ τοῦ Διὸς αὐτοῦ σέρφον ἐνόρχην σφαγιάζειν. | ΕΥΕΛΠ. ἤσθην σέρφῳ σφαγιαζομένῳ· "βροντάτω νῦν ὁ μέγας Ζάν" with schol. *ad loc.* ὀρχίλος ὄρνις· διὰ τὰς μοιχείας τοῦ Διὸς τὸν ὄρνιν παρέλαβεν (the clause διὰ—παρέλαβεν is absent from codd. R.V.). ἐπλάσατο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ὄρνιθος. ἐπεὶ κατωφερὴς ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ μοιχός, διὰ τοῦτο ὀρχίλον παρείληχεν διὰ τοὺς ὄρχεις. τὸ δὲ σέρφον ἔνορχιν, ὡς κριὸν ἔνορχιν. This again is not a case of ritual usage, but of comic invention. There is no special link between Zeus and the wren beyond the fact that, as Zeus was Βασιλεύς, so the wren was βασιλεύς or βασιλίσκος (*supra* p. 45 n. 1). On the wren as king of birds see further C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 36: 'The tradition of the sovereignty of the wren over the feathered race is widely spread. Hence we find the Latin name for the bird to be *Regulus*, the Greek βασιλίσκος, the French *Roitelet*, *Roi des oiseaux*, *Roi de froidure*, *Roi de guille*, *Roi Bertaud*, the Spanish *Reyezuelo*, the Italian *Reatino* or *Re di siepe* (king of the hedge), the Swedish *Kungs fogel*, the Danish *Fugle Konge* or *Elle Konge* (alder king), the German *Zaunkönig* (hedge king), *Schneekönig* (snow king).' E. Rolland *Faune populaire de la France* Paris 1879 ii. (Les oiseaux sauvages) 288 ff., 301 f. collects a vast number of such names applied to the wren (both the *Troglodytes Europaeus* and the *Regulus cristatus*) in the various districts of France. It would seem reasonable to suppose that the kingship in question properly belonged to the fire-crest (*Regulus ignicapillus*) or gold-crest (*Regulus cristatus*). Both species occur in Greece (D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 174) and both on the crown of the head have a conspicuous streak of reddish orange bordered by bright lemon yellow (good illustrations in J. L. Bonhote *Birds of Britain* London 1907 p. 50 f. col. pl. 15). The flame-coloured

of their divinity, and are obviously competent to harm or help mankind.

Tereus next invites the two friends into his nest, promising to find them a magic root[1] which will enable them too to grow wings. Meantime his wife Prokne comes out and together with the Choros chants the *parábasis*, a brilliant vindication of the claims put forward by the Birds. It tells the old Orphic tale[2], how Eros sprang from the wind-egg laid by black-winged Night, the egg which split into Ouranos and Ge, primaeval parents of all the gods. Birds declare the seasons, birds utter oracles, birds give omens; birds in short are manifestly divine and must be worshipped as such without more ado.

That conclusion reached, out come Pisthetairos and Euelpides in their fine feathers and at once set about naming the new town—no Sparta this, but something splendid and sonorous, say Nephelokokkygia[3]. Heralds are despatched to gods and men. Euelpides must lend a hand in the actual building. Pisthetairos will fetch a priest to sacrifice to the newfangled gods.

The novel foundation of course attracts the usual influx of busybodies—a needy lyrical poet, an itinerant soothsayer, the astronomer Meton, a pompous commissioner, a statute-seller. At last they are all got rid of and Pisthetairos quits the stage to sacrifice the goat within.

Then follows a second *parábasis*, in which the Birds appropriate epithets formerly belonging to Zeus[4] and justifiably put a price on the head of the bird-catcher Philokrates.

crest at any rate accounts for the belief in the wren as a fire-bearer (E. Rolland *op. cit.* ii. 293 f., C. Swainson *op. cit.* p. 42).

[1] Aristoph. *av.* 654 *ἔστι γάρ τι ῥίζιον κ.τ.λ.* Cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* i. 35 (many birds use magic herbs as prophylactics) *οἱ δὲ ἔποπες τὸ ἀδίαντον, ὅπερ οὖν καὶ καλλίτριχον καλοῦσί τινες*, Horapoll. *hierogl.* 2. 93 *ἄνθρωπον ὑπὸ σταφυλῆς βλαβέντα καὶ ἑαυτὸν θεραπεύοντα βουλόμενοι σημῆναι ἔποπα ζωγραφοῦσι καὶ ἀδίαντον τὴν βοτάνην· οὗτος γὰρ βλαβεὶς ὑπὸ σταφυλῆς ἀδίαντον ἀποτιθέμενος εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στόμα περιοδεύεται*, *Geopon.* 15. 1. 19 (birds place curative herbs in their nests) *ἔποπες ἀδίαντον* (so H. Beckh, after Gronovius, for *ἀμίαντον* codd.), Philes *de an. propr.* 724 *ἄγρωστιν ἔποψ* (apparently a blundering transcript of Ail. *de nat. an.* 1. 35 or *Geopon.* 15. 1. 19). On the hoopoe liberating its imprisoned young by means of a certain herb (Ail. *de nat. an.* 3. 26 *πόαν ἐκόμισε κ.τ.λ.*), *sc.* the springwort, see S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 112 f., D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 56, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Baïder the Beautiful ii. 70 n. 2.

[2] *Supra* ii. 1020, 1034, 1050 f.

[3] Aristoph. *av.* 818 ff.

[4] *Ib.* 1058 ff. *ἤδη 'μοὶ τῷ παντόπτᾳ* (cp. *supra* i. 459, 461 f., ii. 1130) | *καὶ παντάρχᾳ* (Aristophanes has in mind Soph. *O.C.* 1085 f. *ἰὼ πάνταρχε θεῶν παντ|όπτα Ζεῦ*) *θνητοὶ πάντες|θύσουσ' εὐκταίαις εὐχαῖς.* | *πᾶσαν μὲν γὰρ γᾶν ὀπτεύω,* | *σώζω δ' εὐθαλεῖς καρποὺς* | *κ.τ.λ.*

Pisthetairos announces that the sacrifice has proved to be most auspicious, and a Messenger brings word that the great wall is now completely built—six hundred feet high and broad enough for two chariots to pass.

After this, enter Iris. She has been sent by Zeus to bid men sacrifice to the gods[1]. But Pisthetairos scares her off with threats reminiscent of Zeus himself[2]:

> Knowest thou this? If Zeus keeps bothering me,
> His halls palatial, yea Amphion's house,
> Will I burn down with eagles bearing fire[3],
> And up against him to the sky I'll send
> Six hundred stout Porphyrion-gallinules[4],
> All clad in leopard-skins. Yet I remember
> When one Porphyrion gave him toil enough[5].

[1] Aristoph. *av.* 1230 ff. Earlier and cruder is the conception of 'the Brygos painter,' who on a *kýlix* in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 87 ff. no. E 65 *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 46, 1 (coloured and gilded), Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 238 ff. pl. 47, 2, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 560 ff. fig. 323, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 110 f. no. 4 fig., P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze s.a. ii. 318 ff. fig. 242, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 176 no. 5) represents Iris ambushed by the Silenoi Echon, Lepsis (Nepsis?), and Dromis (on these names see Charlotte Fränkel *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* Halle a. S. 1912 pp. 23, 25 ff.) just as she has collected an oxtail from the altar of Dionysos. The scene, which recurs in abbreviated form on a red-figured *skýphos* from Nola, now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 732 no. 2591, Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 294 ('Irene'!) pl. 48, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 243 ff. ('Eirene'!) pl. 16, 2, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 131 (attributed to 'the Penthesilea painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 337 f. no. 4, G. von Lücken *Greek Vase-Paintings* The Hague 1921 pl. 10, 1 (cyclographic), J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 276 no. 58), was presumably taken from some Satyric drama, though hardly from the *Iris* of Achaios (W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1872 p. 41, F. Matz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xliv. 299 f., C. Robert *Bild und Lied* Berlin 1881 p. 28 n. 29) or the *Inachos* of Sophokles (K. L. von Urlichs *Der Vasenmaler Brygos* Wuerzburg 1875 p. 5 on the strength of Soph. *Inachos frag.* 250 Nauck², 272 Pearson *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1203), these plays being of later date (Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* i. 241, L. Séchan *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* Paris 1926 p. 41).

[2] Aristoph. *av.* 1246 ff. ἆρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι Ζεὺς εἴ με λυπήσει πέρα, | μέλαθρα μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ (F. Wieseler cj. κατὰ) δόμους Ἀμφίονος | καταιθαλώσω πυρφόροισιν αἰετοῖς; J. van Leeuwen, observing 'alienum hinc est nomen *Amphionis*, quod ante me sensit qui δόμους Ὀλυμπίους proposuit,' rewrites καὶ ἀμφικίονας δόμους, cp. Soph. *Ant.* 285 f. But G. Setti in the *Rivista di filologia* 1903 xxxi. 112 f. justly defends the text in view of Soph. *Ant.* 1155 Κάδμου πάροικοι καὶ δόμων Ἀμφίονος = dwellers in Thebes. Aristophanes, according to his scholiast, is quoting Aisch. *Niobe frag.* 160 Nauck². Apparently in that play Zeus threatened to burn the palace and walls of Amphion, husband of Niobe (H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 314, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1946, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 509, 1251 n. 0), whose house had notoriously come to a bad end (Paus. 2. 21. 10 οὗτος μὲν δὴ (*sc.* Homer) τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ἀμφίονος ἐκ βάθρων ἀνατραπέντα οἶδε). Here Pisthetairos threatens to turn the tables on Zeus by burning *his* 'palace and Amphionian walls.' The whole phrase μέλαθρα...καὶ δόμους Ἀμφίονος must be taken with the possessive αὐτοῦ, *sc.* Διός.

[3] *Supra* ii. 777.

[4] On the πορφυρίων or 'purple gallinule' (*Porphyrio hyacinthinus* or *veterum*) see D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 150, A. Newton *A Dictionary of Birds* London 1896 p. 591, and the enthusiastic description in O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 209: 'Wenn die wundervoll metallglänzenden blauen Hühner truppweise durch die reifen goldigblonden Ährenfelder streifen, entsteht eine ganz einzige Farbenwirkung.' Dionys. *de avib.* i. 25 (prose paraphrase in Didot's *Poetæ Bucolici et Didactici* p. 111) ἔστι δὲ καὶ πορφυρίων ἀπὸ τῆς χροιᾶς καλούμενον ὄρνεον· ἐρυθρὸν αὐτῷ τὸ ῥάμφος ἐστί, καὶ κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχει ὥσπερ τινὰ πῖλον, ὁποίους οἱ τοξόται Περσικοὶ φοροῦσι· κ.τ.λ. Despite this warlike appearance, the bird is easily captured (*id. ib.* 3. 21 (p. 124 Didot))—a piquant contrast to the Πορφυρίων of verse 1252, cp. Mart. *ep.* 13. 78. 1 nomen habet magni volucris tam parva gigantis?

[5] The villagers of Athmonon (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀθμονον) or Athmonia (Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἀθμονεύς, Bekker *anecd.* i. 349, 30 *s.v.* Ἀθμονεύς, Souid. *s.v.* Ἀθμωνία (*sic*)), an Attic deme, identified with the modern *Marousi* (from Artemis Ἀμαρυσία: see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1743, K. Wernicke *ib.* ii. 1380, 1402 with W. Judeich's map *ib.* ii. 2204) on the way from Athens to Marathon, declared that Porphyrion, who was king in the days before Aktaios, had founded a sanctuary of (Aphrodite) Οὐρανία in their midst (Paus. i. 14. 7). From this local legend C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1874 i. 413 f. inferred that Porphyrion, the prehistoric introducer of an oriental cult, was 'identisch mit Phoinix, und gleich diesem Repräsentant der Phönikier.' This inference, even if supported by the plea that Πορφυρίων means the 'Purpurmann' (E. Curtius *Peloponnesos* Gotha 1852 ii. 517), is very precarious and has been definitely rejected by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Aus Kydathen* Berlin 1880 p. 134 n. 57. There is more to be said for the view (J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2779) that Porphyrion's connexion with Athmonon points to his pedigree as the son (Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 317) or brother (schol. B.L. *Il.* 2. 511, cp. schol. D. *Il.* 2. 499, schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 1094) of Athamas. It is possible too that Porphyrion's relation to Aphrodite hangs together with the belief that she was his opponent in the Gigantomachy (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 553, 1252).

But the outstanding fact is that Porphyrion, like Periphas (*supra* ii. 1121 ff.), was a very ancient Attic king. If he was son or brother of Athamas, he too was one of those kings descended from Aiolos who played the *rôle* of Zeus (*supra* ii. 1088, 1122). And his name, 'the Purple-clad,' may well have been an epithet of Zeus himself (*supra* i. 56 ff.). Naevius *frag.* 20 Baehrens, 10 Vahlen *ap.* Priscian. 6. 6 (i. 199, 1 Hertz) calls him Purpureus (so the second hand in cod. B. *pur* cod. R. with *pureus* added in margin by second hand. *purporeus* codd. B.H. *porpureus* codd. G.L.K.), and we have already met with a Iupiter *Purpurio* (*supra* i. 58, 782). On this showing, Zeus Πορφυρίων gave rise to Zeus *versus* Porphyrion just as Athena Ἐγκέλαδος (Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐγκέλαδος· ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ) gave rise to Athena *versus* Enkelados (Prëller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 69 n. 5 'Nach dem Giganten ist angeblich Athena ἐγκέλαδος genannt' inverts cause and effect).

If Porphyrion was thus *ab origine* a prehistoric king who claimed to be Zeus incarnate, we can understand better the curious tradition that in the Gigantomachy Zeus inspired Porphyrion with love for Hera and slew him with a thunderbolt when he made an amorous attempt upon her (Apollod. 1. 6. 2 Πορφυρίων δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ μάχην ἐφώρμησε καὶ Ἥρᾳ. Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτῷ πόθον Ἥρας ἐνέβαλεν, ἥτις καὶ καταρρηγνύντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς πέπλους καὶ βιάζεσθαι θέλοντος βοηθοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο· καὶ Διὸς κεραυνώσαντος αὐτὸν Ἡρακλῆς τοξεύσας ἀπέκτεινε, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 63 Πορφυρίωνι δὲ Ζεὺς Ἥρας ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβάλλει καὶ τοῦτον Ἡρακλῆς ἐν τῷ καταρρηγνύειν Ἥρας τὰ πέπλα (τοὺς πέπλους codd. sec. class., *sc.* Johannis Tzetz.) τοξεύσας καὶ τοῦ Διὸς κεραυνῷ πλήξαντος ἀναιρεῖ). We can understand also Pindar's description of Porphyrion as king of the Giants (Pind. *Pyth.* 8. 12 Πορφυρίων, 17 βασιλεὺς Γιγάντων. But see Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 793 n. 18): Typhos and he 'were laid low by the thunderbolt and by the bow of Apollon' (*id. ib.* 16 ff. Cp. Claud. *carm. min.* 52 (37) *Gigantomachia* 34 f., 114 ff.).

Representations of the Gigantomachy from the close of the fifth century onwards

make Porphyrion the main antagonist of Zeus: (1) a *kýlix* by the potter Erginos and the painter Aristophanes, found at Vulci and now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 709 ff. no. 2531, E. Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefässe des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen* Berlin 1848 i. 3 ff. pl. 2—3 (coloured), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 363 f. no. 16 Atlas pl. 5, 3 a, 3 b, 3 c, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 38—41 pl. 127 (=my pl. vi), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 50 f. no. 1 fig., P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze s.a. ii. 394 ff. fig. 287, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 589, 600, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 465 no. 1), on which the combatants are grouped in symmetric pairs as on the *paryphé* of Athena's *péplos* (F. G. Welcker in K. O. Müller *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*[3] Breslau 1848 p. 639 § 396, F. Hauser *op. cit.* iii. 40). (2) An *amphora* with twisted handles, found in Melos and now in the Louvre (no. S 1677, F. F. Ravaisson in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques en France* No. 4 1875 p. 1 ff. fig. 1 and pls 1, 2 =A. Conze *Wien. Vorlegebl.* viii pl. 7, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 193—200 pls 96 (=my pl. vii), 97 (attributed to the painter of the Talos-vase (*supra* i. 721 pl. xli)), P. Ducati in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 256, *ib.* 1908 xi. 135—141 figs. 35 a, 35 b, H. Bulle *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*[2] Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 p. 640 f. figs. 198, 199, P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze s.a. ii. 420—423 figs. 301, 302 (first quarter of *s.* iv B.C.), J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 184 (later than 'the Meidias painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 450 no. 3, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 588 f., iii. 234 fig. 584). (3) Fragments of a *kratér* or *amphora* from Ruvo, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 425 ff. no. 2883 (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 371 denies that Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 365 no. 2664 belonged to the same vase), O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 184 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 6, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 369 ff. no. 25 Atlas pl. 5, 8 and 8 a, P. Ducati in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 255 figs. 83—85 (photographs), Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 195 ff. fig. 72 and figs. 73—75 (photographic), E. Buschor *Greek Vase-painting* trans. G. C. Richards London 1921 p. 150 pl. 90 figs. 149—151, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 449 f. no. 2, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 588, 600, iii. 235 fig. 585), which appears to be more careful work by the same artist (Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 196). Vases (2) and (3) presuppose a famous original, probably the Gigantomachy painted inside the shield of Athena *Parthénos* (*eid. ib.*). The semicircular band of *bákchoi*, which on vase (3) denotes the arch of heaven, may well perpetuate the rim of Athena's shield (Sir C. Smith in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 135 ff., Pfuhl *op. cit.* ii. 588). (4) A red-figured *kratér* (*amphora?*) with volute handles from Ruvo, now at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 263 ff. no. 523, G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1844 ii. 105 ff. pls 5, 6 (=my pl. viii), 7, 1=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 467, 1 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 367 ff. no. 24 Atlas pl. 5, 4, H. Heydemann *Zeus im Gigantenkampf* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* i) Halle a/S. 1876 p. 9, P. Ducati in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi. 141), which again shows the sky as an arch, yellow-painted and radiate, but represents Zeus in a four-horse chariot (cp. *supra* ii. 84 fig. 46) with Nike as charioteer and Porphyrion already blasted beneath him. (5) The great altar of Pergamon (*supra* i. 118 ff. pl. x figs. 87, 88) has as the culminating scene of its eastern side a magnificent composition, in which Zeus contends with Porphyrion and Athena with Alkyoneus (H. Winnefeld in *Pergamon* iii. 2 Atlas pl. 24). Zeus with wide stride brandishes a thunderbolt in his right hand, while a serpent-fringed *aigís*, scaly without and leathery within, is wrapped about his left. Porphyrion, a stalwart stiff-necked giant, as yet unvanquished, advances his left fist outlined beneath a lion's skin against the *aigís*. His eye, of some glittering substance, was separately inlaid. His legs are serpentiform—an innovation which dates from the beginning of *s.* iv B.C. (first on a gilded *aryballos* at Berlin (inv. no. 3375) published by H. Winnefeld in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 72—74 pl. 1, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 690 f. no. 132, 735 f.)—and the left serpent winds up till its head rises above the giant's left

A

B

C

Kýlix from Vulci, now at Berlin:

(*A*) Poseidon attacks Polybotes in the presence of Ge.

(*B*) Ares *v.* Mimon, Apollon *v.* Ephialtes, Hera *v.* Phoitos.

(*C*) Artemis *v.* Gaion, Zeus *v.* Porphyrion, Athena *v.* Enkelados.

See page 56 *n.* o (1).

om Furtwängler-Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl. 127 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]

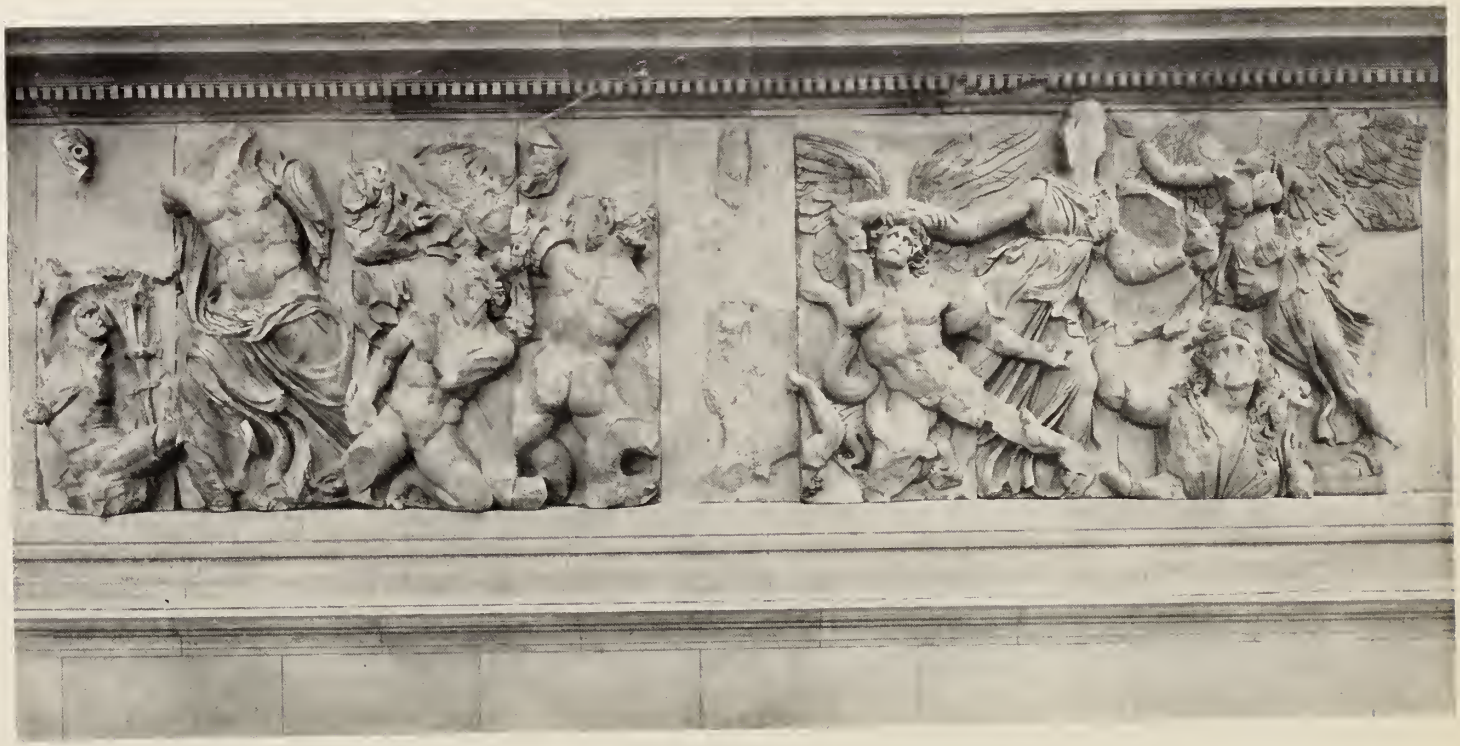
Amphora from Melos, now at Paris:
the Gigantomachy—Zeus, descending from his chariot, attacks Porphyrion.

See page 56 *n.* 0 (2).

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl. 96 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]

A *kratér* (*amphora*?) from Ruvo, now at Petrograd: the Gigantomachy—Porphyrion blasted by the thunderbolts of Zeus.

See page 56 *n.* o (4).



Reliefs from the eastern frieze of the great Altar at Pergamon, now in Berlin:
Zeus contends with Porphyrion, Athena with Enkelados.

See page 56 *n.* o (5), cp. *page* 534

Hydría from Vulci, now in the British Museum :

The herald sent to men now returns with a golden crown voted by the states to Pisthetairos; for every one has gone bird-mad and is eager to obtain wings. Accordingly, in comes a second group of visitors, bent on getting them,—a father-beater, Kinesias, an informer, and lastly Prometheus, who wants to know whether Zeus is

Clearing the clouds off, or collecting them[1].

He is desperately anxious to escape notice from above and produces an umbrella, under cover of which he explains that Zeus is ruined by the Birds' blockade, that the Triballian gods, yet higher up, are threatening to come down upon him, and that envoys are now on their way to treat for peace. But the Birds must make no peace unless Zeus restores the sceptre to them and hands over *Basíleia*, the 'Queen,' a beautiful girl who keeps his thunderbolts and other belongings, to be the bride of Pisthetairos.

The envoys in due course arrive—Poseidon, Herakles, and the uncouth Triballian[2]. Pisthetairos is busy preparing a savoury stew

shoulder, where it is gripped by the claws of Zeus' eagle (H. Winnefeld in *Pergamon* iii. 2. 48 ff. Atlas pl. 10 = my pl. ix, *Die Skulpturen des Pergamon-Museums in Photographien* Berlin 1903 pl. 15, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 520 ff. pl. 12, H. Bulle *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*[2] Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 p. 599 pl. 296, A. von Salis *Der Altar von Pergamon* Berlin 1912 p. 54 ff. fig. 3, F. Winter *Hellenistische Skulptur* (*Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*[2] 1 Das Altertum xi—xii) Leipzig 1925 p. 352 fig. 6).

A comparison of these representations will show that Porphyrion is normally (so in (1), (2), (3), (5)) conceived as a sturdy antagonist, full of fight and seen from the back as he stands up to Zeus (Hor. *od.* 3. 4. 54 minaci Porphyrion statu), but that on occasion (so in (4)) he borrows the type of a vanquished giant (cp. the youthful figure in the centre of (5)). His leopard-skin or lion-skin is of course parodied in Aristoph. *av.* 1249 f. *πορφυρίωνας...παρδαλᾶς ἐνημμένους.*

The giant defeated by Zeus on a red-figured *hydría* from Vulci, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 149 f. no. E 165, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 8 f. pl. 3, O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 183, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 365 f. no. 20, J. D. Beazley in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 149 no. 9 (assigned to 'the Tyszkiewicz painter'), *id. Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 55, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 460 no. 8, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 116 no. 29. My pl. x is from a photograph taken by the Official Photographer), appears to be wearing a wolf-skin (J. Overbeck *loc. cit.* says 'das Fell eines wilden Thieres, eines Wolfes oder Luchses (?)') and, as he collapses, is heaving a rock on which is a vine-leaf (Lenormant—de Witte *loc. cit.* suppose 'une feuille de platane'). This would constitute an earlier type of Porphyrion, if we could but be sure that it is he.

[1] *Supra* p. 35.

[2] Triballos (on whom see J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1102 f.) could claim some connexion with the Birds, for a Thracian myth told how his granddaughter Polyphonte had been transformed into an owl (*στύξ*), her two sons by the bear—Agrios and Oreios—into a vulture (*γύψ*) and a sort of swallow (?) (*λαγῶς*) respectively, and their maid into a woodpecker (*ἴπνη*) (Ant. Lib. 21 after Boios *ὀρνιθογονίας β*). Not improbably Aristophanes regarded *Τριβαλλός* as the north-Greek form of **Τρι-φαλλός*, cp. Souid. *s.v.* *Τριφάλης, Τριφάλητος· ὄνομα κύριον παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει* with Gell. 2. 19. 6 Naevius in Triphallo (*Com. Rom. frag.* p. 27 Ribbeck), Non. Marc. p. 191, 27 f. Lindsay Varro

and will listen to no proposals, unless Zeus consents to restore the sceptre to the Birds. In that case, he invites all the envoys to his feast. Herakles, greedy as usual, jumps at the offer and interprets in his own sense the Triballian's barbarous growl. Poseidon gives in, but when Pisthetairos claims Basileia too, is for walking off and wants Herakles to go with him as the prospective heir of Zeus. Pisthetairos, however, proves by Attic law that Herakles as a bastard has no right of inheritance and undertakes to feed him all his days on 'birds' milk.' Upon this, Herakles agrees to hand over Basileia and once more puts his own construction on the doubtful utterance of the Triballian. Poseidon is silenced, and Herakles invites Pisthetairos to ascend to heaven with them and claim Basileia as his own. The feast in preparation will serve as his wedding banquet.

The play ends with the appearance of the new bridal pair in a blaze of glory. The Birds, parting on either hand, greet them with a chorus of exuberant delight[1]:

Chor. Back with you! out with you! off with you! up with you!
Flying around
Welcome the Blessèd with blessedness crowned.
O! O! for the youth and the beauty, O!
Well hast thou wed for the town of the Birds.

Great are the blessings, and wondrous, I ween,
Which through his favour our nation possesses.
Welcome them back, both himself and his Queen,
Welcome with nuptial and bridal addresses.

Mid just such a song hymenaean
Aforetime the Destinies led
The King of the thrones empyréan,
The Ruler of Gods, to the bed
Of Hera his beautiful bride.
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!

And Love, with his pinions of gold,
Came driving, all blooming and spruce,
As groomsman and squire to behold
The wedding of Hera and Zeus,
Of Zeus and his beautiful bride.
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!

Triphallo, *περὶ ἀρρενότητος*, Charis. 1 p. 80, 11 f. Keil Varro...in Triphallo, *carm. Priap.* 83. 6 Priape, 9 o Triphalle, 15 Priape, and the gloss Ἱρίαπος cited in Steph. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 2479 A. To this there is an ornithological parallel in *τρίορχος* or *τριόρχης* the 'buzzard' (?) (Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 21 triorchem a numero testium, cp. schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1206 *ἐπεὶ ἑταίρα ἦν, ἐπαιξε τὸ τρίορχος*): see further D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 170.

[1] Aristoph. *av.* 1720—1765. I quote the lively lyrics of Mr B. B. Rogers, altering

Pisth. I delight in your hymns, I delight in your songs;
Your words I admire.

Chor. Now sing of the trophies he brings us from Heaven,
The earth-crashing thunders, deadly and dire,
And the lightning's angry flashes of fire,
And the dread white bolt of the levin.

Blaze of the lightning, so terribly beautiful,
Golden and grand!
Fire-flashing javelin, glittering ever in
Zeus's right hand!
Earth-crashing thunder, the hoarsely resounding, the
Bringer of showers!
He is your Master, 'tis he that is shaking the
Earth with your powers!

All that was Zeus's of old
Now is our hero's alone;
His the Queen, fair to behold,
Partner of Zeus on his throne,
Now and for ever his own.
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!

Pisth. Now follow on, dear feathered tribes,
To see us wed, to see us wed;
Mount up to Zeus's golden floor,
And nuptial bed, and nuptial bed.
And O, my darling, reach thine hand,
And take my wing and dance with me,
And I will lightly bear thee up,
And carry thee, and carry thee.

Chor. Raise the joyous Paean-cry,
Raise the song of Victory.
Io Paean, alalalae,
Mightiest of the Powers, to thee!

Throughout this splendid *éxodos* Pisthetairos is clearly conceived as the new Zeus. He is no longer referred to by his old name, but always by some phrase descriptive of the Olympian king. He comes

Wielding the wingèd thunderbolt of Zeus[1].

The chorus at his approach sing of 'the fiery lightnings of Zeus[2],' 'the immortal spear of Zeus[3],' etc., and salute their leader himself as

ine or two to avoid his rendering 'Miss Sovereignty,' which, I fear, implies a confusion of βασίλεια, 'queen,' with βασιλεία, 'kingdom.' That the former, not the latter, word was intended by the poet is clear from the metre of verses 1537, 1753. The same slip is made by G. Caramia in his article on Βασίλεια in the *Birds* of Aristophanes (*Rivista indo-greco-italica di filologia—lingua—antichità* 1925 ix. 3—4. 51 ff. cited by H. J. Rose in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1925–1926* p. 59).

[1] Aristoph. *av.* 1714 πάλλων κεραυνόν, πτεροφόρον Διὸς βέλος. *Supra* ii. 777 ff.

[2] *Id. ib.* 1746 f. τάς τε πυρώδεις | Διὸς ἀστεροπάς.

[3] *Id. ib.* 1749 Διὸς ἄμβροτον ἔγχος (*supra* ii. 704 n. 5).

'having won all that belonged to Zeus[1].' The scholiast is puzzled, and comments on the verse—

> He is your Master, 'tis he that is shaking the
> Earth with your powers!—

'*He* means Zeus of course, or Pisthetairos now that he has got Basileia[2].' But the meaning of the chorus is quite unmistakable. When Pisthetairos, bride in hand, is escorted 'to Zeus' floor and marriage-bed[3],' they acclaim him with all the emphasis of a farewell line as 'highest of the gods[4].'

Pisthetairos is Zeus. And Basileia is—who? Scholars ancient and modern have given a variety of answers to the question[5]. An

[1] *Id. ib.* 1752 Δῖα δὲ πάντα κρατήσας | κ.τ.λ.

[2] Schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1751 ὁ Ζεὺς δηλονότι, ἢ ὁ Πεισθέταιρος λαβὼν τὴν Βασιλείαν (*sic*).

[3] Aristoph. *av.* 1757 f. ἐπὶ πέδον Διὸς | καὶ λέχος γαμήλιον.

[4] *Id. ib.* 1765 δαιμόνων ὑπέρτατε.

[5] (1) Schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1536 σωματοποιεῖ τὴν Βασιλείαν αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς γυναῖκα in defiance of metre (*supra* p. 59 n. 0) made her a personification of Royalty.

(2) Euphronios the Alexandrine grammarian of *s.* iii B.C. (L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1220 f., W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 150) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1536 regarded her as a daughter of Zeus—probably an inference from Aristoph. *av.* 1537 ff.

(3) Others held that she dispensed immortality, as Athena in Bakchyl. *frag.* 45 Jebb was about to dispense it to Tydeus; and some actually called her Athanasia (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1536). This was perhaps one of the many (Cornut. *theol.* 20 p. 36, 1 ff. Lang) etymologies suggested for Athena (so even in Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 11).

(4) F. Wieseler *Adversaria in Aeschyli Prometheum Vinctum et Aristophanis Aves* Gottingae 1843 p. 124 ff. contends that she was Athena, cp. Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 111 Ἀθηνᾷ τινι βασιλίδι τῇ καὶ Βαλενίκῃ λεγομένῃ, θυγατρὶ δὲ Βροντέου (*supra* ii. 833 n. 7).

(5) Others cite Dionysios Skytobrachion (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 673) *ap.* Diod. 3. 57, who in his romantic vein told how Basileia, a daughter of Ouranos by Titaia (Ge) and a sister of Rhea (Pandora), brought up her brothers the Titans and hence was known as the Megale Meter, inherited her father's kingdom, and ultimately became by her brother Hyperion the mother of Helios and Selene.

(6) Others again equate the Aristophanic Basileia with the goddess worshipped at Athens under the name Βασίλη or Βασίλεια (O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 41 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1081 n. 5, 1521 n. 1), whom some take to be a 'Queen' of Heaven (H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 227 ff.), some a 'Queen' of the Underworld (G. Loeschcke *Vermutungen zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte und zur Topographie Athens* Dorpati Livonorum 1884 pp. 14—24).

(7) C. Pascal *Dioniso* Catania 1911 pp. 99—110 argues that the Basileia of the play is 'Queen' of the Underworld and at the same time goddess of the mysteries and of fertility, in fact a variant of Kore. Marriage with her means death (*supra* ii. 1163 ff.). Pisthetairos the pretender, after a career of hitherto unbroken success, is thus at the last politely handed over to the other world (E. Wüst in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1916—1918 clxxiv. 135).

(8) J. T. Sheppard 'τίς ἐστιν ἡ Βασίλεια;' in the *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus* Cantabrigiae 1909 pp. 529—540, after rightly insisting that the solemnity of the final scene in the *Birds* implies a clear reference to the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera,

Athenian audience in the days of Aristophanes could hardly have hesitated. The partner of Zeus must needs be Hera. And Hera in that very capacity was often called *Basíleia*[1]. Besides, on the present occasion there was a special reason for picking out just this title and no other as appropriate to the goddess. For it would seem that the political circumstances in which the play was first planned prompted the author to the better part of its nomenclature—Euelpides, Pisthetairos, Nephelokokkygia, and finally Basileia.

Aristophanes brought out his *Birds* at the City Dionysia of the year 414 B.C.[2] But B. B. Rogers has shown that in all probability the play had been 'long in incubation,' indeed that it had been taken

turns aside to the sacred marriage of Dionysos and the βασίλισσα (*supra* i. 672 n. 0, 686, 709 f. pl. xl, 3), and concludes that Βασίλεια is an imaginary goddess, whose name suggests the consort of the god of comedy. 'Peithetairos, on this hypothesis, recalls to the audience Zeus, with a touch of Dionysos. Basileia recalls the Basilissa, not without a touch of Hera' (J. T. Sheppard *op. cit.* p. 540). The ἱεροκῆρυξ and the γεραραί attendant on the βασίλισσα (Dem. *c. Neaer.* 78) may be found in the messenger of Aristoph. *av.* 1706 ff. and in the conjectural bridesmaids of Basileia. Mr Sheppard's article marks a real advance in the interpretation of this difficult scene; but—to quote his own words —'That Basileia has been caught in her true shape at last would be a bold assertion.'

[1] Zeus Βασιλεύς is associated with Hera Βασίλεια in a federal oath of the Phocians and Boeotians (H. G. Lolling in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1878 iii. 19 ff. line 14 f. cited *supra* ii. 731 n. 0 (1)). Zeus Βασιλεύς at Lebadeia (*supra* ii. 899 n. 2, 1073 f., 1076) appears to have had as his consort Hera Βασιλίς (W. Dittenberger in *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3097, 1 ff. Ἥρᾳ Βασιλίδι | καὶ τῇ πόλει Λεβαδέων | Μένανδρος Χρησίμου | ἱερητεύσας πενταετηρίδα | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν | ἱερητευούσης τῆς γυναικὸς | αὐτοῦ Παρησίας τῆς Ὀνασιμβρότου—a series of well-omened names): so Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 78 n. 17, *supra* ii. 900 n. 0. There was a cult of Hera Βασίλεια at Lindos (P. Foucart in the *Rev. Arch.* 1867 ii. 30 ff. no. 71, 13 ff. = F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 786, 13 ff. Τίτος Φλα(ΰϊος) Τίτου Φλα(υΐου) | Λέοντος ἱερέως υἱὸς Κυρείνα (cp. Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5793) Θρα|σύλοχος Κλά(σιος) ἀπὸ γένους τετει|μημένος ἐς τὸ διενεκὲς ὑπὸ τῶν | ἐν θεοῖς Αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ τῶν τῆς | ἱερᾶς βουλῆς συγκλήτου δογμάτων (*sc. senatus consultis*), | ὑπατικῶν [καὶ] συνκλητικῶν συνγεν[ῆς] | Ἥρᾳ Βασιλεί[ᾳ] ἐ[πὶ] το[ῦ] βωμο[ῦ] | τὰ[ς] (σ)τιβάδας ἐκ[όσμησεν]. On such στιβάδες or στιβάδεια see A. Wilhelm in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1892 xvii. 190 f. and Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1109, 52 f. n. 36), and perhaps at Sikinos (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 30, 2 f. in lettering not older than *s.* iii A.D. εἶδος μὲν πα[ρόμοιος ἔφυς Ἥρῃς] | βασιλείης); and there was another of Hera Βασιλίς in Pisidia (A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 256 f. no. 41, 1 ff. from Pogla (*Foula*) ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | ἐτείμησεν Αὐρηλί[αν] | Ἀρμ[ά]σταν, [τ]ὴν καὶ | Τε[ρ]τίαν, Μέ[δ]ον[τ]ος, | Ἀρτεμέους γυναῖκα | σώφρονα, γένους | τοῦ πρωτεύοντος, | ἱερασαμένην Ἥρᾶς Βα|σιλίδος, δημιουργή|σασαν, ἀρχιαιρασαμένην, | καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις | νενομισμένα ποιήσα|σαν. κ.τ.λ., cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4367 *f.*).

Literary allusions include the following: *h. Her.* 1 ff. Ἥρην... | ἀθανάτην βασίλειαν... | Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε, Ap. Rhod. 4. 382 μὴ τό γε παμβασίλεια Διὸς τελέσειεν ἄκοιτις, Orph. *h. Her.* 16. 2 Ἥρη (so J. G. J. Hermann for Ἥρα) παμβασίλεια, Διὸς σύλλεκτρε μάκαιρα, 9 μάκαιρα θεά, πολυώνυμε, παμβασίλεια, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 191, 12 f. Diehl διὰ δὴ τοῦτο τῷ Διὶ συνέζευκται ἡ βασιλὶς Ἥρα. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1132 n. 2.

[2] Schol. Aristoph. *av.* argum. 1 and 2. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 426.

in hand soon after the production of the *Peace* in 421[1]. Now the events of the period immediately succeeding the peace of Nikias had turned all eyes towards Argos, which then became the centre

[1] B. B. Rogers *The Birds of Aristophanes* London 1906 p. v f.: 'It is by far the longest of the extant comedies; and dealing as it does with a subject outside the ordinary range of the poet's thoughts and language...it is obviously a comedy which must have been long in incubation, and could not (as was the case with the Peace) have been hastily put together to meet a particular emergency. Indeed there are not wanting indications from which we may surmise that it was taken in hand, if not immediately after the production of the Peace, at all events whilst the mind of Aristophanes was still filled with the topics and ideas which possessed it while he was engaged in the composition of the earlier play. In the vagrant Oracle-monger (χρησμολόγος) of the Birds, with his prophecies of Bakis, his lust for a share of the σπλάγχνα, and finally his ignominious expulsion, we cannot fail to recognize the exact counterpart of Hierocles, the χρησμολόγος of the Peace. The description which Cinesias gives of the sources from whence the dithyrambic poets derived their inspiration is merely an amplification of a sarcasm placed previously in the mouth of Trygaeus; whilst the whole scheme of the proposed sacrifice on the stage, its preparation, interruption, and final abandonment, with the allusion to the predatory habits of the Kite, and to the unwelcome pipings of Chaeris, is substantially identical in the two plays.

So again the two plays have an idyllic character which belongs to no other of the poet's comedies: the innocent charms of a country life are depicted as they are depicted nowhere else; in each of them, and in them only, we hear the "sweet song" of the τέττιξ, and in each it is designated by its Doric name ὁ ἀχέτας, the chirruper. Here too, and nowhere else in Aristophanes, the coaxing address ὦ δειλακρίων is employed; and although the Aeschylean phrase ξουθὸς ἱππαλεκτρυών is found also in the Frogs, yet it there occurs in its natural place as part of a criticism on the style and the language of Aeschylus, while in each of these two plays it is introduced, apropos of nothing, in the Parabasis, as the sarcastic description of a showy military officer. And possibly the germ of the present drama may be discovered in the determination of Trygaeus μετ' ὀρνίθων ἐς κόρακας βαδίζειν [cp. *av.* 155, 753]. Minor coincidences, such as ποδαπὸς τὸ γένος, are very numerous, but are hardly worthy of mention.

So again, although the Athenian dependencies on the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace were in a chronic state of disturbance, and were giving some trouble at this very time, yet the advice to the reckless young Athenian to "fly off to Thrace-ward regions and fight there" would seem more naturally adapted to a time when those regions were the chief seat of Athenian warfare, than to a time when the entire attention of the Athenian people was directed to the military operations in Sicily. And the very remarkable verbal allusions to the History of Herodotus would seem more suitable to a period when that History was still fresh in the hands and thoughts of the poet and his audience.

But whatever weight may be due to these considerations, the comedy would of course not receive its final touches until it was about to be sent in to the Archon, in the winter of 415—414 B.C.'

I have quoted at length the wise words of Mr Rogers because they form the best reply to an objection raised by E. Wüst in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1923 cxcv. 151, who urges against me the contention of A. Ruppel *Konzeption und Ausarbeitung der Aristophanischen Komödien* Darmstadt 1912 'dass der Dichter immer nur 3—4 Monate mit der Ausarbeitung eines Stückes beschäftigt war' (E. Wüst *loc. cit.* 1916—1918 clxxiv. 133). But such a rule was obviously open to exceptions. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Über die Wespen des Aristophanes' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1911 p. 460 ff., rightly holding that the Kyon *v.* Labes trial of *vesp.* 894 ff. travestied the Kleon *v.* Laches trial of the year 425 B.C., infers that the play was planned three years before its performance in 422 (E. Wüst *loc. cit.* 1916—1918 clxxiv. 132, 155).

of more than one new political combination[1]. The Argives in a sense held the balance between Athens and Sparta, a fact that the playwright fully appreciated[2]. And at Argos there had been a deal of wobbling. The successive alliances of the Argives with the Athenians (420), with the Spartans (418), and with the Athenians again (417) must have been received at Athens with alternate outbursts of enthusiasm and disgust. What the Athenian 'optimist,' the *Euelpídes* of the moment, really wanted was a staunch and loyal ally, a 'trusty comrade,' a *Pisthétairos*[3].

More than that. If, while the play was being drafted, popular attention was thus directed to Argos, it may fairly be surmised that Aristophanes' castle-in-the-air *Nephelokokkygía* contained—*inter alia*[4], no doubt—an allusion to the Argive Mount Kokkygion[5] with its myth of Zeus the cuckoo[6]. Aristotle[7] tells the story.

[1] See *e.g.* J. B. Bury *A History of Greece* London 1900 p. 458 ff., W. S. Ferguson in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1927 v. 256 ff.

[2] Aristoph. *pax* 475 ff.

[3] That this is the true form of the name appears from *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1723 on an architrave of Pentelic marble in the church of St Theodoros near the village of *Marousi* ΠΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ : ΠΙΣΘΕΤΑΙΡΟ : ΑΘΜΟΝΕΥΣ (K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*[3] Berlin 1900 p. 54). E. Wüst *loc. cit.* 1923 cxcv. 151 deems this evidence 'nicht zwingend.' He is hard to please.

[4] A. Todesco 'ΚΟΚΚΥΞ' in *Philologus* 1914—1916 lxxiii. 563—567 (an article which Prof. A. D. Nock kindly brought to my notice) thinks that Νεφελοκοκκυγία was a name invented by Aristophanes (Loukian. *ver. hist.* 29), in accordance with Greek usage, to denote a chaos of clouds (*av.* 178) and a babble of political intriguers (*Ach.* 598). 'Ganz vernünftig würde auch diese neue Erklärung sein: Νεφελοκοκκυγία sei die Idealstadt der schlauen Feiglinge, welche auf Kosten des Nächsten leben wollen. Wenn man besonders den Begriff der Schlauheit betont, so sind diese κόκκυγες die Demagogen, und wir sehen im Hintergrund die anderen Leute, die Athener, welche κεχηνότες alle Prahlereien ernst nehmen.'

[5] A similar allusion to Argive topography occurs in Aristoph. *av.* 399 ἀποθανεῖν ἐν Ὀρνεαῖς, where again the name is selected partly because it suggests birds (ὄρνεα) and partly because the town was uppermost in the thoughts of the people owing to its capture by Athenians and Argives in 416 B.C. Miss R. E. White (Mrs N. Wedd) in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 100 f. finds the same point in *av.* 15 f. ὃς τώδ' ἔφασκε νῷν φράσειν τὸν Τηρέα | τὸν ἔποφ', ὃς ὄρνις ἐγένετ' ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων and aptly defends the variation in the use of the article by citing Thouk. 6. 7 τοὺς ἐν Ὀρνεαῖς...οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ὀρνεῶν.

Does the oracle in *av.* 967 f. ἀλλ' ὅταν οἰκήσωσι λύκοι πολιαί τε κορῶναι | ἐν ταὐτῷ τὸ μεταξὺ Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος,—| κ.τ.λ. refer to the alliance of Argos, whose symbol was the wolf, with Corinth (Κόρινθος—κορώνη)?

F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 248 n. 2 saw that Nephelokokkygia stood in some relation to Mt Kokkygion or Thornax in Argolis (*supra* i. 135, ii. 893 n. 2), but thought that the topic might have been suggested to Aristophanes by the existence of another Mt Thornax near Sparta (*supra* ii. 893 n. 2).

[6] Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 481 contributes an acute surmise: 'Zeus often appears as a lover in the guise of a bird. As a swan he begot the Dioscuri at Sparta, at Argos it was said that in the shape of a cuckoo he deceived Hera and won her love on the Mountain of

the Cuckoo. I venture to guess that these myths, which appear in old Mycenaean centres, are remains of the Minoan belief that the gods appeared in the shape of birds.'

It must not, however, be forgotten that in the Old Slavonic area there was, or is said to have been, a fairly close parallel to the cuckoo-Zeus of Mt Kokkygion. J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 679 cites from the Polish chronicle of Prokosz the following remarkable account of a Slavic god Zywie: *Chronicon Slavo-Sarmaticum...Procossii* ed. H. Kownacki Varsaviae 1827 p. 113 'divinitati Zywie fanum exstructum erat in monte ab ejusdem nomine Zywiec dicto, ubi primis diebus mensis Maji innumerus populus pie conveniens precabatur ab ea, quae vitae auctor habebatur, longam et prosperam valetudinem. Praecipue tamen ei litabatur ab iis qui primum cantum cuculi audivissent, ominantes superstitiose tot annos se victuros quoties vocem repetiisset. Opinabantur enim supremum hunc universi moderatorem transfigurari in cuculum ut ipsis annuntiaret vitae tempora: unde crimini ducebatur, capitalique poena a magistratibus afficiebatur, qui cuculum occidisset.' This chronicle, which professed to be the work '*Procossii sec. X scriptoris*,' was denounced by Dobrowski in the *Wiener Jahrbücher d. Liter.* xxxii. 77—80 as a pure fabrication and is described by A. Potthast *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi*[2] Berlin 1896 ii. 940 as 'Ein unsauberes Machwerk des Przybysław Dyamentowski (saec. XVIII).' But J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 679 n. 1 protested that Dobrowski had gone too far: the chronicle, though not so old as *s.* x, 'is at any rate founded on old traditions.' Partial confirmation of the alleged statements of Prokosz may be found in those of J. Długosz, a canon of Cracow who died in 1480 A.D. and has left what purports to be an account of the ancient Polish pantheon. According to the careful *critique* of A. Brückner in the *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 1892 xiv. 170 ff., Długosz did not invent the names of his divinities, but took them from old ritual folk-songs still current in the fifteenth century, dignifying inferior powers with the rank of gods and comparing them with the gods of Greece and Rome. Thus *Jesza* = Iupiter, *Lyada* = Mars, *Dzydzilelya* = Venus, *Nya* = Pluto, *Pogoda* = Temperies, *Żywye* = deus vitae, *Dzewana* = Diana, *Marzyana* = Ceres (L. Niederle *Manuel de l'antiquité slave* Paris 1926 ii. 152). Other Polish chroniclers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries complete the list by adding from a similar source the names *Lel* and *Polel*, which M. de Miechow *Chronica Polonorum a Lecho usque ad annum MDvi* Cracoviae 1521 equated with Castor and Pollux (L. Niederle *op. cit.* ii. 153 n. 1). The relevant passages in Długosz are as follows: Io. Długossus *historia Polonica* Lipsiæ 1711 1 (i. 34 A) 'BABA, mons altissimus supra fluvium *Soła*, herbas multiferas germinans, & oppido *Zywviec* imminens' (*sc.* Zywiec on the Sola, some 40 miles south-west of Cracow), *ib.* 1 (i. 37 B) 'Item *Deus vitæ*, quem vocabant *Zywie*.' The fuller, but less authoritative, account of Prokosz is quoted, with various comments, by W. Mannhardt in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* 1855 iii. 230, J. Hardy in *The Folk-Lore Record* 1879 ii. 85, C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 121, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 66. C. de Kay *Bird Gods* New York 1898 p. 116 speaks of 'a goddess Zywie' etc.: he has misconstrued the Latin of Prokosz.

Other considerations, which deserve to be weighed before the testimony of the chroniclers is rejected, are these. The name *Żywye*, which is akin to *ζῆν*, *vivere* (Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 120, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 846 f., F. Muller Jzn *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 211 f.), recalls the Thracian or Thraco-Phrygian Erikepaios, whose name was interpreted as meaning *ζωοδοτήρ* (*supra* ii. 1024 f.). Again, the notion that the cuckoo is an ominous bird, which declares to men how many years they have to live etc., is wide-spread in Europe (see W. Mannhardt *loc. cit.* p. 231 ff., J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 676 ff., J. Hardy *loc. cit.* p. 86 ff., C. Swainson *op. cit.* p. 115 ff., L. Hopf *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit* Stuttgart 1888 p. 154 f., O. Keller *op. cit.* ii. 66). Typical are the folk-lines of Lower Saxony *Kukuk vam häven, | wo lange sall ik leven?* (J. F. Schuetze *Holsteinisches Idiotikon, ein Beitrag zur Volkssittengeschichte* Hamburg 1801 ii. 363), or those of Guernsey *Coucou, cou-cou, dis mé | Combien d'ans je vivrai* (Sir E. MacCulloch *Guernsey Folk Lore* ed. Miss E. F. Carey London 1903 p. 505, P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 200), or those of

Zeus, seeing Hera all by herself, was minded to consort with her. To secure her by guile, he transformed himself into a cuckoo and perched on a mountain, which had previously been called *Thrónax*, the 'Throne,' but was thenceforward known as *Kókkyx*, the 'Cuckoo.' He then caused a terrible storm to break over the district. Hera, faring alone, came to the mountain and sat on the spot where there is now a sanctuary of Hera *Teleía*. The cuckoo flew down and settled on her knees, cowering and shivering at the storm. Hera out of pity covered it with her mantle. Thereupon Zeus changed his shape and accomplished his desire, promising to make the goddess his wedded wife. Pausanias[1] adds that Mount Kokkygion and Mount Pron over against it were topped by sanctuaries of Zeus and Hera respectively. Further[2], he brings the myth into connexion with the famous cult of Hera at Argos. The temple-statue was a chryselephantine masterpiece by Polykleitos. The goddess sat enthroned. On her head was a band decorated with figures of the Charites and the Horai. In one hand she held a pomegranate, about which a tale not rashly to be repeated was told; in the other she had a sceptre surmounted by a cuckoo, the subject of the foregoing myth. Strabo[3] says of this statue that, though in point of costliness and size it fell short of the colossal works of Pheidias, yet for sheer beauty it surpassed all others. Maximus Tyrius[4] in a few well-chosen epithets records the

the modern Greek *κοῦκο μου, κουκάκι μου, | κι ἀργυροκουκάκι μου, | πόσους χρόνους θὲ νὰ ζήσω;* (J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 676 n. 3). Étienne de Bourbon, a thirteenth-century Dominican, states that the cuckoo-oracle was consulted on the first of May (A. Lecoy de la Marche *Anecdotes historiques légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon* Paris 1877 § 52 p. 59 f., § 356 p. 315). Prokosz therefore may, after all, be right in what he tells us of the May-day celebration on Mt Żywiec. His further assertions, that the ruler of the world was believed to take the form of a cuckoo and that the killing of a cuckoo was a capital offence, cannot be controlled, but are at least consistent with one another and not *per se* wholly incredible. Yet the cautious enquirer would do well to digest what Seemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1933 v. 749—751 has to say against *e.g.* W. Mannhardt's attempt to treat the cuckoo as an animal form of Donar or Frô and C. L. Rochholz' contention that St Gertrude with her cuckoo was 'eine Stellvertreterin Freyas oder Idunas.'

[7] Aristot. *frag.* 287 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. vet. Theokr. 15. 64 = Eudok. *viol.* 414[h] cited *supra* ii. 893 n. 2.

[1] Paus. 2. 36. 2 quoted *supra* ii. 893 n. 2.

[2] Paus. 2. 17. 4 *τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἥρας ἐπὶ θρόνου κάθηται μεγέθει μέγα, χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον· ἔπεστι δέ οἱ στέφανος Χάριτας ἔχων καὶ Ὥρας ἐπειργασμένας, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ μὲν καρπὸν φέρει ῥοιᾶς, τῇ δὲ σκῆπτρον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν ῥοιὰν —ἀπορρητότερος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λόγος—ἀφείσθω μοι· κόκκυγα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ καθῆσθαί φασι λέγοντες τὸν Δία, ὅτε ἥρα παρθένου τῆς Ἥρας, ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆναι, τὴν δὲ ἅτε παίγνιον θηρᾶσαι.* *Supra* ii. 893 n. 2.

[3] Strab. 372.

[4] Max. Tyr. 14. 6 *τὴν Ἥραν, οἵαν Πολύκλειτος Ἀργείοις ἔδειξε, λευκώλενον, ἐλεφαντόπηχυν, εὐῶπιν, εὐείμονα, βασιλικήν, ἱδρυμένην ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ θρόνου.*

effect produced by the ivory arms, the exquisite face, the gorgeous drapery, the queenly bearing, and the golden throne. Greek and Roman writers vied with each other in praising the sculptor's creation. To cite but a single epigram, Martial[1] wrote:

> Thy toil and triumph, Polykleitos, stands—
> Hera, beyond the reach of Pheidias' hands.
> Had Paris this sweet face on Ida seen,
> The judge convinced, the rivals scorned had been.
> Loved he not his own Hera's form divine,
> Zeus might have loved the Hera that is thine.

I need not labour the point. The myth was well known, and the statue immensely famous. What concerns us at the moment is the fact that the Argive Hera herself was worshipped expressly as Hera *Basíleia*[2]. Aristophanes, true to a long-established tendency of the mythopoeic mind, has split off the cult-title *Basíleia* and transformed it into a new and brilliant personality—the *quasi*-Hera of Athens[3]. This bold stroke of genius[4] was necessitated and justified by the

[1] Mart. *ep.* 10. 89.

[2] W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 88 ff. no. 38, 5 t. = J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 25 ff. no. 6, 5 f. = P. Müllensiefen in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 361 ff. no. 3637, 5 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 717, 5 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1026, 5 f. a liturgical calendar on a marble slab in lettering of *s.* iv—*s.* iii B.C. δεκάται· Ἥραι Ἀργείαι Ἑλείαι Βασιλείαι δάμ|αλις κριτά· κ.τ.λ. (Ἑλεία = ἐν ἕλει, 'in the marsh,' cp. Alexis of Samos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 299 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 572 F Ἄλεξις δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὡρων Σαμιακῶν· 'τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀφροδίτην, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐν Καλάμοις καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἕλει,' κ.τ.λ., Paus. 8. 36. 6 at Megalopolis Δήμητρος καλουμένης ἐν ἕλει ναός τε καὶ ἄλσος. Hesych. *s.v.* ἑλεία (ἐλεία cod.)·... καὶ Ἥρα ἐν Κύπρῳ. καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἐν Μεσσήνῃ (Μεσίνῃ cod.). See further O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2819).

The title as attached to the Argive Hera appears to be of long standing: *Phoronis frag.* 4 Kinkel *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 24 p. 102, 23 f. Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείης, | Ἥρης Ἀργείης (context cited *supra* i. 453 n. 8), Aisch. *suppl.* 296 f. ΠΕΛ. πῶς οὖν τελευτᾷ βασιλέοιν νείκη τάδε; | ΧΟ. βοῦν τὴν γυναῖκ' ἔθηκεν Ἀργεία θεός. | κ.τ.λ., *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 172, 5 ff. on a taurobolic altar of Pentelic marble, to be dated *c.* 361—363 A.D. οὗτος Κεκροπίην αὐχεῖ πόλιν, οὗτος ἐν Ἄργει | ναιετάει, βίοτον μυστικὸν εὖ διάγων· | αὐτόθι γὰρ κλειδοῦχος ἔφυ βασιληΐδος Ἥρης, | κ.τ.λ., 9 f. δαδοῦχός με Κόρης, βασιλ[ηΐ]δος ἱερὰ σηκῶν | Ἥρας κλεῖθρα φέρων, βωμὸν ἔθηκε Ῥέη | κ.τ.λ. = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 822, 5 ff., 9 f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 283. 5 ff., 9 f. (reading 7 αὐτόθι γὰρ κλειδοῦχος ἔφυ βασιληΐδος Ἥρης but 9 δαδοῦχός με κόρης Βασιλῆς Διὸς ἱερὸς ἦκων | κ.τ.λ.). So in Latin Sen. *Ag.* 349 ff., Apul. *met.* 6. 4.

[3] There appears to have been no temple of Hera at Athens till the time of Hadrian (Paus. 1. 18. 9), unless we reckon the ruined temple on the way from Phaleron to Athens, said to have been fired by Mardonios (Paus. 1. 1. 5, 10. 35. 2).

[4] Possibly not so original as we might suppose. I incline to think that Kratinos had hit upon a very similar idea. He is known to have dubbed Perikles Ζεύς (*supra* i. 280, iii. 32 f., cp. ii. 816 n. 1) and Aspasia Ἥρα, if not also Τύραννος or Τυραννοδαίμων (Meineke *Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 61 f., 147 ff., *supra* iii. 32 n. 5). When, therefore, we read in schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1536 ἔστι δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κρατίνῳ ἡ Βασίλεια, it is tempting to conclude that Kratinos spoke of Perikles and Aspasia as the Zeus and the Hera Βασίλεια of Athens.

A *lékythos* from Ruvo, now in the British Museum : the Judgment of Paris with the Argive Hera as prize-winner.

See page 67 f.

whole plot of the bird-comedy. The bird-Zeus was the mate of Hera *Basileia*: Pisthetairos must follow suit. The sceptre, of which we hear so much in the course of the play[1], was perhaps directly suggested by the cuckoo-sceptre of the Argive Hera[2].

I end by anticipating an objection. Aristophanes (it may be urged), lover of old-fashioned Athens as he was, would not have appealed to an Athenian public by thus dwelling on a virtually foreign cult. Still less (I shall be told) could he have assumed in his work-a-day audience familiarity with or appreciation of a cult-statue carved by an alien sculptor for a Peloponnesian town. The objection may be met, or at least minimised, by the consideration of a certain red-figured *lékythos* from Ruvo, now in the British Museum[3], which—if I am not in error—makes it probable that this very statue was known and admired by ordinary folk at Athens in the days of Aristophanes. The vase-painting (pl. xi)[4], which is contemporary or nearly contemporary with our play, represents a frequent subject—the judgment of Paris. To our surprise, however, the central goddess is not Aphrodite but Hera, who sits on a throne raised by a lotos-patterned base. As befits a 'Queen,' she wears a high decorated *stephánē* and holds in her left hand a long sceptre tipped by a cuckoo with spread wings. Her feet rest on a footstool, and beside the further arm of her throne is an open-mouthed panther sitting on its hind legs[5]. Advancing towards her comes Nike with

G. Loeschcke *Vermutungen zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte und zur Topographie Athens* Dorpati Livonorum 1884 pp. 14—24, followed by O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 44 f., would identify the Βασίλεια of Kratinos and Aristophanes with the Meter of the Athenian market-place, protectress of the *Bouleutérion*.

[1] Aristoph. *av.* 480, 635 f., 1534 f., 1600 f., 1626 f., 1631.

[2] Cp. Aristoph. *av.* 508 ff. *ἦρχον δ' οὕτω σφόδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥστ', εἴ τις καὶ βασιλεύοι | ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀγαμέμνων ἢ Μενέλαος, | ἐπὶ τῶν σκήπτρων ἑκάθητ' ὄρνις μετέχων ὅ τι δωροδοκοίη* with *ib.* 504 *Αἰγύπτου δ' αὖ καὶ Φοινίκης πάσης κόκκυξ βασιλεὺς ἦν.* It is important to note that both Egypt (Epaphos, Memphis, Libye, Belos, Anchinoe, Aigyptos, Danaos, etc.) and Phoinike (Agenor, Kadmos, Phoinix, etc.) play a large part in the mythology of the early kings of Argos.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 61 no. F 109, Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 289 f. pl. 43, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* v. 410 no. 61 pl. B, 3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 140 ff. (B) Atlas pl. 10, 1 and 1 a.

[4] The vase, when I first saw it, had been very skilfully repainted so as to appear quite complete. My friend Mr H. B. Walters kindly had it cleaned for me with ether (Sept. 29, 1910), and thus fixed the exact limits of the restoration. I was therefore enabled to publish in the Ridgeway volume (*supra* p. 44 n. 1) for the first time an accurate drawing of the design by that excellent draughtsman, the late Mr F. Anderson. The present plate is reproduced from his coloured drawing to a larger scale.

[5] The panther appears to be a variant of the lion, which on other vases representing the judgment of Paris precedes (Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* v. 388 no. 22) or is carried by Hera (*id. ib.* v. 398 f. no. 52 pl. B, 2, Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 716 ff. no. 2536,

a palm-branch[1]. In front of her sits Paris; behind stands Hermes; above are Athena and Aphrodite—all with their usual attributes. It seems clear that the vase-painter, wishing to give an individual turn to a common type[2], has made Paris award the prize of beauty, not—as tradition prescribed—to Aphrodite, nor even—as patriotism might suggest—to Athena, but to Hera, the Hera of Polykleitos. The rival goddesses are relegated to the far corners of the scene, and the *chef-d'œuvre* of the sculptor queens it in the centre. Doubtless the vase-painter showed his ingenuity by treating the pomegranate in Hera's hand as if it were the apple of discord that Paris had just presented to the fairest. In short, the vase as a whole forms an amusing parallel to the epigram by Martial already quoted.

But whether the second half of the name Nephelo-kokkygia was or was not inspired by the Argive cult, it is certain that the first half owed much to the common Greek conception of Zeus enthroned above the clouds. Above them rather than upon them. Prometheus, arriving in Cloudland, is terribly afraid that Zeus will see him 'from above[3].' Hence his ludicrous umbrella. And Pisthetairos, aspiring to the home and the very couch of Zeus, must needs bear his bride upwards from the celestial city on pinions that soar to yet higher heights[4]. After all, that is as it should be. The clouds, if strictly described, are of the *aér*; and the *aér* is a lower stratum than the *aithér*[5]. The realm of the sky-god was rightly pictured by Homer as

> Broad heaven in the *aithér* and the clouds[6].

(d) The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth.

From the ritual of Zeus *Aktaîos* we have inferred that in early days Greek rain-makers clothed themselves in sheep-skins by way

Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 141 ff. (M) Atlas pl. 10, 7, Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1615 fig. 6) and is usually explained as symbolising the sovereignty of Asia (Eur. *Tro.* 927 f., Isokr. *Hel.* 41, *alib.*). These adjuncts recall another statue of Hera at Argos: Tert. *de cor. mil.* 7 Iunoni vitem Callimachus induxit (perhaps the seated Hera *Νυμφευομένη* at Plataiai, made by Kallimachos (Paus. 9. 2. 7)). ita et Argis signum eius palmite redimitum, subiecto pedibus eius corio leonino, insultantem ostentat novercam de exuviis utriusque privigni (*sc.* Dionysos and Herakles).

[1] Mr H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 61 says: 'Before Hera hovers Iris or Nikè, with wings spread,' etc. But, if Nike were hovering in the air, her feet would point downwards: see *e.g.* F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgöttin* Leipzig 1898 pl. 3, 19 ff.

[2] Cp. P. Gardner *A Grammar of Greek Art* London 1905 pp. 244—253=*id. The Principles of Greek Art* New York 1914 pp. 297—309.

[3] Aristoph. *av.* 1551 *ἄνωθεν*, cp. *ib.* 1509.

[4] *Id. ib.* 1759 ff.

[5] *Supra* i. 101 f. pl. ix, 2.

[6] *Il.* 15. 192 (cited *supra* i. 25 n. 5, iii. 34).

of copying the fleecy clouds[1]. Such a usage goes some way towards explaining another drama of exceptional brilliance[2], the *Clouds* of Aristophanes; for he, in common with all the writers of old Attic comedy, was largely indebted for his choruses to the mimetic dances of the past[3]. The Clouds, however, to whom the Aristophanic Sokrates would introduce his elderly pupil and initiate, Strepsiades, are not mere masses of vapour that the magician can coax into sending a shower, but rather august, and indeed divine, personifications of the same:

> Old man sit you still, and attend to my will, and hearken in peace to my prayer,
> O Master and King, holding earth in your swing, O measureless infinite Air;
> And thou glowing Ether, and Clouds who enwreathe her with thunder, and lightning, and storms,
> Arise ye and shine, bright Ladies Divine, to your student in bodily forms[4].

Sokrates speaks of them as 'our deities[5],' and again as 'heavenly Clouds, great goddesses[6].' Strepsiades, taking his cue, salutes them

[1] *Supra* p. 31 f.

[2] When first exhibited at the Dionysia of 423 B.C. the Νεφέλαι of Aristophanes gained only the third prize, being beaten by the Πυτίνη of Kratinos and the Κόννος of Ameipsias—a judgment hard to understand. We have the play in part rewritten, a second edition which was never staged (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 422 f.), being either 'composed to be read and not to be acted' (B. B. Rogers in his ed. 1916 p. xii), or planned for performance some time after 421 B.C. (G. M. Bolling 'The two recensions of *The Clouds*' in *Class. Philol.* 1920 xv. 83 ff., reported in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 30, 1921 p. 736).

[3] So at least I have argued in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 163 ff. Note that the *choreutaí* impersonating the Clouds are likened to spread fleeces (*nub.* 343 εἴξασιν γοῦν ἐρίοισιν πεπταμένοισι). Why attention is drawn to their noses (*ib.* 344 αὗται δὲ ῥῖνας ἔχουσιν), is not quite clear. The schol. *ad loc.* says εἰσεληλύθασι γὰρ οἱ τοῦ χοροῦ προσωπεῖα περικείμενοι μεγάλας ἔχοντα ῥῖνας καὶ ἄλλως γελοῖα καὶ ἀσχήμονα. The sequel (*nub.* 346 ff.) of course shows that the Greeks, like other children, formed fancy-pictures in the sky and took the clouds to be a Centaur, a leopard, a wolf, a bull—in fact, as Lowell puts it, 'Insisted all the world should see | camels or whales where none there be!' But that is hardly the import of ῥῖνες. I should rather suppose that the Nephelai are entirely wrapped in fleeces except for their nostrils. Cp. the use of *νεφέλη* in Greek (Hesych. *s.v.* φάρη) and *nebula* in Latin (De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'nebula' § 9) for a thin, flowing garment, or of 'cloud' in English for a voluminous woollen scarf (J. A. H. Murray *A New English Dictionary* Oxford 1893 ii. 526 *s.v.* 'Cloud' § 8).

[4] Aristoph. *nub.* 263 ff. trans. B. B. Rogers ΣΩ. εὐφημεῖν χρὴ τὸν πρεσβύτην καὶ τῆς εὐχῆς ἐπακούειν. | ὦ δέσποτ' ἄναξ, ἀμέτρητ' Ἀήρ, ὃς ἔχεις τὴν γῆν μετέωρον, | λαμπρός τ' Αἰθήρ, σεμναί τε θεαὶ Νεφέλοι βροντησικέραυνοι, | ἄρθητε, φάνητ', ὦ δέσποιναι, τῷ φροντιστῇ μετέωροι.

[5] *Id. ib.* 252 f. ΣΩ. καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι ταῖς Νεφέλαισιν ἐς λόγους, | ταῖς ἡμετέραισι δαίμοσιν;

[6] *Id. ib.* 315 f. ΣΤ. μῶν ἠρῷναί τινές εἰσιν; | ΣΩ. ἥκιστ', ἀλλ' οὐράνιαι Νεφέλαι, μεγάλαι θεαὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀργοῖς.

as 'Queens over all[1].' Sokrates outdoes even this by declaring that the Clouds are 'the only goddesses', the rest being pure rubbish[2]. Zeus? There's no such person[3]. But the Clouds themselves are more orthodox, and in their *parábasis* begin by invoking four gods with whom they are specially concerned—Zeus, Poseidon, Aither their father, and Helios[4]. It would seem that Aristophanes, who throughout the play is presenting the grossest caricature of Sokrates, has foisted upon him a worship of the Clouds more properly belonging to Orphic votaries. The comedian of course accounts that way for Sokrates' nebulous notions and shifty morals[5]. But the Orphists, who from of old had been devotees of nature, were perfectly serious. Their hymns to Zeus *Keraúnios* and to Zeus *Astrápios* are immediately followed by another to the Clouds, which is prefaced by the rubric that the proper burnt-offering to be made is myrrh, and continues:

> Clouds of the air, that nurture the crops, and that roam in the sky,
> Parents of rain, driven wide o'er the world by the blasts of the wind,
> Brimful of thunder and fire, loud-roaring, of watery ways,
> Ye that make horror of sound in the echoing bosom of air,
> Rent by the winds or charging amain with a crash and a clap,
> You I beseech, that are clad in the dew, and that breathe in the breeze,
> Send us the showers to nurture the crops of our Mother the Earth[6].

Adoration of the Clouds, though perhaps connectible with other

[1] *Id. ib.* 356 f. ΣΤ. χαίρετε τοίνυν, ὦ δέσποιναι· καὶ νῦν, εἴπερ τινὶ κἄλλῳ, | οὐρανομήκη ῥήξατε κάμοὶ φωνήν, ὦ παμβασίλειαι.

[2] *Id. ib.* 365 ΣΩ. αὗται γάρ τοι μόναι εἰσὶ θεαί· τἄλλα δὲ πάντ' ἐστὶ φλύαρος.

[3] *Id. ib.* 366 f. ΣΤ. ὁ Ζεὺς δ' ἡμῖν, φέρε, πρὸς τῆς Γῆς, οὐλύμπιος οὐ θεός ἐστιν; | ΣΩ. ποῖος Ζεύς; οὐ μὴ ληρήσεις· οὐδ' ἔστι Ζεύς. *Supra* ii. 2. Cp. *mub.* 380 f. ΣΤ. Δῖνος; τουτί μ' ἐλελήθει, | ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ὤν, ἀλλ' ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Δῖνος νυνὶ βασιλεύων, 818 f. ΣΤ. ἰδού γ' ἰδοὺ Δί' Ὀλύμπιον· τῆς μωρίας· | τὸν Δία νομίζειν, ὄντα τηλικουτονί, 827 ΣΤ. οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ Φειδιππίδη, Ζεύς. ΦΕΙ. ἀλλὰ τίς; | ΣΤ. Δῖνος βασιλεύει, τὸν Δί' ἐξεληλακώς, 1469 ff. ΦΕΙ. ἰδού γε Δία Πατρῷον· ὡς ἀρχαῖος εἶ. | Ζεὺς γάρ τις ἔστιν; ΣΤ. ἔστιν. ΦΕΙ. οὐκ ἔστ', οὔκ, ἐπεὶ | Δῖνος βασιλεύει, τὸν Δί' ἐξεληλακώς.

[4] *Id. ib.* 563 ff. ὑψιμέδοντα μὲν θεῶν | Ζῆνα τύραννον ἐς χορὸν | πρῶτα μέγαν κικλήσκω· | τόν τε μεγασθενῆ τριαί|νης ταμίαν, | γῆς τε καὶ ἁλμυρᾶς θαλάσ|σης ἄγριον μοχλευτήν· | καὶ μεγαλώνυμον ἠμέτερον πατέρ', | Αἰθέρα σεμνότατον, βιοθρέμμονα πάντων· | τόν θ' ἱππονώμαν, ὃς ὑπερ|λάμπροις ἀκτῖσιν κατέχει | γῆς πέδον, μέγας ἐν θεοῖς | ἐν θνητοῖσί τε δαίμων. The *antistrophé* (595 ff.) invokes Apollon of Mt Kynthos, Artemis of Ephesos, Athena of the Akropolis, and Dionysos of Mt Parnassos—another quartet of deities likely to be interested in Clouds.

[5] *Id. ib.* 316 ff.

[6] Orph. *h. Neph.* 21 ΝΕΦΩΝ, θυμίαμα σμύρναν. 1 ff. ἠέριαι (so E. Abel for ἠέριοι) νεφέλαι, καρποτρόφοι, οὐρανόπλαγκτοι, | ὀμβροτόκοι, πνοιῇσιν (so G. Hermann for πνοιαῖσιν) ἐλαυνόμεναι κατὰ κόσμον, | βρονταῖαι, πυρόεσσαι, ἐρίβρομοι, ὑγροκέλευθοι (so Hermann for ὑδροκέλευθοι), | ἠέρος (so Hermann for ἀέρος) ἐν κόλπῳ πάταγον φρικώδε' (so Hermann for φρικώδη) ἔχουσαι, | πνεύμασιν ἀντίσπαστοι ἐπιδρομάδην παταγεῦσαι, | ὑμᾶς νῦν λίτομαι δροσοείμονες, εὔπνοοι αὔραις, | πέμπειν καρποτρόφους ὄμβρους ἐπὶ μητέρα γαῖαν.

points of Orphic doctrine[1] and apt to recrudesce in popular practice[2], was naturally ridiculed as fatuous and futile[3]. But that was a reproach which it shared with the highest conception of the Hebrews[4]. Christianity itself has cherished, not only the recollection of 'a cloud that overshadowed them[5]' and 'a cloud' that 'received him out of their sight[6],' but also the anticipation of 'another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud[7],' and the final vision of 'a white cloud, and upon the cloud one...like unto the Son of man[8].'

[1] The Rhapsodic theogony spoke of the world-egg as 'the cloud' (Orph. *frag.* 60 Kern *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 123 (i. 317, 2 f. Ruelle) quoted *supra* ii. 1024, where P. R. Schuster's cj. κελύφην for νεφέλην is clever, but improbable). The Justinian recension of the Orphic Διαθῆκαι (Orph. *frag.* 245 Kern *ap.* pseudo-Iust. Mart. *de monarchia* 2. 105 A—B (i. 116 Otto)=pseudo-Iust. Mart. *cohortatio ad gentiles* 15. 15 E (i. 50, 52 Otto)) has the following impressive passage: 13 ff. οὐδέ τις ἔσθ' ἕτερος χωρὶς μεγάλου βασιλῆος (so Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 416, 4 Stählin and most codd. of the *cohortatio.* μεγάλοιο ἄνακτος most codd. of the *de monarchia* and codd. C. E. of the *cohortatio*). | αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται. | πᾶσιν γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις, | ἀσθενέες δ' ἰδέειν Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα. The Aristobulian recension of the work (Orph. *frag.* 247 Kern *ap.* Aristoboul. in Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 12. 5 = the 'Theosophia Tubingensis' of Aristokritos (?) (see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 976) published by K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 112 ff.) has line 20 αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται in a different context. Another passage of the Διαθῆκαι (Orph. *frag.* 248 a Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 411, 4 and 10 Stählin = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 52) invokes the supreme deity ὃς κινεῖς ἀνέμους, νεφέλῃσι δὲ πάντα καλύπτεις, and again 12 σὸς χειμὼν ψυχραῖσιν ἐπερχόμενος νεφέλαισιν. The Δωδεκαετηρίδες (Orph. *frag.* 256 Kern) state that, when Iupiter is in Virgo, the year will bring pestilence etc. καὶ κεραυνοβόλοι νεφέλαι τὰ σπέρματα κατακαύσουσι (the MSS. read κερανυοβόλαι and κατακαύσει. J. Heeg cj. ἠδὲ κεραυνοβόλοι νεφέλαι < κατὰ καρπὸν > ἔκαυσαν). The same poem elsewhere, in an imitation of Hes. *o.d.* 504 ff., says: πολλαὶ δ' οὐρανόθεν καὶ ἐπαρτέες ἐκ νεφελάων | τῆμος ἐπόρνυνται φηγοῖς καὶ δένδρεσιν ἄλλοις | οὔρεσί τε σκοπέλοις τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων (Heinsius cj. ἀνθρώποις) ἐριθύμοις | πηγυλίδες καὶ ἔσονται ἀμειδέες (Orph. *frag.* 270 Kern *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Hes. *o.d.* 502).

[2] Tert. *apol.* 24 colat alius deum, alius Iovem, alius ad caelum manus supplices tendat, alius ad aram Fidei, alius, si hoc putatis, nubes numerat orans, alius lacunaria, alius suam animam deo suo voveat, alius hirci. Cp. *ib.* 40 caelum apud Capitolium quaeritis, nubila de laquearibus exspectatis.

[3] Hor. *ars poet.* 230 aut, dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet, Pers. *sat.* 5. 7 grande locuturi nebulas Helicone legunto.

[4] Iuv. 14. 96 f. quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem | nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant. J. Rendel Harris *St. Paul and Greek Literature* (*Woodbrooke Essays*, No. 7) Cambridge 1927 p. 17 f. would correct Col. 2. 23 ἐν ἐθελοθρησκείᾳ καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀφειδίᾳ σώματος: 'if we restore ἐν νεφελοθρησκείᾳ we shall have an expression capable of explanation from Aristophanes; the worship of angels is, like the new religion in the Greek comedy, a worship of the clouds.' *Infra* p. 432 n. 9. See further Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Graec.* i. 994 *s.v.* νεφομαντεία, who cites from Damask. *v. Isid. ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 340 b 13 ff. Bekker the queer tale of the cloud-seer Anthousa, of Aigai in Kilikia, who saw a cloud like a Goth swallowed up by a cloud like a lion and divined that Asper leader of the Goths would be slain by Leon.

[5] Mark 9. 7. [6] Acts 1. 9.

[7] Rev. 10. 1. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* 10. 633 f. (Iuno) caelo se protinus alto | misit agens hiemem nimbo succincta per auras.

[8] Rev. 14. 14.

For, after all, a cloud may symbolise mystery as well as mystification; and what began as a *nimbus* may end as a glory[1].

Nephele, the personified Cloud, figures in one or two Greek myths which deserve attention. Pherekydes of Athens (or Leros[2]), the earliest Attic prose-writer (*floruit* 454/3 B.C.), tells the tale of Kephalos and Prokris in the following form[3]:

Kephalos, the son of Deïoneus, married Prokris, the daughter of Erechtheus, and dwelt at Thorai[4]. Wishing to make trial of his wife, he went abroad—it is said—and left her for the space of eight years[5] while she was yet a bride. After that, he adorned and disguised himself and, coming to his house thus tricked out, persuaded Prokris to receive him and consort with him. Prokris, eyeing his adornment and seeing that Kephalos was a very handsome man, lay with him. Thereupon Kephalos revealed himself and took Prokris to task. However, he made it up with her, and sallied forth to the chase. As he did this repeatedly, Prokris suspected that he had intercourse with another woman. So she summoned the serving-man and asked if he knew aught of it. The thrall said he had seen Kephalos repair to the top of a certain mountain and often exclaim 'O Nephele[6], come to me!'—that was all he knew. Prokris on hearing it went to that mountain-top and hid herself. Then, when she heard him saying the same words, she ran towards him. Kephalos, seeing her, was seized with sudden madness and, on the spur of the moment, struck Prokris with the javelin in his hand and slew her. Then he sent for Erechtheus and gave her a costly burial.

Schwenn[7] in a recent discussion of the myth very justly observes that Nephele here must be a flesh-and-blood personification, not a mere amorphous vapour. Ovid[8] goes off on a wrong tack, when he

[1] The *nimbus* of Christian art has a long history of its own, on which see L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 pp. 1—140 (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg.* vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361—500), E. Venables in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 1398—1402, H. Mendelsohn *Der Heiligenschein in der italienischen Malerei seit Giotto* Berlin 1903 pp. 1—23 with figs., A. Krücke *Der Nimbus und verwandte Attribute in der frühchristlichen Kunst* Strassburg 1905 pp. 1—145 with 7 photographic pls (=*Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes* Heft 35), G. Gietmann 'Nimbus' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* New York 1911 xi. 80—83. Older monographs are Behmius *De Nimbis Sanctorum* (cited by Venables) and J. Nicolai *Disquisitio de Nimbis antiquorum, Imaginibus Deorum, imperatorum olim, & nunc Christi, Apostolorum & Mariæ Capitibus adpictis* (Jena) 1699 pp. 1—151.

[2] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 454 f.

[3] Pherekyd. *frag.* 77 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 90 f. Müller)=*frag.* 34 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 71 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. M.V. *Od.* 11. 321, cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1688, 20 ff.

[4] Schol. *Od.* 11. 321 has *ἐν τῇ Θοριέων* (*sc. φυλῇ*). F. G. Sturz cj. *ἐν τῷ Θοριέων* (*sc. δήμῳ*). C. Müller, after P. K. Buttmann, would read *ἐν τῷ Θορικῷ* (*sc. δήμῳ*). U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, followed by F. Jacoby, prints *ἐν τῇ Θορ<α>ιέων*.

[5] A significant period, one 'great year' (*supra* i. 540 n. 1, ii. 240 ff.).

[6] Codd. M. V[a]. of schol. *Od.* 11. 321 read *ὦ νεφέλα*, which is accepted by F. Jacoby. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1688, 27 has *ὦ νεφέλη*, and so P. K. Buttmann in schol. *Od.* 11. 321. C. Müller prints *ὦ Νεφέλα*.

[7] Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 218.

[8] Ov. *ars am.* 3. 697 ff., *met.* 7. 811 ff.

Kratér in the British Museum: the death of Prokris.

See page 73 *n.* 5.

substitutes *aura*, the cool breeze beloved by the hunter. And Hyginus[1] makes confusion more confounded by importing *Aurora* from the myth of Heos. Schwenn, however. has not perceived that the story as a whole involves a modified mixture of two folk-tale *motifs*. J. G. von Hahn[2] long since pointed out that Prokris, who first succumbs to the trinkets of a stranger and later lives with him as his wife, illustrates one variety of *weibliche Käuflichkeit*. This has been crossed with the 'Melusine'-*formula*[3] of a mortal man, who is unfaithful to a more-than-mortal woman and is therefore deserted by her and punished for his offence. Such stories ultimately go back to a very primitive type of tale which, according to Sir James Frazer[4], has its roots in a totemic taboo. Be that as it may, it certainly seems probable that in the original version Nephele the cloud-goddess bestowed her favours upon Kephalos and was jealous of his relations to the mortal wife Prokris. Her death was his punishment—a scene graphically portrayed on a red-figured *kratér* with columnar handles now in the British Museum (pl. xii)[5].

Essentially similar is the myth of Athamas[6]. He too deserted the goddess Nephele for a mortal wife, and was punished by a drought for his desertion. Again the tale has come down to us with

[1] Hyg. *fab.* 189.

[2] J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 47 gives as his sixth *formula*: 'Eine Jungfrau giebt für Kostbarkeiten in dreimaliger Steigerung ihre Reize Preis und verliert dabei ihr Magdthum α) durch Ueberlistung, β) bewusster Weise, und muss sich mit dem Käufer vermählen.'

[3] J. G. von Hahn *op. cit.* i. 45 second *formula*: 'Der Mann fehlt, und die nicht zum Menschengeschlecht gehörende Frau verlässt ihn entweder: a) für immer, ohne dass er ihr zu folgen versucht. b) oder er sucht sie in ihrer fernen Heimath auf und verbindet sich mit ihr,' C. S. Burne *The Handbook of Folklore* London 1914 p. 344 no. 2, P. Saintyves *Les contes de Perrault et les récits parallèles: leurs origines* Paris 1923 pp. 420—427.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God pp. 129—131.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 294 no. E 477, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iii. 18 ff. pl. 205, J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series i London 1822 p. 35 ff. pl. 14, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. lxix f. fig. 14, A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1103 fig. 3, G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 167 fig. 86, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 416 no. 7 (attributed to the painter of the Naples Hephaistos-*kratér* (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 285 f. no. 2412)). My pl. xii is from a photograph by the Official Photographer. In the centre Prokris collapses on the mountain-side. She wears a short *chitón*, and attempts to pluck the unerring javelin from her bare breast. As her eyes close in death, a soul-bird escapes from her into the air. From the right advances her father Erechtheus, wearing *himátion* and wreath, one hand holding a long sceptre, the other outstretched in dismay. On the left stands Kephalos with *chlamýs* and *pétasos*. He raises his left hand to his forehead with a gesture of despair, and rests his right on a club, while he holds his hound Lailaps by a leash. No other representation of the scene is known.

[6] *Supra* i. 414 ff.

much admixture and amplification. A. H. Krappe[1] has analysed it, in my opinion successfully, and has shown that it combines, not only the old Greek belief in the king's responsibility for the crops and the old Greek custom of sacrificing him or his son in time of famine, but also a whole bunch of folk-tale *motifs*—the jealousy of the heavenly wife ('Melusine[2]'), the wicked step-mother ('Brüderchen und Schwesterchen[3]'), and the helpful animal ('Einäuglein, Zweiäuglein und Dreiäuglein[4]').

A curious modification of this union between a mortal man and the cloud-goddess may be detected in sundry other myths. It would seem that the ancient mating of man with goddess struck the later Greeks as blasphemous. They therefore said that such and such a hero had become enamoured of such and such a goddess, but that Zeus had substituted for her a phantom made out of cloud. Thus Endymion, in the Hesiodic poem entitled *The Great Eoiai*[5], was raised to heaven by Zeus and fell in love with Hera, but was deluded by a cloud-phantom and cast down to Hades[6]. Similarly, when Ixion paid court to Hera, Zeus, according to the usual version[7], or

[1] A. H. Krappe 'The Story of Phrixos and Modern Folklore' in *Folk-Lore* 1923 xxxiv. 141—147. *Id.* 'La légende d'Athamas et de Phrixos' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1924 xxxvii. 381—389 discusses some remaining difficulties in this complex tale and proposes (*ib.* p. 385) to reconstitute its final form as follows: 'Athamas répudie Néphélè et épouse une femme mortelle, qui lui donne plusieurs enfants. Jalouse de sa rivale qu'elle hait, Néphélè provoque une famine, sachant que par ce moyen le fils de sa rivale sera immolé à l'autel. Pour sauver son enfant d'une mort terrible, la pauvre mère se suicide et devient une divinité bienveillante.'

[2] *Supra* p. 73 n. 3.

[3] A. Aarne *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* (Communications edited for the Folklore Fellows by J. Bolte, K. Krohn, A. Olrik, C. W. v. Sydow. No. 3) Helsinki 1910 p. 19 f. no. 450, J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 79 ff. no. 11.

[4] A. Aarne *op. cit.* p. 23 no. 511, J. Bolte—G. Polívka *op. cit.* Leipzig 1918 iii. 60 ff. no. 130.

[5] A. Rzach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1204 f., W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 123 f.

[6] Hes. *frag.* 160 Kinkel, 148 Rzach, *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 57 ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις Ἠοίαις λέγεται τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνα ἀνενεχθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς εἰς οὐρανόν. ἐρασθέντα δὲ Ἥρας εἰδώλῳ παραλογισθῆναι [τὸν ἔρωτα (*om.* H. Keil)] νεφέλης καὶ ἐκβληθέντα κατελθεῖν εἰς Ἅιδου = Eudok. *viol.* 344.

[7] P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 766 ff., R. Wagner *ib.* iii. 180 f. The principal sources are: Pind. *Pyth.* 2. 25 ff. εὐμενέσσι γὰρ παρὰ Κρονίδαις | γλυκὺν ἑλὼν βίοτον, μακρὸν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ὄλβον, μαινομέναις φρασὶν | Ἥρας ὅτ' ἐράσσατο, τὰν Διὸς εὐναὶ λάχον | πολυγαθέες· ἀλλά νιν ὕβρις εἰς ἀνάταν ὑπεράφανον | ὥρσεν, 36 ff. ἐπεὶ νεφέλᾳ παρελέξατο, | ψεῦδος γλυκὺ μεθέπων, ἄϊδρις ἀνήρ· | εἶδος γὰρ ὑπεροχωτάτᾳ πρέπεν οὐρανιᾶν (so A. Boeckh, C. A. M. Fennell, Sir J. E. Sandys with codd. D. E. cett. T. Bergk, followed by B. L. Gildersleeve and W. Christ, cj. Οὐρανιδᾶν. T. Mommsen, followed by O. Schröder, reads Οὐρανίδα, cp. schol. vet. *ad loc.* τοῦ οὐρανίου Κρόνου) | θυγατέρι Κρόνου· ἄντε δόλον αὐτῷ θέσαν | Ζηνὸς παλάμαι, καλὸν πῆμα. κ.τ.λ., schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 62 ἐλεήσας οὖν ὁ Ζεὺς

Hera herself, according to some[1], fashioned a cloud-figure, by whom Ixion became the father of Kentauros[2].

An instructive case is that of the hero[3] Iasion, who lay with

ἀγνίζει αὐτόν· καὶ ἀγνισθεὶς ἠράσθη τῆς Ἥρας. ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς νεφέλην ὁμοιώσας Ἥρᾳ παρακοιμίζει αὐτῷ, Diod. 4. 69 τέλος δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ τοὺς μύθους ἀγνισθείς, ἠράσθη μὲν τῆς Ἥρας καὶ κατετόλμησεν ὑπὲρ συνουσίας λόγους ποιεῖσθαι. ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν Δία εἴδωλον ποιήσαντα τῆς Ἥρας νεφέλην ἐξαποστεῖλαι, τὸν δὲ Ἰξίονα τῇ νεφέλῃ μιγέντα γεννῆσαι τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Κενταύρους ἀνθρωποφυεῖς, 70 τινὲς δὲ λέγουσι τοὺς ἐκ Νεφέλης καὶ Ἰξίονος γεννηθέντας Κενταύρους πρώτους ἱππεύειν ἐπιχειρήσαντας Ἱπποκενταύρους ὠνομάσθαι κ.τ.λ., Loukian. *dial. deor.* 6. 4 (Zeus to Hera) εἴδωλον ἐκ νεφέλης πλασάμενοι αὐτῇ σοι ὅμοιον ... παρακατακλίνωμεν αὐτῷ φέροντες κ.τ.λ. with schol. *ad loc.* (i. 216 T. Hemsterhuys—J. F. Reitz) οὗτος δὲ ἀκόλαστος ὢν ἠράσθη Ἥρας, ἣ ἀνήγγειλε τῷ Διί. ὁ < δὲ (*ins.* M. du Soul) > δοκιμάζων αὐτὸν ἀπείκασε νεφέλην τῇ Ἥρᾳ, ᾗ μίγνυται Ἰξίων, καὶ ποιεῖ παῖδα τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπου ἔχοντα τὰ δὲ ἵππου, ἀφ' οὗ Ἱπποκένταυροι, schol. V. *Od.* 21. 303 Ἰξίων ὁ Διὸς παῖς ... διὰ τῆς ἐμφύτου κακίας ἐπείραζε τὸν τῆς Ἥρας γάμον. ὑποπτεύσασα δὲ ἡ θεὸς ἀνήνεγκε τῷ Διὶ τὴν Ἰξίονος λύσσαν. ὁ δὲ ἐνθυμούμενος ζῆλῳ πάλιν τοῦτο ταύτην δρᾶν διαβάλλουσαν τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένους, ἔκ τινος ὅμως ἐπιτεχνήσεως τῆς Ἰξίονος ἐπειρᾶτο γνώμης. σκοπῶν δὲ εὗρε τὸ ἀληθές. νεφέλην γὰρ Ἥρᾳ παρεικάσας μόνην ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ τοῦ Ἰξίονος κατέλιπεν, ὁ δὲ ὡς Ἥραν ἐβιάσατο ... γίνεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης παῖς Ἰξίονος διφυὴς τὰ μὲν κατώτερα μέρη τῆς μητρὸς ἔχων· αἱ γὰρ νεφέλαι ἵπποις ἐοίκασι· τὰ δὲ ἀνώτερα μέρη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ μέχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰξίονος. κ.τ.λ.

[1] Hyg. *fab.* 62 Iuno Iovis iussu nubem supposuit, quam Ixion Iunonis simulac[h]rum esse credidit. ex ea nati sunt Centauri, Myth. Vat. 1. 162 Centauri autem Ixionis et nubis filii sunt; quae nubes ipsi a Iunone in sui forma est opposita, 2. 106 Ixion, Phlegyae filius, ... Iunonem de stupro interpellare ausus est. quae de audacia eius conquesta Iovi, suadente ipso, pro se nubem ei opposuit, cum qua Ixion concubuit; unde geniti sunt Centauri, 3. 4. 6 Ixion Iunonis coniugium petiit; illa nubem in speciem suam ornavit, cum qua Ixion coiens Centauros genuit, schol. C. Eur. *Phoen.* 1185 ὁ Ἰξίων ... ὕβρισε τὴν τοῦ Διὸς φιλίαν. ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ τῆς Ἥρας καὶ λόγους προσήγαγεν αὐτῇ· ἡ δὲ θεὰ νεφέλην αὐτῷ παρεκοίμισεν εἰς ἑαυτὴν σχηματίζουσα, ᾗ δὴ συγκαθευδήσας ὁ Ἰξίων ἐπεκαυχήσατο τῇ συνουσίᾳ (but other scholia on the same line give the more usual account: schol. A. C. M. ὃς ἀκολασταίνων ἰδὼν τὴν Ἥραν ἠράσθη αὐτῆς· μὴ φέρουσα δὲ ἡ Ἥρα τὴν μανίαν αὐτοῦ φησι τῷ Διί· ἐφ' ᾧ ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Ζεύς, βουλόμενός τε γνῶναι (so cod. M. δοκιμάσαι codd. A. C.) εἴ γε ἀληθές ἐστιν, ἀπείκασε τῇ Ἥρᾳ νεφέλην, ἣν ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰξίων, νομίσας τὴν Ἥραν εἶναι, μίγνυται αὐτῇ καὶ ποιεῖ παῖδα διφυῆ, τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπου ἔχοντα τὰ δὲ ἵππου, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Κένταυροι γεγόνασιν, schol. Gu. Bar. οὗτος ὁ Ἰξίων ... ἐφωράθη τῆς Ἥρας ἐρῶν. θέλων οὖν ὁ Ζεὺς γνῶναι τὸν ἔρωτα νεφέλην παρεικάζει τῇ Ἥρᾳ, εἰς ἣν ὁρμήσας ὁ Ἰξίων δῆλον ἐποίησε τῷ Διὶ τὸν ἔρωτα ... ἐκ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὴν νεφέλην τοῦ Ἰξίονος μίξεως γέγονεν ὁ Ἱπποκένταυρος, κεφαλὴν μὲν καὶ στῆθος καὶ χεῖρας ἀνθρώπου ἔχων, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα ἵππου, κ.τ.λ.), schol. Loukian. *pisc.* 12 p. 132, 23 ff. Rabe φασὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἰξίονα τῆς Ἥρας ἐρασθῆναι, ἐρασθέντι δὲ τὴν Ἥραν χαριζομένην αὐτῷ νεφέλην εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀπεικάσασαν ἐᾶν Ἰξίονι χρῆσθαι ὡς ἑαυτῇ. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ Κένταυροι ἀρχὴν τῆς γενέσεως ἔσχον. καὶ τὸ σύμπτωμα εἰς ὄνομα ἔλαβον· παρὰ γὰρ τὸ τὴν αὔραν κεντεῖν τὸν Ἰξίονα ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει Κένταυρος τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐκλήθη—an effort of etymological imagination which it would be hard to beat!

But it is a serious mistake to infer from such passages that Hera was a rain- or cloud-goddess (Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 26 'Eine alte Vorstellung von der Hera als Regen- bez. Wolkengöttin birgt sich in dem Mythos von Hera-Nephele und Ixion').

[2] Cp. Aristoph. *nub.* 346 νεφέλην Κενταύρῳ ὁμοίαν, *supra* p. 69 n. 3.

[3] There is not the least reason for supposing that Iasion was a heroïsed sky-god (Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 337 n. 1 'Die Verbindung der Dem. mit Jasion...stellt diese Ehe der Erde mit dem Himmelsgotte dar, da beide...hier heroisirt erscheinen,' *ib.* p. 473 n. 1 'ich halte Ἰασίων für einen heroisirten Poseidon ἰατρός') or a form of Zeus (E. Thraemer *Pergamos* 1888 p. 102 n. 2 'ε 125 wird Jasion, der Buhle der Demeter, von Zeus aus

Demeter on a thrice-ploughed field in Crete, became by her the father of the infant Ploutos, and was thunder-struck by Zeus (fig. 22)[1] for his presumption[2]. This ancient myth, though it had the sanction

Fig. 22.

Eifersucht getödtet. Der Dichter des ϵ ahnt nicht, dass Jasion mit Zeus wesensgleich ist').

[1] G. Kieseritzky 'Iasios' in the *Strena Helbigiana* Lipsiae 1900 pp. 160—163 with fig. (= my fig. 22) published a fragmentary red-figured *kratér* of late style, from Chersonesos Taurike, now in the Hermitage at Petrograd, which appears to represent the scene. A young man (ΙΑΣΣΟΣ) in oriental garb flings up both arms with a gesture of despair and looks back in terror towards the left, where just beyond a neighbouring hill Nike is seen driving the chariot of Zeus (?). On the right sits a bearded god holding a long staff (trident? sceptre??). Beside him was a goddess, whose arm with its arm-band is visible leaning on his left shoulder. They are probably Poseidon and Amphitrite. Beneath the necks of the horses appears the corner of some squared structure. Above it the letters ...ΣΟΣ suggest comparison with the ΧΡΥΣΟΣ and ΠΛΟΤΟΣ, who flank the chariot of ΝΙΚΗ on a gilded *oinochóe* from Athens, now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 761 f. no. 2661, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 307 ff. pl. 97, O. Jahn *Ueber bemalte Vasen mit Goldschmuck* Leipzig 1865 p. 13 no. 23, T. Eisele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2582, J. Toutain in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 518).

On the variants Ἰασίων, Ἰάσων, Ἰάσιος, Ἴασος, see W. Gundel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 752 f. Ἴασσος is not elsewhere attested; but cp. Ἰασσός for Ἰασός, the Carian town (L. Bürchner *ib.* ix. 785 f.). The suffix -σος or -σσος seems to be characteristic of prehistoric Greece (P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 401, G. Glotz *La civilisation égéenne* Paris 1923 p. 440, A. Debrunner in Ebert *Reallex.* iv. 2. 520 f., J. B. Haley in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 144 (full list and map), M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 64 ff. (list and map)).

[2] By far the fullest and best account of the myth is that given by W. Gundel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 752—758.

of both Homer[1] and Hesiod[2], and was almost certainly based on actual agrarian usage[3], nevertheless could not escape the charge of derogating from the dignity of the goddess and was therefore modified by the later Greeks in one of two directions. Either, as the logographer Hellanikos[4], the historian Idomeneus[5], and the geographer who passes under the name of Skymnos[6] agree, the hero had outraged a statue (*ágalma*) of Demeter; or, as the rhetorical mythographer Konon[7] preferred to put it, the hero had consorted with a mere phantom (*phásma*) of the goddess.

Konon's expedient was in all probability suggested by Stesichoros' solution of a similar problem. Having penned an ode about Helene on the traditional Homeric lines he, like Homer, had lost his eyesight. But, unlike Homer, he recovered it when, realising the nature of his offence, he wrote his famous palinode:

> The tale's untrue!
> Thou didst not go on board the well-planked ships,
> Nor ever camest to the towers of Troy[8].

[1] *Od.* 5. 125 ff. ὣς δ' ὁπότ' Ἰασίωνι ἐυπλόκαμος Δημήτηρ, | ᾧ θυμῷ εἴξασα, μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ | νειῷ ἔνι τριπόλῳ· οὐδὲ δὴν ἦεν ἄπυστος | Ζεύς, ὅς μιν κατέπεφνε βαλὼν ἀργῆτι κεραυνῷ.

[2] Hes. *theog.* 969 ff. Δημήτηρ μὲν Πλοῦτον ἐγείνατο δῖα θεάων, | Ἰασίων' ἥρωι μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότητι | νειῷ ἔνι τριπόλῳ, Κρήτης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ, | κ.τ.λ.

[3] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 208 f. compares 'the West Prussian custom of the mock birth of a child on the harvest-field [*ib.* p. 150 f.]. In this Prussian custom the pretended mother represents the Corn-mother (*Žytniamatka*); the pretended child represents the Corn-baby, and the whole ceremony is a charm to ensure a crop next year.' See also Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 346.

[4] Hellanik. *frag.* 129 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 63 Müller) = *frag.* 23 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 112 f. Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 916 ἐγέννησε δὲ (*sc.* Ἠλεκτρυώνη) τρεῖς παῖδας, Δάρδανον τὸν εἰς Τροίαν κατοικήσαντα, ὃν καὶ Πολυάρχη φασὶ λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, καὶ Ἡετίωνα, ὃν Ἰασίωνα ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ φασὶ κεραυνωθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑβρίζοντα ἄγαλμα τῆς Δήμητρος. τρίτην δὲ ἔσχεν Ἁρμονίαν, ἣν ἠγάγετο Κάδμος· καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς Ἠλεκτρίδας πύλας τῆς Θήβης ὠνομάσθαι ἱστορεῖ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν πρώτῳ Τρωικῶν καὶ Ἰδομενεὺς [ἐν πρώτῳ Τρωικῶν (*om.* K. H. F. Sintenis)]. Cp. Hellanik. *frag.* 58 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 53 Müller) = *frag.* 135 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 139 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 5. 125 οὗτος (*sc.* ὁ Ἰασίων) Κρὴς τὸ γένος, Κατρέος (so G. Kramer for κρατ(ρ)έος) καὶ Φρονίας υἱός. ὡς δὲ Ἑλλάνικος, Ἠλέκτρας καὶ Διὸς υἱός. παρ' ᾧ μόνῳ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν εὑρέθη σπέρματα. οὗ καὶ Δήμητρος ὁ Πλοῦτος κατὰ Ἡσίοδον (*supra* n. 2).

[5] Idom. *frag.* 18 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 494 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 916 (cited *supra* n. 4). F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 910 says: 'Danach gehört er frühesteus ins 4. Jhdt., wahrscheinlicher erst in hellenistische Zeit.'

[6] Skymn. Chi. *per.* 681 ff. (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 223 Müller) πρότερον γὰρ εἶναί φασιν ἐν ταύτῃ (*sc.* τῇ Σαμοθρᾴκῃ) τινὲς | τοὺς Τρῶας, Ἠλέκτρας τεκούσης Δάρδανον | τῆς λεγομένης Ἄτλαντος Ἰασίωνά τε, | ὧν τὸν μὲν Ἰασίωνα δυσσέβημά τι | πρᾶξαι περὶ Δήμητρος λέγουσ' ἄγαλμα καὶ | πληγῇ κεραυνωθέντα δαιμονίῳ θανεῖν, | τὸν Δάρδανον δὲ κ.τ.λ. F. Gisinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 674 f. dates this pseudepigraphic poem *c.* 100 B.C.

[7] Konon *narr.* 21, writing between 36 B.C. and 17 A.D. (E. Martini in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1335), says: Δάρδανος καὶ Ἰάσων παῖδες ἦστην Διὸς ἐξ Ἠλέκτρας

Stesichoros now asserted that Greeks and Trojans fought one another for the sake of a mere wraith (*eídolon*), in ignorance of the genuine Helene[1]. What, in his reconstruction, the genuine Helene was doing all the time, we do not know: perhaps she never left Sparta[2]. Herodotos[3] gives a different turn to the story. According to him, Helene was stolen from Menelaos at Sparta by Alexandros, driven by a storm out of the Aegean to Egypt, and there taken from her paramour by Proteus and kept at Memphis for the coming of her lawful husband. Euripides in his *Helene* combines the two versions. Like Stesichoros, he preserves the innocence of Helene by making the truant a wraith (*eídolon*), fashioned of *ouranós* or cloud or *aithér* and substituted by Hera for the faithful wife[4]. Like Herodotos, he sends the real Helene to Egypt, whither she is conducted by Hermes

τῆς Ἀτλαντίδος, καὶ ᾤκουν Σαμοθράκην τὴν νῆσον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἰάσων φάσμα Δήμητρος αἰσχῦναι βουληθεὶς ἐκεραυνώθη, Δάρδανος δὲ κ.τ.λ.

[8] Stes. *frag.* 32 Bergk[4], 11 Diehl, 18 Edmonds *ap.* Plat. *Phaedr.* 243 A—B. The Platonic passage is expounded on allegorical lines by the neo-Platonist Hermeias of Alexandreia *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 75 ff. P. Couvreur.

[1] Plat. *rep.* 586 C ὥσπερ τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης εἴδωλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ Στησίχορός φησι γενέσθαι περιμάχητον ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς.

[2] The passages relating to Stesichoros' παλινῳδία are collected and discussed by T. Bergk in his note on *frag.* 32 (*Poet. lyr. Gr.* iii. 217—219 Bergk[4]). To his bibliography add R. Hirzel 'Die Homonymie der griechischen Götter nach der Lehre antiker Theologen' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1896 xlviii. 290 f. (the resolution of a self-contradictory mythical figure into self and shade goes back to Homer, cp. *Od.* 11. 601 ff. for a similar treatment of the ἥρως θεός (Pind. *Nem.* 3. 22)), W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 212 ('Den Helenastoff hat er zuerst in der Ἑλένα auf Grund der rein ästhetischen, religiös indifferenten homerischen Vorlage, dann in der Παλινῳδία mit Rücksicht auf die Überlieferung und den Glauben der Dorer dargestellt, denen Helena eine Kultgöttin war').

That the genuine Helene never left Sparta may be inferred from Dion Chrys. *or.* 11 p. 323 Reiske καὶ τὸν μὲν Στησίχορον ἐν τῇ ὕστερον ᾠδῇ λέγειν ὅτι τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ πλεύσειεν ἡ Ἑλένη οὐδαμόσε· ἄλλοι δέ τινες (*sc.* Herodotos) ὡς ἁρπασθείη μὲν Ἑλένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, δεῦρο δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφίκοιτο. The schol. Aristeid. iii. 150 Dindorf (A. C. Στησίχορος ἐν τῇ πυιήσει λέγει ὡς ἡρπακὼς τὴν Ἑλένην Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ διὰ τῆς Φάρου ἐρχόμενος ἀφῃρέθη μὲν ταύτην παρὰ Πρωτέως, ἔλαβε δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ (παρ' αὐτοῦ *om.* C.) ἐν πίνακι τὸ εἴδωλον αὐτῆς γεγραμμένον, ἵνα ὁρῶν παραμυθοῖτο τὸν αὐτοῦ ἔρωτα. B. D. εἰς Στησίχορον αἰνίττεται· λέγει γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὅτι ἐλθὼν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς νήσου, τῆς Φάρου, ἀφῃρέθη παρὰ τοῦ Πρωτέως τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ εἴδωλον αὐτῆς ἐδέξατο· κ.τ.λ.) and Eudok. *viol.* 43 = 753 (Στησίχορος δέ φησιν ὅτι, διερχομένου Ἀλεξάνδρου δι' Αἰγύπτου, ὁ Πρωτεὺς Ἑλένην ἀφελόμενος εἴδωλον Ἑλένης αὐτῷ ἔδωκε, καὶ οὕτως ἔπλευσεν εἰς Τροίαν) are attributing to Stesichoros the Herodotean version *plus* sundry rationalising additions of their own.

[3] Hdt. 2. 112—115.

[4] Eur. *Hel.* 31 ff. (ΕΛ.) "Ηρα δὲ μεμφθεῖσ' οὕνεκ' οὐ νικᾷ θεὰς | ἐξηνέμωσε τἄμ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λέχη, | δίδωσι δ' οὐκ ἔμ', ἀλλ' ὁμοιώσασ' ἐμοὶ | εἴδωλον ἔμπνουν οὐρανοῦ ξυνθεῖσ' ἄπο (so J. J. Reiske for ὕπο codd.), | Πριάμου τυράννῳ παιδί, 582 ff. ΕΛ. οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς γῆν Τρῳάδ', ἀλλ' εἴδωλον ἦν. | ΜΕ. καὶ τίς βλέποντα σώματ' ἐξεργάζεται; | ΕΛ. αἰθήρ, ὅθεν σὺ θεοπόνητ' ἔχεις λέχη. | ΜΕ. τίνος πλάσαντος θεῶν; ἄελπτα γὰρ λέγεις. | ΕΛ. "Ηρας (so Scaliger for ἥρα codd.) διάλλαγμ', ὡς Πάρις με μὴ λάβοι, 1135 f. νεφέλαν ἐπὶ ναυσὶν ἄγων, | εἴδωλον ἱρὸν (so K. W. Dindorf for ἱερὸν codd.) "Ηρας, 1218 f. ΘΕ. ποῦ δὴ τὸ πεμφθὲν ἀντὶ σοῦ Τροίᾳ

at the command of Zeus[1]. Menelaos, escorting the phantom home from Troy, arrives in Egypt and is there confronted with the true Helene. He is desperately puzzled. But, just as he begins to think himself either a bedlamite or a bigamist, the misty Helene evaporates[2]—a sufficiently whimsical situation.

If Euripides' Hera outwitted Paris by making a phantom Helene of *aithér*, Euripides' Zeus outwitted Hera by means of a similar trick—witness a curious passage of the *Bacchae*[3] in which Teiresias attempts to explain the story of Dionysos being sewn up in the thigh of Zeus as due to a verbal confusion of *hómeros*, 'hostage,' with *merós*, 'thigh':

> And dost deride the tale that he was sewn
> I' the thigh of Zeus? I'll tell it all aright.
> When Zeus had caught him from the lightning-fire
> And borne him, babe divine, to Olympos' height,
> Hera was fain to cast him forth from heaven.
> But Zeus, a very god, met plot with plot:
> Breaking a portion of the *aithér* off,
> Which rings the earth, he made that same a hostage
> Against the strifes of Hera and sent out
> Dionysos elsewhere[4]. Thus in course of time
> Man said that he was sewn i' the thigh of Zeus—
> Changing the word, since once he served as hostage
> To Hera, god to goddess,—such their tale.

κακόν; | ΕΛ. *νεφέλης λέγεις ἄγαλμ';* *ἐς αἰθέρ' οἴχεται.* Cp. Eur. *El.* 1282 f. *Ζεὺς δ', ὡς ἔρις γένοιτο καὶ φόνος βροτῶν,* | *εἴδωλον Ἑλένης ἐξέπεμψ' ἐς* (so A. Nauck for *εἰς* codd.) *Ἴλιον.*

On the plot see further A. von Premerstein 'Ueber den Mythos in Euripides' Helene' in *Philologus* 1896 lv. 634—653, A. C. Pearson in his edition of the play (Cambridge 1903) p. x ff., A. W. Verrall *Essays on four Plays of Euripides* Cambridge 1905 pp. 43—133 ('Euripides' Apology. (*Helen.*)'), H. Steiger 'Wie entstand die Helena des Euripides?' in *Philologus* 1908 lxvii. 202—237, V. Pisani 'Elena e l' *εἴδωλον*' in the *Rivista di Filologia* 1928 vi. 476—499 (summarised in *Class. Quart.* 1929 xxiii. 215).

[1] Eur. *Hel.* 44 ff. *λαβὼν δέ μ' Ἑρμῆς ἐν πτυχαῖσιν αἰθέρος* | *νεφέλῃ καλύψας, οὐ γὰρ ἠμέλησέ μου* | *Ζεύς, τόνδ' ἐς οἶκον Πρωτέως ἱδρύσατο,* | *κ.τ.λ.*

[2] Eur. *Hel.* 557 ff. The wraith's disappearance is reported *ib.* 605 f. ΑΓ. *βέβηκεν ἄλοχος σὴ πρὸς αἰθέρος πτύχας* | *ἀρθεῖσ' ἄφαντος· οὐρανῷ δὲ κρύπτεται,* | *κ.τ.λ.*, 612 ff. (the wraith speaking) *ἐγὼ δ' ἐπειδὴ χρόνον ἔμειν' ὅσον μ' ἐχρῆν,* | *τὸ μόρσιμον σώσασα, πάλιν* (so A. Nauck for *πατέρ'* codd.) *εἰς οὐρανὸν* | *ἄπειμι.* Cp. Lyk. *Al.* 822 *φάσμα πτηνόν, εἰς αἴθραν φυγόν.* Hence later Helene appears *ἐν αἰθέρος πτυχαῖς* (Eur. *Or.* 1631, 1636).

[3] Eur. *Bacch.* 286 ff. *καὶ καταγελᾷς νιν, ὡς ἐνερράφη Διὸς* | *μηρῷ;* *διδάξω σ' ὡς καλῶς ἔχει τόδε.* | *ἐπεί νιν ἥρπασ' ἐκ πυρὸς κεραυνίου* | *Ζεύς, εἰς δ' Ὄλυμπον βρέφος ἀνήγαγεν θεόν,* | *Ἥρα νιν ἤθελ' ἐκβαλεῖν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ·* | *Ζεὺς δ' ἀντεμηχανήσαθ' οἷα δὴ θεός.* | *ῥήξας μέρος τι τοῦ χθόν' ἐγκυκλουμένου* | *αἰθέρος, ἔθηκε τόνδ' ὅμηρον, ἐκδιδοὺς* | *Διόνυσον, Ἥρας νεικέων·* *χρόνῳ δέ νιν* | *βροτοὶ ῥαφῆναί* (so J. Pierson, followed by F. A. Paley, for *τραφῆναί* codd.) *φασιν ἐν μηρῷ Διός,* | *ὄνομα μεταστήσαντες, ὅτι θεᾷ θεὸς* | *Ἥρᾳ ποθ' ὡμήρευσε, συνθέντες* λόγον with the notes of Sir J. E. Sandys *ad loc.*

[4] Cp. *supra* i. 707 n. 2 fig. 524 a vase now attributed to 'the Syleus Painter' (*c.* 480 B.C.) (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 438 no. 9, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 162 no. 23).

The real explanation of the story is of course very different from the sophisms of Teiresias. The pretended birth from the thigh of Zeus[1], which from the sixth, if not the seventh, century onwards is attested by vases[2], frescoes[3], reliefs[4], and other works of art[5],

Fig. 23.

[1] F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 601 f., H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1885) pp. 12—17 ('Schenkelgeburt'), F. A. Voigt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1045 f., E. Thraemer *ib.* i. 1123, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 661 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 110.

I see no probability in the suggestion that Hesych. *s.v.* ἄκαρα· τὰ σκέλη· Κρῆτες and *et. mag.* p. 45, 16 f. ἄκαρα· τὰ σκέλη Κρῆτες. Ἄκαρα· πόλις τῆς Ἀσίας, ἡ νῦν καλουμένη Νύσσα. κ.τ.λ. (Nysa in Lydia, near which is *Acharaka*: *supra* i. 503) imply a localised myth of the birth of Dionysos from the leg of Zeus.

[2] (1) R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1848—1856 p. 76 ff., with coloured design on p. 73 (part of which = my fig. 23), published a yellow-ground Corinthian *pyxis* of *c.* 600 B.C., found in a tomb between Corinth and Sikyon, on which he thought to recognise the earliest extant representation of Zeus bearing Dionysos from his thigh. This view, accepted by F. Lenormant *loc. cit.* i. 602 and by E. Thraemer *loc. cit.* i. 1123, was called in question by H. Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 4 ('die altkorinthische Vase mit einfachen Genrescenen'). E. Wilisch *Die altkorinthische Thonindustrie* Leipzig 1892 p. 49 f. apparently reverts to R. Rochette's explanation (cp. *ib.* pp. 62 '"Bakchusgeburt",' 63 'Bakchusgeburt,' 97 n. 353 'Bacchusgeburt,' 143 'die sogenannte Bakchusgeburt'). The vase is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (P. Milliet—A. Giraudon *Vases peints du Cabinet des Médailles & Antiques* (*Bibliothèque Nationale*) Paris 1891 i. pl. 10 II^e Classe, IV^e Série, E, De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 42 ff. no. 94 'Scène d'enfantement (?)' etc.). The hair and the girdle of the central figure prove it to be female. Unless, therefore, we are prepared to hold that Zeus in labour was represented as a woman, this cannot be he. To left and right of the seated woman are the Eileithyiai. Another female on the right holds a distaff and spindle, less probably a branch of ivy (?): Klotho?

(2) A black-figured *amphora* from S. Maria di Capua, likewise in the Bibliothèque Nationale (no. 219), shows Dionysos (ΔΙΟΣΦΟΣ = Διὸς φώς) as a naked boy, with two torches, standing on the lap of a seated Zeus (*supra* ii. 273 with fig. 177, *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*) (4)).

(3) A red-figured *lékythos* at Boston (no. 95. 39) is described and illustrated by J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 134 ff. fig. 83 (= my fig. 24): 'Zeus, naked, very tall, his long hair and beard curiously neat, is sitting out of doors on a stone, which is covered by his clothes, and carefully easing the small god out of his thigh: his trusted Hermes stands beside him, watching, and holding his master's sceptre.' The vase is referred by the same authority to 'the

Fig. 24.

Fig. 25.

Alkimachos painter' of the late archaic period (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 18 no. 2, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 298 no. 25).

(4) A south-Italian vase, now lost, but seen by A. L. Millin at Naples in private possession ('Vaso che si trova in casa del S^re^ d. Genn. Patierno, restauratore, alla salita de' Reggj Studj, n. 63: altezza, palmi 2½; diametro, 1 palmo, 3½ oncie') and drawn for him (drawing extant in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale), is described by R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1848—1856 p. 81 with n. 4, recorded by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 13, and published by F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1880 vi. 72—74 with two figs. (of which the first = my fig. 25). In the upper register is Zeus, seated on a throne with a footstool. He wears a *himátion* (scaled *aigís*?) and a bay-wreath, and holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, an eagle-tipped sceptre in his left. From his right thigh emerges a diminutive Dionysos. The boy stretches out his arms to Eileithyia, who bends towards him, holding in readiness a cloth or garment. Behind Zeus stand a Bacchant (*thýrsos*) and a Maenad (panther-skin, torch (?))—hardly Apollon and Artemis. In the lower register, on rocky ground, is Athena (*Gorgóneion*, helmet (?), shield, spear) conversing with two Maenads (*thýrsos*, torch)—hardly Demeter and Hekate. Athena was perhaps made out of a third Maenad (timbrel (?), *thýrsos*). The reverse of the same vase depicts the madness of Lykourgos, who brandishes a club (?) in the midst of four Satyrs. Both designs have been copied 'par une main singulièrement maladroite et inexpérimentée'.

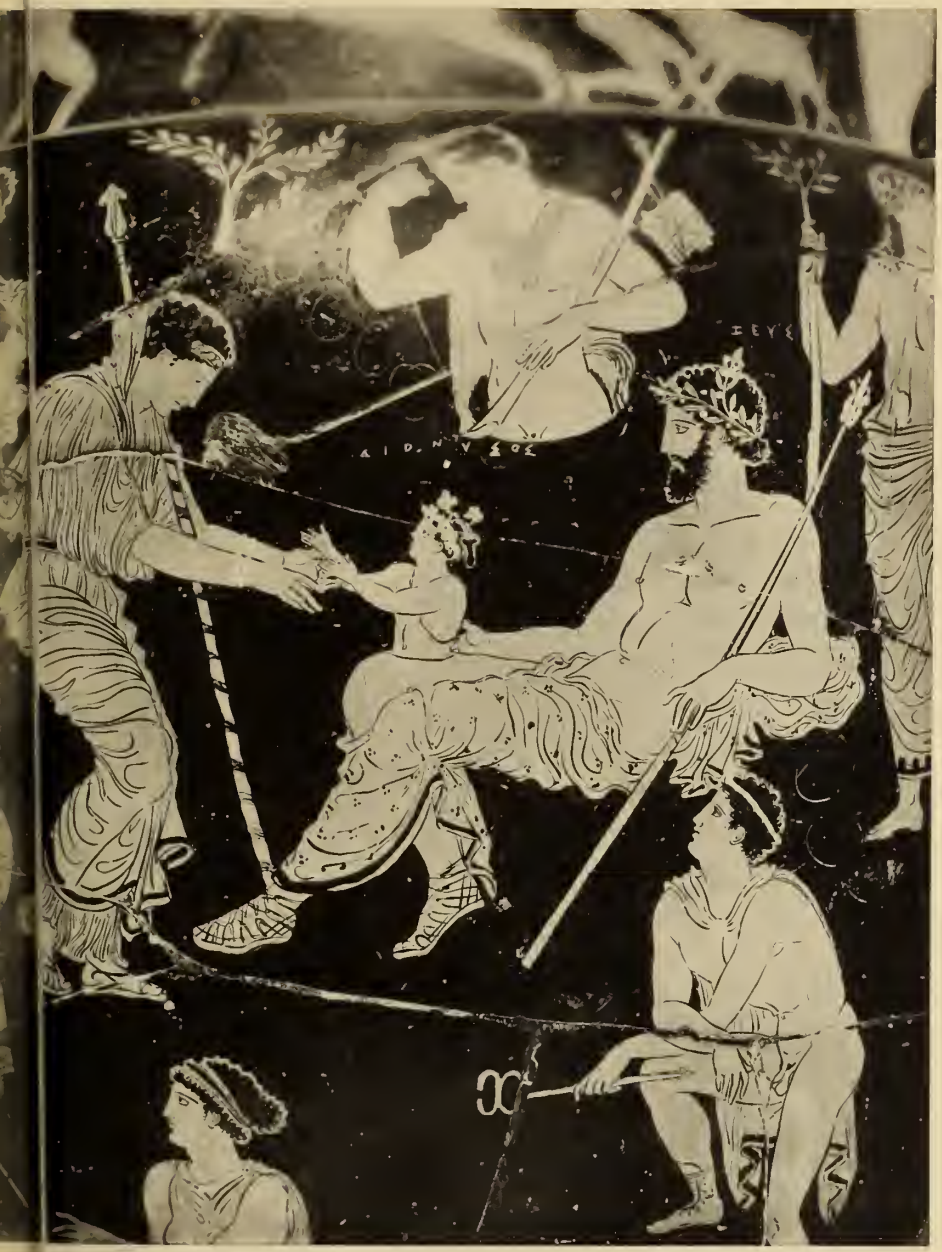
(5) A volute-*kratér* of *c.* 415 B.C. from Caelia (*Ceglie*), now at Taranto, fully published in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 175 ff. pls. 8 and 9 by A. D. Trendall, to whose kindness I owe my pl. xiii.

(6) A red-figured fragment at Bonn (inv. no. 1216. 19) (Trendall *loc. cit.* fig. 1 = my pl. xiii, 3).

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 140 Ctesilochus, Apellis discipulus (but cp. Souid. *s.v.* Ἀπελλῆς,...ἀδελφὸς Κτησιόχου, καὶ αὐτοῦ ζωγράφου), petulanti pictura innotuit, Iove Liberum parturiente depicto mitrato et muliebriter ingemescente inter obstetricia dearum. H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1885) p. 5 f. regards this curious effort as 'ein humoristisches oder vielmehr parodisches Bild' and would date it *c.* 300 B.C. See also Miss E. Sellers (Mrs A. Strong) on Plin. *loc. cit.*

The precise part played by Zeus in Philostratos' picture of Semele (*supra* ii. 28, 828) is not clear (Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 1. 14. 2 f. πυρὸς νεφέλη περισχοῦσα τὰς Θήβας εἰς τὴν τοῦ Κάδμου στέγην ῥήγνυται κωμάσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν Σεμέλην τοῦ Διός, καὶ ἀπόλλυται μέν, ὡς δοκοῦμεν, ἡ Σεμέλη, τίκτεται δὲ Διόνυσος οἶμαι (O. Benndorf cj. οἶμαι, < καὶ >) νὴ Δία πρὸς τὸ πῦρ. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς Σεμέλης εἶδος ἀμυδρὸν διαφαίνεται ἰούσης ἐς οὐρανόν, καὶ αἱ Μοῦσαι αὐτὴν ἐκεῖ ᾄσονται, ὁ δὲ Διόνυσος τῆς μὲν μητρὸς ἐκθρῴσκει ῥαγείσης τὴν γαστέρα, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἀχλυῶδες ἐργάζεται φαιδρὸς (C. L. Kayser cj. φαιδρὸν) αὐτὸς οἷον ἀστὴρ τις ἀπαστράπτων (so codd. F. P. ἀστράπτων vulg.). διασχοῦσα δὲ ἡ φλὸξ ἄντρον τι τῷ Διονύσῳ σκιαγραφεῖ παντὸς ἥδιον Ἀσσυρίου τε καὶ Λυδίου· κ.τ.λ.). A. Bougot *Philostrate l'ancien* Paris 1881 p. 265 f. cites for comparison and contrast a fresco said to have been found in Rome and formerly owned by Prince Gagarin (*Memorie Romane di Antichità e di Belle Arti* ed. L. Cardinali Roma 1824—1827 iii pl. 13): Zeus, with gray beard and hair, sits enthroned on a cloud. His head is surrounded by a halo of rays; his legs are wrapped in an ample wind-swept *himátion* of flame-coloured fabric. His eagle is perched beside him. With his right hand he grasps a thunderbolt, with his left he reaches towards the undersized babe ('als Embryo gekrümmt,' says Gerhard) of Semele, who half-clad in a yellow robe lies dead on the couch before him. This painting, accepted without hesitation by E. Gerhard (*Hyper-*

Fig. 26.



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(1) *Kratér* from Ceglie, now at Taranto.
(2) Detail of same vase: the birth of Dionysos.
(3) Vase-fragment at Bonn: the birth of Dionysos.

See page 82 *n.* o (5 f.).

boreisch-römische Studien für Archäologen Berlin 1833 i. 105—107, written from Rome on Oct. 8, 1823 after careful inspection of the original) and by F. Lenormant (in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 601 fig. 677 (= my fig. 26), on the strength of Gerhard's testimony), was doubted by F. Wieseler (in C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835—1856 ii. 2. 13 pl. 34, 391) and L. Stephani (*Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 14 no. 3 (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg.* vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361 ff.), *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 13), and decisively rejected by J. Overbeck (*Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 418 with n.[e] 'Man beachte nur den einen Umstand, dass Zeus' Haar und Bart *grau* gemalt sind und vergl. Anmerkung 71 zu S. 68.' Yet see *infra* §9 (h) ii (κ) The superannuation of Zeus) and H. Heydemann (*loc. cit.* p. 4).

Long. *past.* 4. 3 εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἔνδοθεν ὁ νεὼς Διονυσιακὰς γραφάς, Σεμέλην τίκτουσαν, κ.τ.λ. may or may not be purely imaginary, and in any case says nothing of Zeus.

[4] (1) A marble frieze, found in front of the *Porta Portese* at Rome and now preserved in the Vatican (W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 168 f. no. 259), has the following scene (Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* iv. 165 ff. pl. 19 (= my fig. 27), A. L. Millin *Galerie Mythologique* Paris 1811 i. 51 no. 223 (wrongly described) pl. 53, H. Brunn in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1858 p. 128, Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 580 n. 20, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 171 no. X, 178, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1885) p. 15 f., Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1289 vignette, F. Hauser *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 72 no. 102, *id.* in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1903 vi. 103 n. 22, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 362 no. 2). Zeus, with bent head, is seated on a rock. He leans heavily, not to say painfully, on his right hand and grasps a long sceptre with his left. His *himátion* is so arranged as to leave bare the further leg, from the upper part of which emerges the infant Dionysos and leaps with outstretched arms towards Hermes. That god (*pétasos*, *chlamýs*, boots, but no *caduceus*) advances with a panther-skin in which to wrap the babe. Behind him are three stately female figures bearing long sceptres and variously interpreted as Eileithyia, Kore, and Demeter (E. Q. Visconti, A. L. Millin, and S. Reinach *locc. citt.*), as the Charites (H. Brunn *loc. cit.*), as Nymphs (H. Heydemann *loc. cit.*), or as the Fates (F. Hauser *locc. citt.*). The identification of the third female with Demeter is borne out by the bunch of corn-ears held stiffly in her right hand. Heydemann's conjecture that all three are the Nymphs of Nysa ready to receive their nursling might claim the support of Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 16 ff. καί μιν ἔσω Δρακάνοιο (E. Maass in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 189 n. 2 equates Δράκανον here with τὸ Δρέκανον in the south of Kos (Strab. 657, cp. Agathem. *geogr.* 18 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* ii. 479 Müller), L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1646, xi. 1471), and *loc. cit.* p. 178 ff. explains in like manner *h. Dion.* 1 Δρακάνῳ, Theokr. 26. 33 ἐν Δρακάνῳ νιφόεντι. Others have supposed that Nonnos was alluding to Δράκανον a town and promontory (now Cape *Phanarí*) at the north-east end of the island Ikaros (*Nikaria*) (R. Köhler *Über die Dionysiaka des Nonnus von Panopolis* Halle 1853 p. 17 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 677 n. 5), or to Δρέπανον (*Trapani*) the promontory in the north-west of Sicily (B. Graef *De Bacchi expeditione Indica monumentis expressa* Berolini 1886 p. 10 f. n. 15)) λεχώιον ἀμφὶ κολώνην | πήχεϊ κολπωθέντι λαβὼν Μαιήιος Ἑρμῆς | ἠερόθεν πεπότητο· λοχευομένῳ δὲ Λυαίῳ | πατρώην ἐπέθηκεν ἐπωνυμίην τοκετοῖο | κικλήσκων Διόνυσον, ἐπεὶ ποδὶ φόρτον ἀείρων | ἦιε χωλαίνων Κρονίδης βεβριθότι μηρῷ, | νῦσος ὅτι γλώσσῃ Συρακοσσίδι χωλὸς ἀκούει (νῦσος, 'hobbled' (?) might be akin to *Schnur* etc., cp. Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 530 f. *s.v.* 'nurus')· | καὶ θεὸν ἀρτιλόχευτον ἐφήμισαν Εἰραφιώτην, | ὅττι μιν εὐώδινι πατὴρ ἐρράψατο μηρῷ (lines 17, 19—24 are quoted in *et. mag.* p. 280, 13 ff.). | καί μιν ἀχυτλώτοιο διαΐσσοντα λοχείης | πήχεϊ κοῦρον ἄδακρυν ἑκούφισε σύγγονος Ἑρμῆς, | καὶ βρέφος εὐκεράοιο φυῆς ἴνδαλμα Σελήνης (*sc.* horned like the Moon) | ὤπασε θυγατέρεσσι Λάμου ποταμηίσι Νύμφαις (= the Hyades: see H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1822, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1435 n. 1), | παῖδα Διὸς κομέειν σταφυληκόμον· αἱ δὲ λαβοῦσαι | Βάκχον ἐπηχύναντο, καὶ εἰς στόμα παιδὸς ἑκάστη | ἀθλιβέων γλαγόεσσαν ἀνέβλυεν ἱκμάδα μαζῶν. But the corn-ears are ill-suited to Nymphs. Besides, Hauser rightly insists on the points of similarity between this relief and that of the Madrid *puteal* (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (η)). Dionysos springs

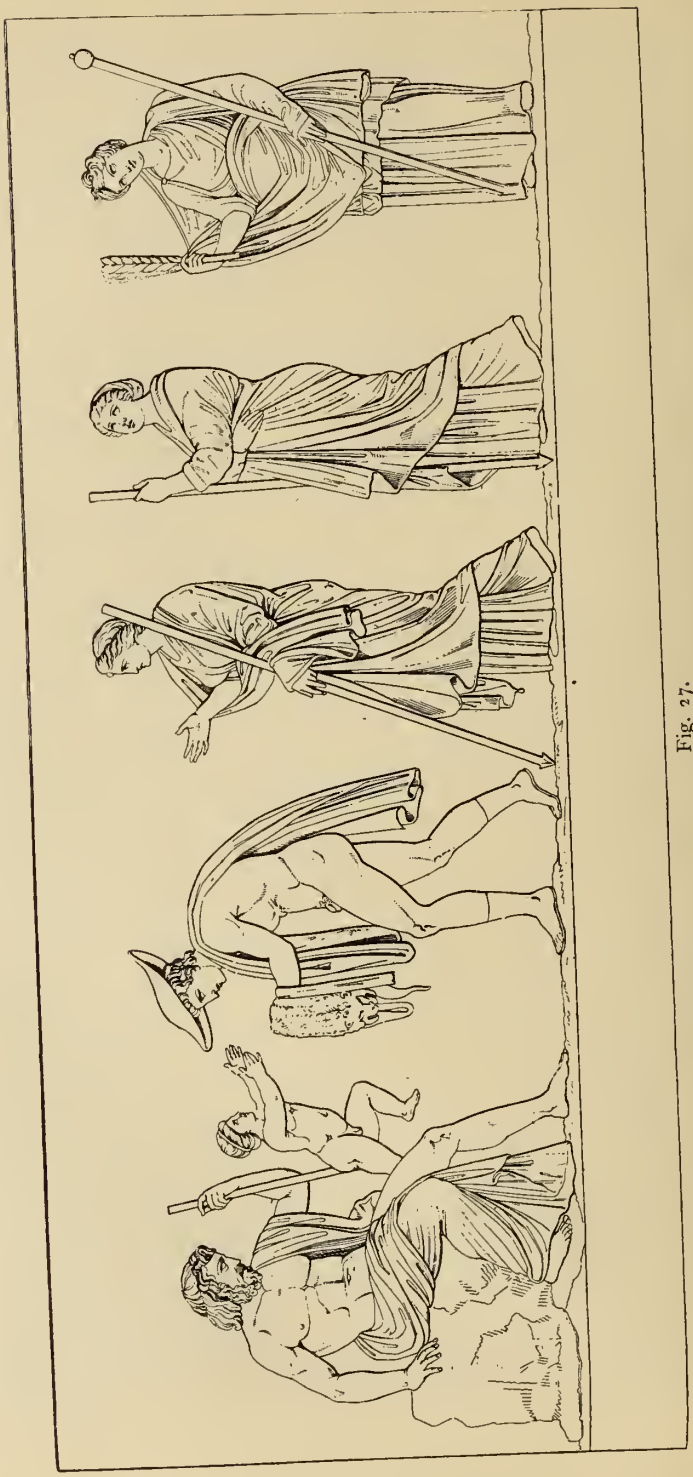

Fig. 27.

from the seated Zeus much as Nike does on the *puteal*; and here, as there, the three females grouped on the right must be the Fates. If so, the corn-ears are a later modification of the lots held by Lachesis (*pace* Helbig *loc. cit.*: 'Indes hat eine erneute Untersuchung ergeben, dass an den Ähren von Überarbeitung keine Spur zu finden ist'). What purpose was served originally by this frieze (Visconti *loc. cit.*: 'Haut. trois palmes, un tiers; longueur dix palmes moins deux onces'), and whether it was continued by means of other figures to the right, we cannot say.

(2) A child's sarcophagus of late Roman date (White marble. Height 0·29^{m}: length 0·69^{m}), in the collection formed by Field-marshal Count Lavall Nugent, was found at Minturnae (?), was exhibited at the Palazzo Pisani in Venice, and is now preserved in Tersatto Castle near Fiume. Its front represents the birth of Dionysos in a series of three scenes separated by herms (E. Wolff in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1831 p. 67, C. Lenormant in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1833 v. 210—218, *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 45, A (=my fig. 28), F. Wieseler in C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835—1856 ii. 2. 13 f. pl. 34, 392, Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 580 n. 20, F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 602 fig. 679, O. Benndorf in *Wien. Vorlegebl.* A pl. 12, 8, R. Schneider in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1881 v. 167—169 no. 36, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1885) pp. 8 f., 16 f., P. V. C. Baur *Eileithyia* (*The University of Missouri Studies* i. 4) University of Missouri 1902 p. 86). To the right Semele lies

Fig. 28.

exhausted on a couch, her left hand propping her head, her right drooping as if she held flowers (Schneider, Heydemann). Beneath the couch a jug and bowl are in readiness for the bath of the expected infant. Zeus appears above a wall in the background, lays his left arm on Semele's neck (Schneider, Heydemann), and brandishes a thunderbolt in his right hand. To the left Zeus sits erect on a chair with a footstool, upon which is set a large urn. His right hand presses hard on the chair; his left grasps a long sceptre. A winged goddess, presumably Nike playing the part of Eileithyia (E. Gerhard in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1831 p. 67 n. 1, followed by Wieseler, Schneider, Heydemann, Baur, was content to describe her as a winged Eileithyia), touches with her outstretched left hand the right leg of Zeus, which is bandaged (Schneider, Heydemann), not bare: the god has been already delivered. In the centre Hermes, looking round towards Zeus, carries off the newborn babe to the Nymphs, one of whom is seen reclining behind him (so E. Wolff *loc. cit.* C. Lenormant, Wieseler, and Schneider would recognise Gaia).

Similar in type, but with sides reversed, is a fragmentary relief (Luna marble. Height 1·20^{m}: length 0·54^{m}) found on the Esquiline in 1874 and now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (C. L. Visconti 'Frammento di rilievo rappresentante la nascita di Bacco' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1874 ii. 89—96 pl. 1, 3 (=my fig. 29), H. Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 17, G. Lafaye in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 982 fig. 2884, P. V. C. Baur *op. cit.* p. 86, Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 85 Galleria no. 16 pl. 31). Zeus is seated to the left. His left leg, covered by a

himátion, uses a globe as a footstool (cp. *supra* i. 47 ff.). His right leg is bare and is being bandaged by the same winged goddess (wings broken away), on whose shoulder he rests his hand. This relief too perhaps formed part of a sarcophagus. C. L. Visconti *loc. cit.* p. 94 describes the work as mediocre and dates it about the end of *s.* ii A.D.

Fig. 29.

A less considerable fragment of the same design, which has been worked into a patchwork sarcophagus now in the Loggia Scoperta of the Vatican, shows the veiled head and powerful body of Zeus sitting on a rock to the right and leaning hard on his right hand (Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* iv. 269 ff. pl. 37 ('le fleuve Isménus'), A. L. Millin *Galerie Mythologique* Paris 1811 ii. 20 f. no. 429 pl. 109 ('le fleuve *Ismenius*'), J. G. Zoëga in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Auslegung der alten Kunst* Herausg. von F. G. Welcker 1818 i. 402 f. (first critical account: 'Okeanos'), F. Matz in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1870 p. 70 f. (first identification as 'Giove nell' atto di sgravarsi da Bacco bambino'), H. Heydemann *op. cit.* pp. 10 n. 28, 12, 17).

H. Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 15 draws attention to a lost relief, of which a cast has been for over a century at Bonn. F. G. Welcker *Das akademische Kunstmuseum zu Bonn*[2] Bonn 1844 p. 115 no. 353 describes it as follows: 'Eileithyia, die Lende des Zeus vom Dionysos entbindend. Nur das eine Bein des Zeus bis an das Knie ist erhalten und ein Flügel des Adlers, der über ihm schwebte, vielleicht angstvoll ihn umflatterte [? the wing of a winged Eileithyia. A.B.C.], und von dem Kinde nur das Händchen angelegt an dem Knie der Eileithyia. Hermes, als Kinderwärter der Götter und insbesondre des Dionysos bekannt, steht seines Berufes gewärtig daneben und sieht aufmerksam und wie verlegen zu.' R. Kekulé *Das akademische Kunstmuseum zu Bonn* Bonn 1872 p. 113 no. 452 adds: 'Das Bruchstück, welches mit dem Relief bei Müller—Wieseler II, 34, 392 zu vergleichen ist, ist in dem jetzigen Zustand mindestens in der Figur des Hermes schwerlich durchaus antik.'

This second series of reliefs is perhaps derived, though not without modification, from the painting by Ktesilochos (*supra* p. 82 n. 3). The rebirth of the infant was a subject admirably suited to a child's sarcophagus and, doubtless, often repeated (cp. *supra* ii. 309, 417).

[5] An Etruscan mirror, of unknown *provenance*, at Naples (A. Sogliano in the *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 358 no. 1525), long cited under the misleading name of the '*Patera Borgia*,' represents the actual birth-scene in early fourth-century style (A. (H. L.) Heeren *Expositio fragmenti tabulae marmoreae...Musei Borgiani Velitris* Romae 1786 p. 9 n. (*c*), L. Lanzi *Saggio di lingua Etrusca e di altre antiche d' Italia per servire alla storia de' popoli, delle lingue, e delle belle arti* Roma 1789 ii. 195—198, Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* iv. 362 ff. pl. B 1, 1 and 2, A. L. Millin *Galerie Mythologique* Paris 1811 i. 50 f. no. 222 pl. 71, F. Inghirami *Monumenti etruschi o di etrusco nome* Poligrafia Fiesolana 1824 ii. 277—297 pl. 16 (good), *id. Storia della Toscana* Poligrafia Fiesolana 1841 ii. 519, 522, 524, 529 pl. 39, 1, B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1839 xii pl. 57 with text pp. 1—5, Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 84—87 pl. 82 (=my fig. 30), *id. Über die*

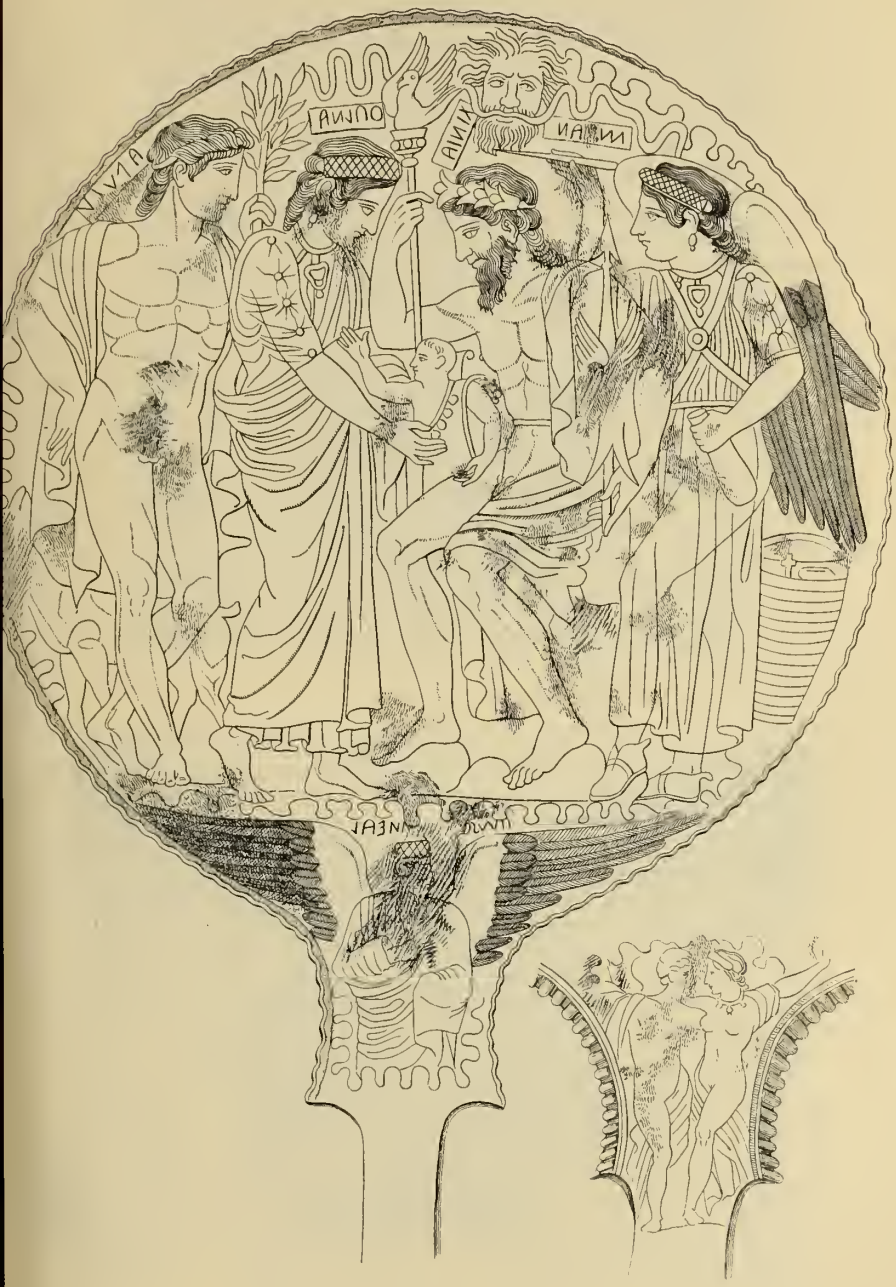

Fig. 30.

Gottheiten der Etrusker Berlin 1847 pp. 40 n. (96), 58 n.*) (=*Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 556 n. (96), 574 n.*)), F. Wieseler in C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835—1856 ii. 2. 14 f. pl. 34, 394, A. Fabretti *Corpus inscriptionum Italicarum* Aug. Taurinorum 1867 p. ccxiv no. 2470, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 187 f. no. (c) Atlas pl. 1, 37, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1885) p. 14 f., C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 460 f.). In the centre sits Zeus (*Tinia*) wearing a wreath of lilies (*supra* i. 622 f., 736 n. o, ii. 740) and a *himátion*, which leaves his right leg bare. He leans with his right hand on a long sceptre surmounted by an eagle (Gerhard wrongly took this to be a Dodonaean dove) and holds a winged thunderbolt in his left. From his right thigh emerges Dionysos as a nude baldish infant with a string of *bullae* across his chest. The child carries in his left hand a *narthex* with umbelliferous head (so Heydemann. Gerhard made it a ferule and grape-bunch; Visconti, followed by Wieseler, a small *pedum*) and raises his right to greet the birth-goddess (*Thalna*) who, arrayed in Ionic *chitón* and *himátion* with *stephánē*, ear-ring, and necklace, stoops forward to receive him. Behind Zeus is a winged goddess (*M[e]an*, on whom see W. Deecke in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2481) wearing an Ionic *chitôn* with girdle and cross-bands; she too has *stephánē*, ear-ring, and necklace. She uplifts a dipper in one hand and grasps an *alábastron* with the other (not a pen and ink-bottle, as though about to inscribe the child's destiny). To the left of the group stands Apollon (*Apulu*), his long hair rolled round a fillet, a *chlamýs* over his shoulders, a bay-branch in his left hand, and a doe behind him. To the right, room is found beneath the wings of *Mean* for the infant's cradle or, more probably, swaddling-clothes (so Heydemann. Inghirami had spoken of a *vannus*, Gerhard of a mystic *cista*). The whole composition, probably derived from some Greek vase-painting, is enclosed between two purely decorative figures—above, a wild bearded head with streams or streamers flowing from the mouth (Gerhard thought of Phobos, or of the Dodonaean Zeus! Visconti saw a lion's head and a snake !!); below, a winged goddess swathed in a *himátion*. Over her runs an inscription, which has lately been read by C. Pauli *loc. cit.* as ⋏A∃⋏WI[∃ɾ]ɾW⋏[8V8] *Fufluns Semleal*, 'Dionysos son of Semele.' The reverse of the handle shows a pair of scantily draped dancers, male and female.

C. Lenormant in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1833 v. 215 ff. and J. de Witte in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1836—1837 i. 369—371 pl. A 1837, 1—2 published two *bullae* of thin gold foil (diameter *c.* 1¾ inches), found in a tomb at Vulci and preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris. They are both decorated with a *repoussé* design representing the birth of Dionysos (cp. the series of sarcophagus-reliefs described *supra* p. 85 n. o (2)). Zeus with bowed head sits to the left on a rock (?). He wears a *himátion* round his loins and over his left shoulder. His right hand clasps his right knee. His left hand rests on the rock. From his right thigh emerges the infant god, uplifting both arms. He is received by a winged Athena, clad in a Doric *péplos* with long overfold, *aigís*, and *Gorgóneion*. Between Zeus and Athena is a lotiform thunderbolt (?). J. de Witte's description of the scene is full of bad blunders. My pl. xiv, 1 is from a fresh photograph by Giraudon. Another gold *bulla* from Italy, of third-century work, shows Zeus in labour flanked by two winged Eileithyiai (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 262 f. no. 2285 pl. 46 with fig. 75 (=my pl. xiv, 2)).

Lastly, a bronze coin of Nysa Skythopolis, the ancient Beth-Shan and modern *Beisân*, struck by Gordianus Pius in the year 304, *i.e.* some year between 240/1 and 243/4 A.D., has for reverse type Zeus standing to the left and the city-goddess standing to the right. Zeus is clad in a *himátion*, which passes like a veil over the back of his head. His right foot is raised on some uncertain object (? a rock), while the head and shoulders of the infant Dionysos emerge from his right thigh. He rests his left hand on a long sceptre and extends his right towards the goddess. She is dressed in *chitón* and *himátion*, and wears a turreted crown and a veil (?). She holds a long sceptre in her right hand and the babe Dionysos in her left. The legend is [NV] CCKV IЄPAC and in the exergue [Δ]T (G. F. Hill in

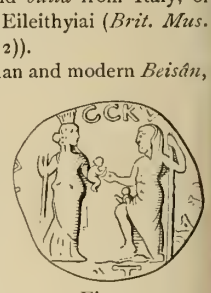

Fig. 31.

1

2

(1) Gold *bulla* from Vulci, now at Paris : Birth of Dionysos.
(2) Gold *bulla* from Italy, now in the British Museum : Birth of Dionysos.

See page 88 *n.* o.

reflects a very ancient ritual of adoption[1]. The detail of the sewing (*erráphthai*) is probably to be connected with the office of the birth-

the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. xxxvi, 77 pl. 8, 5. Fig. 31 is from a cast kindly supplied by Dr Hill).

[1] So first J. J. Bachofen *Das Mutterrecht* Basel 1897 pp. 243, 256, 259, though he confused the issue by importing a reference to the *couvade* (hence Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 904 goes off on a wrong path). Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 110 keeps a clearer head: 'The old attempts to interpret this as nature-symbolism have failed ludicrously. The first to strike the right track was Bachofen, who, following the anthropological method, explained the myth as the reflex of some primitive social institution; but his suggestion that we have here a divine example of the *couvade* was not altogether happy, though the couvade was practised by primitive peoples of the Mediterranean area. The travail of Zeus is more naturally explained by him as a primitive mode of adoption, wherein the father pretends to actually [(*sic*)] give birth to the adopted son; and this would be the natural method for a people passing from the rule of the matrilinear to that of the patrilinear descent[b]. [[b]We hear of the same fashion of adoption among the Haidas of North America who are in the transition-state between the two systems.] Dionysos, therefore, was accepted and affiliated in this wise to Zeus by some Hellenic tribe who were still in that stage, and whom we cannot discover, for we do not know whence the story first radiated, though we may surmise that it arose in Boeotia.' The latter part of this statement, however, will have to be modified by those who accept the recent attempts of H. J. Rose ('On the alleged Evidence for Mother-right in Early Greece' in *Folk-Lore* 1911 xxii. 277—291, 'Prehistoric Greece and Mother-Right' *ib.* 1926 xxxvii. 213—244) to disprove the existence of mother-right in early Greece.

Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 74 f. illustrates 'Simulation of birth at adoption' from a wide area, including one classical myth: Diod. 4. 39 (from an older handbook of mythology (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 674)) *προσθετέον δ' ἡμῖν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀποθέωσιν αὐτοῦ Ζεὺς Ἥραν μὲν ἔπεισεν υἱοποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μητρὸς εὔνοιαν παρέχεσθαι (παρέξεσθαι* cod. D.), *τὴν δὲ τέκνωσιν γενέσθαι φασὶ τοιαύτην· τὴν Ἥραν ἀναβᾶσαν ἐπὶ (ἐπὶ τὴν* vulg.) *κλίνην καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα προσλαβομένην πρὸς τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἐνδυμάτων ἀφεῖναι πρὸς τὴν γῆν, μιμουμένην τὴν ἀληθινὴν γένεσιν· ὅπερ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ποιεῖν τοὺς βαρβάρους ὅταν θετὸν υἱὸν ποιεῖσθαι βούλωνται,* Lyk. *Al.* 39 *ὁ δευτέραν τεκοῦσαν κ.τ.λ.* with Tzetz. *ad loc. τὴν Ἥραν λέγει· διὰ τοῦ κόλπου γὰρ αὐτὸν ἤγεν (ἤνεγκεν* cod. *a*) *ὡς τίκτουσα καὶ τεκνοποιουμένη.* Cp. three important mirrors which represent Hera suckling a full-grown Herakles: (*a*) An early fourth-century mirror in the Museo Civico at Bologna (F. Schiassi *De Pateris, ex sententia J. T. Biancani sermo* Bononiæ 1808 pl. 10, Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 125 pl. 126 (=my fig. 32), E. Brizio in the *Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna* Bologna 1882 p. 24 Sezione antica, Sala viii, *E* Vetrina di fronte, Sezione di mezzo, J. Bayet *Herclé* Étude Critique des principaux monuments relatifs à l'Hercule Étrusque Paris 1926 p. 150 ff. no. *D*) shows Herakles as a well-grown youth, with his lion-skin round his neck and a smooth club at his side, bending forward to be suckled by Hera. She sits on a throne, the footstool of which is seen in perspective, and holds up her bared right breast to the hero's lips. Behind her and leaning on her shoulder is Iolaos (Gerhard says Ares), with *chlamýs* and lance. The whole is surrounded by a beautiful ivy-wreath; and the reverse has a frilled(=rayed) solar (?) head. A similar design on a terra-cotta medallion in relief was reported by W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1866 p. 65 f. It was found probably at Palestrina and was then in the possession of Castellani. Helbig took the medallion to be a model for a *bulla*. But A. Kluegmann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 xliii. 21 regarded it with more likelihood as the centre of a bowl. The group of Hera suckling Herakles was flanked by two standing youths clad in *chlamýdes*—apparently a duplication of Iolaos. (*b*) A fourth-century mirror from Volaterrae (*Volterra*), now in the Museo Archeologico at Florence, elaborates the subject (G. Körte in Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* v. 73—78 pl. 60 (=my fig. 33), A. B. Cook in the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 416 f. fig. 4, J. Bayet *op. cit.* p. 150 ff. no. *E*

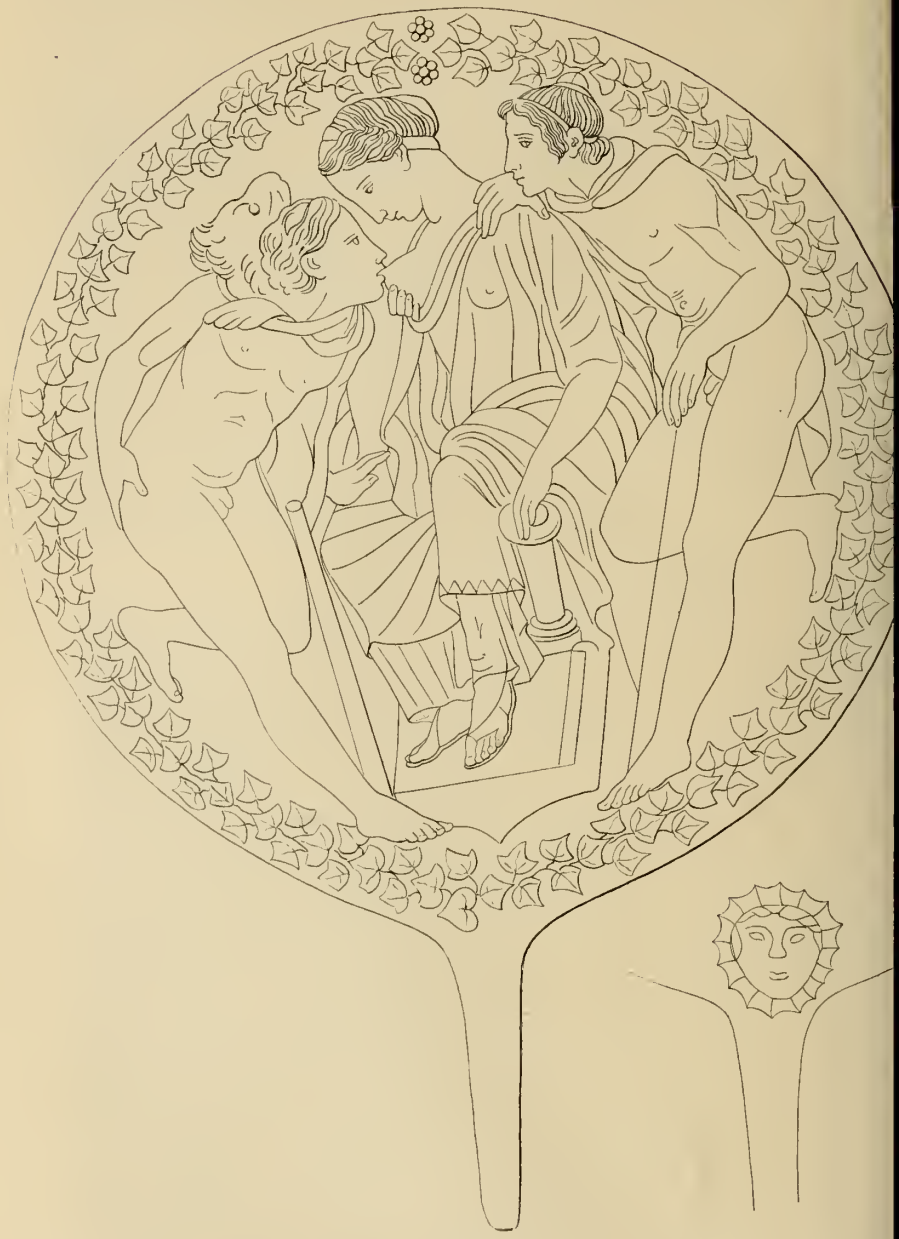

Fig. 32.

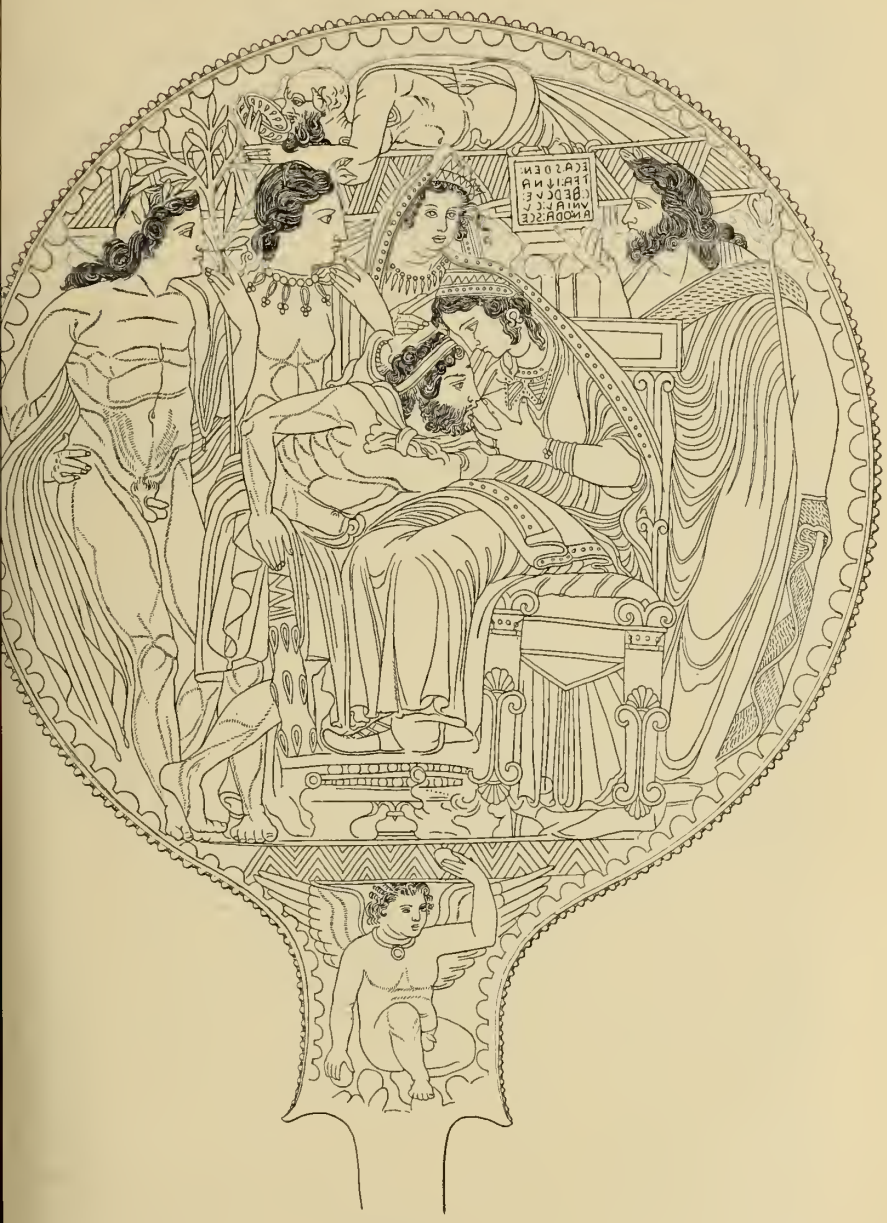

Fig. 33.

pl. 4). In the centre sits Hera on a handsome throne, the seat of which is seen from below (cp. *supra* ii. 738 fig. 668), with a footstool. She is attired in an Ionic *chitón* and a *himátion* drawn over her head. She has a profusion of trinkets (*stephánē*, ear-ring, finger-rings, necklace, bracelet) and is shod with strap-work shoes. Her right hand pulls forward her *himátion*; her left, with spread fingers, presses her naked breast, which is being sucked vigorously by Herakles. He is a bearded man with a broad fillet on his hair, a lion-skin round his neck, a short *chitón* about his waist, and a knotty club in his right hand. He leans over the goddess' lap to play the infant's part. To the right of these two stands Zeus, with *himátion*, shoes, and sceptre, signing to a young undraped goddess, who wears a large necklace with pendants of three drops (cp. *Il.* 14. 183, *Od.* 18. 298 τρίγληνα μορόεντα) and, like Zeus, displays two leaves stuck in her hair. To the left stands Apollon with *chlamýs*, bay-wreath, and bay-branch. In the background an older goddess appears in three-quarter position: she wears a *stephánē*, a necklace with pendants, and a *himátion* like that of Hera (there is indeed some confusion between the two) drawn over her head. Behind Hera's throne is an Ionic pillar supporting a tablet inscribed *eca : sren : | tva : ixna | c : hercle : | unial : cl\an : θra : sce.* The only words at present intelligible to us, *hercle* : *unial* : *clan*, denote 'Hercules son of Uni (Iuno)' and certainly suggest that the inscription is a label explaining the scene rather than a votive dedication involving other names. They do not of course justify Ptolemy Chennos of Alexandreia (*c.* 100 A.D.) in his paradoxical notion that Herakles was the son of Zeus and Hera (Ptol. *nov. hist.* 3 p. 186, 28 ff. Westermann *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 148 a 38 ff. Bekker τίνος ἐστὶν ὁ ὕμνος ὁ ᾀδόμενος ἐν Θηβαίοις (I. Bekker cj. Θήβαις) εἰς Ἡρακλέα, ἐν ᾧ λέγει (either read λέγεται or, less probably, supply the author Μάτρις ὁ Θηβαῖος ὑμνογράφος from the context and suppose a direct quotation of the following words) Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας υἱός). The whole composition is enclosed between an upper and a lower band of herring-bone pattern. Above is a bald Silenos, with pig's ears, drinking from a *phiále*. He sprawls along the upper line, and from his incredibly clumsy neck I should infer that the artist had at first intended him to be an upright head (cp. Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* pl. 212) or one of two (cp. *ib.* pl. 291, A), but had later altered him into a recumbent figure (cp. *ib.* pl. 323). Below is Eros, crouching almost *en face*, with a *bulla* slung round his throat and an ovoid object (egg ? ball ?) in either hand. (*c*) An early third-century mirror from Vulci, now at Berlin, introduces some variations and adds names (C. Robert in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1882 xl. 173, A. Furtwängler *ib.* 1883 xli. 271, Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* v. 72 f. pl. 59 (=my fig. 34), J. Bayet *op. cit.* p. 151 ff. no. *F*). Herakles (*Hercle*) sits on a low stool, beardless but adult and equipped with lion-skin and club. He is about to suck the right nipple of Hera (*Uni*), who stoops towards him with bared breast, clasping him with her right hand and holding a horn (cp. *supra* ii. 347 fig. 241) in her left. Behind Herakles sits *Mean* raising two sprigs of olive, bent to form a wreath for the hero. In the background stands Zeus (*Tinia*), his head surrounded by two streamers and a lotiform bolt visible at his right side. He is flanked on his right by Aphrodite (*Turan*), on his left by Athena (*Merva*, a mistake for *Menrva*) with *aigís*, *Gorgóneion*, and shield bearing a star. Below is a large female head between two stars. These three mirrors clearly postulate a common original, perhaps a fifth-century fresco, from which is also descended—with sundry important modifications—a *lékythos* of 'Apulian' style found at Anxia (*Anzi di Basilicata*) and now in the British Museum (G. Minervini in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1842 p. 160, *id.* in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1842—1843 i. 6 f., *id. Il mito di Ercole che succhia il latte di Giunone* Napoli 1854 pp. 1—34 with pl. (extr. from the *Memorie della Regale Accademia Ercolanense* Napoli 1853 vi. 317 ff.), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 141 no. L, G. Körte in Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* v. 76 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 60 no. F 107). Herakles is here reduced to the proportions of a boy and has lost his lion-skin and club. But that he and no other is meant appears from the presence of his patroness Athena (*aigís*, spear), who offers Hera a lily—not, as Minervini thought, in allusion to the later legend of the Milky Way (*supra* i. 624 n. 5), but merely as the favourite flower of the goddess (*supra* i. 624 n. 2, ii. 515 n. 10) and a fitting reward for her services. Hera herself is a queenly figure, seated with a floral *stephánē* on her head and a lily-topped sceptre in her hand. She presses

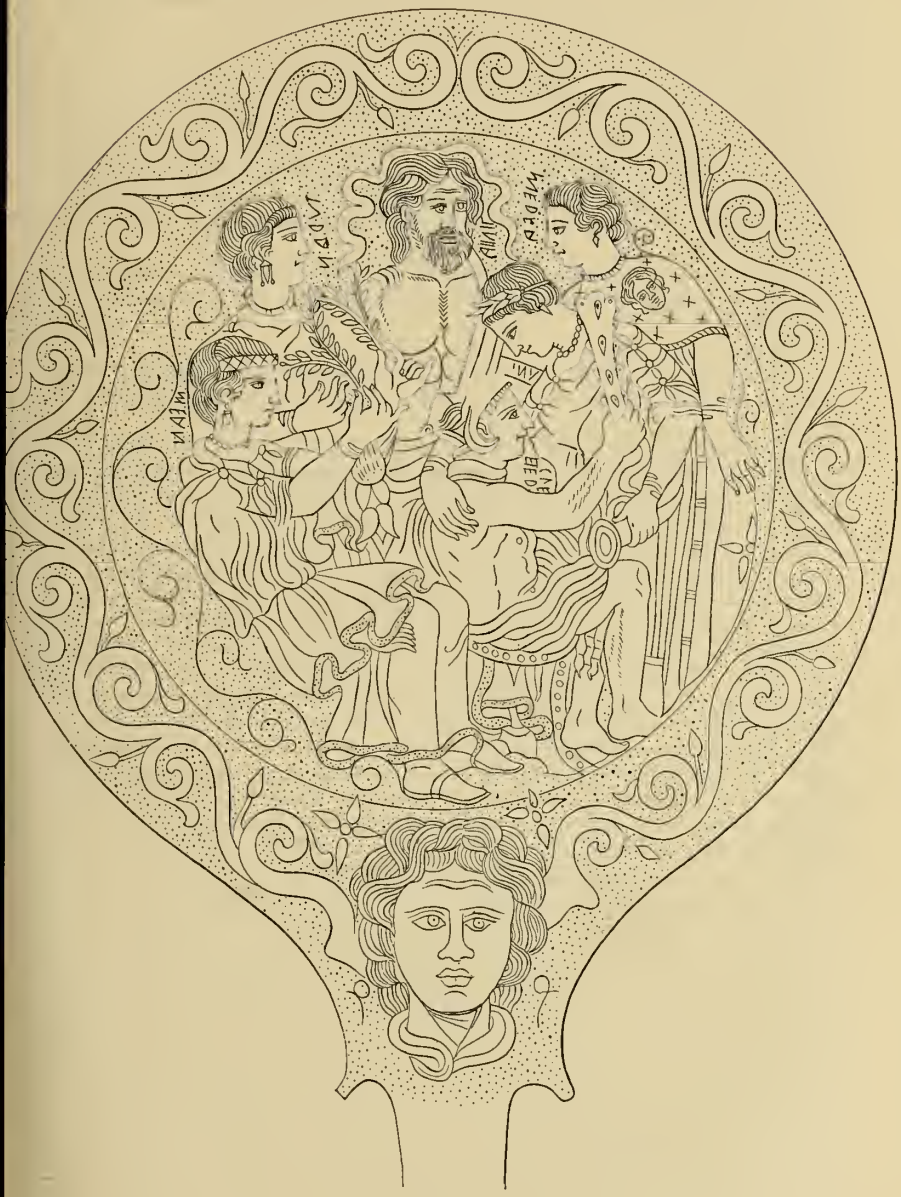

Fig. 34.

goddess Rhapso[1], but was presumably stressed as a means of explaining the obscure appellative *Eiraphiótes*[2]. The same etymologising tendency dates the whole hostage-episode, with its play on

the boy to her right breast, where he drinks his fill. Behind her stands Iris in short *chitón* and high boots. She has wings on her shoulders, and a knotted or studded staff by way of *caduceus*. She talks with a seated wreath-bearing goddess, who is difficult to identify,—probably not Peitho (G. Körte), certainly not Alkmene (G. Minervini, H. B. Walters). This couple is balanced by a standing Eros (wreath, *sphendóne*) and a seated Aphrodite (mirror) on the left. A. D. Trendall cp. a *lékythos* of 'early Apulian' style, by the same hand, at Taranto (my pl. xv, 2), which substitutes Aphrodite and Ἐρωτύλοι for Athena and Herakles.

It is noteworthy that in the case of Dionysos the simulated birth is from the god (Zeus), in the case of Herakles from the goddess (Hera). Parallels to both forms of the rite can be adduced.

[1] *Supra* ii. 184 n. 3.

[2] *Supra* i. 674 n. 2, ii. 957 n. 2. See further O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2119 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 661 n. 2, 714 n. 5, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 822 n. 4.

Expert philologists have advanced widely different explanations. W. Sonne in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1861 x. 103 connected ἐιραφιώτης, Aeolic ἐρραφαώτη-ς, with the Sanskrit *ṛshabha* 'bull,' so that the word would mean 'Befruchter.' R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1882 i. 146 followed suit. W. Prellwitz in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1897 xxii. 99 was still inclined to agree ('Sonne...vielleicht mit recht,' etc.), and F. Solmsen in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1897 vii. 46 ff. definitely accepted the same view, not only connecting Lesbian Ἐρραφεώτας, Ionic Εἰραφιώτης, with the Old Indian *ṛ̊ṣabhás* 'bull,' but (after A. Meillet *ib.* 1895 v. 328 f.) bringing into relation with them ἔρραος, which meant either 'ram' (Lyk. *Al.* 1316 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*) or 'boar' (Kallim. *frag.* 335 Schneider *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1316, Hesych. *s.v.* ἔρραος (so M. Schmidt for ἐρράς cod.)· κριός), and drawing attention to Ἀρράβαιον τὸν Βρομεροῦ, Λυγκηστῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα (Thouk. 4. 83), a man who was τοῦ Βακχιαδῶν γένους (Strab. 326)—an obviously Dionysiac group of names. F. Froehde in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1896 xxi. 199, while not doubting the possibility of Εἰραφιώτης, Ἐρραφιώτας being related to the Sanskrit *ṛṣabhá* 'bull,' regarded the word as another form of Ἐρίφιος, the goat too being a 'Verkörperung des lebenerzeugenden Numens des Gottes' (F. A. Voigt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1079). G. Legerlotz in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1859 viii. 53 had long since derived Εἰραφιώτης 'von einem εἰρ-α-φος = ἔρ-ι-φος (vgl. στρατιώτης, ἡλικιώτης)' and had noted the Laconian cult of Dionysos Ἔριφος. H. Ehrlich *ib.* 1906 xxxix. 567 f. likewise dwells on the connexion of Dionysos with the goat (*supra* i. 674 ff.) and remarks: 'Daher denken Wieseler Philol. 10, 101 und Wide Lakonische Culte p. 168 an ἔριφος, und eine nebenform *ἔρ̥αφος = *εἴραφος *ἔρραφος wäre wohl annehmbar. Da -αφος tiersuffix ist (cf. ἔλαφος ἀσκάλαφος κιδάφη κόραφος Hes.), könnte man *ἔρ̥αφος auch mit εἴρων "listig" (*ἔρ̥ων; zu *errare* st. *er-sā eigentlich "der in die irre führt") zusammenbringen und darin ein altes wort für den "fuchs" sehen...vgl. auch Philemon fr. 89[6] II p. 504 K.: οὐκ ἔστ' ἀλώπηξ ἡ μὲν εἴρων τῇ φύσει, | ἡ δ' αὐθέκαστος,...Die adjectivischen ableitungen *εἰραφιο- *ἐρραφεο- bezeichneten dann "das zum fuchs gehörige, das fuchsfell," und Εἰραφιώτης Ἐρραφεώτας wäre sozusagen die griechische übersetzung von Βασσαρεύς, "dem fuchsfellträger" nach alter überlieferung, die recht haben kann.' A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1894 xx. 179 f. cp. Hermes σπαργανιώτης (*h. Herm.* 301), μηχανιώτης (*ib.* 436), Dionysos βακχειώτης (Sapph. *frag.* 147 Bergk[4], 172 Edmonds = Simon. *frag.* 210 A Bergk[4] *ap.* Him. *or.* 13. 7), Pan ὀρειώτης (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 824. 2 (Erykios)). As σπαργανιώτης meant 'wrapped in the σπαργάνιον or "swathing-band",' so εἰραφιώτης, Aeolic ἐρραφιώτας, must have meant 'wrapped in the *εἰράφιον or "tufted skin"—a word related to εἶρος, Aeolic ἔρρος "wool" as χρυσάφιον to

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) *Lékythos* of early Apulian style from Anxia, now in the British Museum: Herakles suckled by Hera.

See page 92 *n.* o and *page* 94 *n.* o.

) *Lékythos* of early Apulian style, now at Taranto: Herakles suckled by Hera.

See page 94 *n.* o.

hómēros and *mērós*[1], as the effort of Prodikos[2] or some other fifth-century sophist, though the particular incident of the *aithér*-phantom, with its further play on *méros*, 'portion', is attributable to Euripides himself[3].

χρυσός. Dionysos εἰραφιώτης "in the tufted skin" was a kid, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* εἰραφιώτης· ... καὶ ἔριφος παρὰ Λάκωσιν. [Observe, however, that εἰραφιώτης 'wrapped in a tufted garment' might equally well, or even better, describe the Bacchant garbed in an artificial skin (Eur. *Bacch.* 111 ff. στικτῶν τ' ἐνδυτὰ νεβρίδων | στέφετε λευκοτρίχων πλοκάμων | μαλλοῖς with Sir J. E. Sandys *ad loc.*). A. B. C.]. F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 128 f. approves this derivation, but notes two difficulties: 'Die eine ist die, dass, wenn ἐρϝάφιον die Grundlage des Gottesnamens bildet, dieser bei den Lesbiern die Gestalt Ἐραφιώτας haben müsste, da, wie speciell ἔπερος lehrt, ϝ hinter Consonanten spurlos untergegangen ist. Man kann ihr mit dem Einwande begegnen, dass die Verdopplung des ρ die metrische Dehnung der ersten von drei auf einander folgenden Kürzen bezeichne, wie in πέρρυσιν Theokr. 29_{26}. Nicht beseitigen aber lässt sich die zweite Schwierigkeit. Nach den Ausführungen Wackernagels Glotta IV 243 f. kommt den Deminutiven auf -άφιον langes α zu, dem im Ionisch-Attischen η entspricht: ξυλήφιον im Corpus der Hippokratischen Schriften und bei Alexis. Also müsste die Namenform bei den Lesbiern Ἐρᾱφιώτας, bei den Ioniern Εἰρηφιώτης lauten. Hier kann man nur mit einer auf unsichrer Grundlage ruhenden Hypothese helfen: da das Erscheinen der Länge in -ᾱ́φιον von Wackernagel selbst als "Rätsel" bezeichnet wird, darf man vielleicht annehmen, dass neben ihr die Kürze gelegen habe, die kein Rätsel sein würde.' K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 232 pronounces the verdict: 'Εἰραφιώτης lesb. Ἐρραφεώτᾱς...ist zweifelhaften Ursprungs.' Possibly fresh evidence may yet be forthcoming—from Hittite sources?

The month Εἰραφιών at Arkesine in Amorgos (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 62, 28 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2 558 f. no. 5371, 28 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 531, 28, *ib.*[3] no. 963, 28 ἐμ μηνὶ Εἰραφιῶνι) probably corresponds with the Ionic Lenaion and the Attic Gamelion (J. Delamarre in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1901 xxv. 180 f., W. Dittenberger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2118 f.).

[1] ὁ μηρός = ὅμηρος.

[2] Euripides is said to have been a pupil of Prodikos (*v. Eur.* 1 in schol. Eur. i. 2, 7 f. Dindorf, Souid. *s.v.* Εὐριπίδης *ter*, Gell. 15. 20. 4), who was interested on the one hand in linguistic discussions (E. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 ii. 489 ff., 512), on the other in the origins of Dionysiac worship (*id. ib.* p. 482 f.).

[3] The foregoing paragraph must not be taken to imply that mythical birth from the thigh always betokens the ritual of adoption. F. Liebrecht *Zur Volkskunde* Heilbronn 1879 p. 490 f. (= *id.* in *Germania* 1860 v. 479 f.) compiles a list of such births from the leg, the foot, the hand, etc., each of which calls for separate investigation. They include the following:

(1) A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 pp. 13 f., 148 f. draws attention to Aurva, son of Cyavana (son of Çukra son of Bhṛgu) by Ârushî daughter of Manu, who was sprung from his mother's thigh (*Mahabharata* trans. M. N. Dutt Calcutta 1895 i. 93 = *Mahabh.* 1. 66. 47 'Arushi, the daughter of Manu, became the wife of the wise Chyavana, and the greatly illustrious Aurva was born in her, ripping open her thighs,' *ib.* 1896 iii. 453 = *Mahabh.* 3. 314. 17 'O sinless one, you have further heard how the Brahmanic sage Aurva at one time remaining concealed in his mother's thighs served the purpose of the celestials.' On Aurva see further S. Sörensen *An Index to the Names in the Mahabharata* London 1904 p. 100 f.).

(2) A. Kuhn *op. cit.*[2] p. 149 ff. compares the case of Vena, son of Anga and Sunîthá, who produced Nishâda from his thigh and Pṛthu from his arm (*Mahabharata* trans. M. N. Dutt Calcutta 1903 xii 86 = *Mahabh.* 12. 59. 94 'Vena, a slave of anger and malice, became impious and tyrannical towards all creatures. The Brahmavadin Rishis killed him

with Kusha blades inspired with Mantras. 95—96. Uttering Mantras all the while, those Rishis pierced the right thigh of Vena. Thereupon, from that thigh, sprang a short-limbed person on earth, resembling a charred brand, having blood-red eyes and black hair. Those Brahmavadins said to him,—Nishida (sit) here. 97. From him have originated the Nishadas, *viz.*, those wicked tribes who live in the hills and the forests, as also those hundreds and thousands of Mlecchas, living on the Vindhya ranges. 98. The great Rishis then pierced the right arm of Vena. Thence originated a person who was a second Indra in form' (*sc.* Prithu). H. H. Wilson *Works* London 1864 vi. 181 ff. = *Vishńu Puráńa* 1. 13 'And they fell upon the king, and beat him with blades of holy grass, consecrated by prayer, and slew him, who had first been destroyed by his impiety towards god....The sages, hearing this, consulted, and together rubbed the thigh of the king, who had left no offspring, to produce a son. From the thigh, thus rubbed, came forth a being of the complexion of a charred stake, with flattened features (like a negro), and of dwarfish stature. "What am I to do?" cried he eagerly to the Munis. "Sit down" (nishída), said they: and thence his name was Nisháda. His descendants, the inhabitants of the Vindhya mountain, great Muni, are still called Nishádas, and are characterized by the exterior tokens of depravity. By this means the wickedness of Vena was expelled; those Nishádas being born of his sins, and carrying them away. The Brahmans then proceeded to rub the right arm of the king, from which friction was engendered the illustrious son of Vena, named Pŕithu, resplendent in person, as if the blazing deity of Fire had been manifested. There then fell from the sky the primitive bow (of Mahádeva) named Ájagava, and celestial arrows, and panoply from heaven. At the birth of Pŕithu, all living creatures rejoiced; and Vena, delivered, by his being born, from the hell named Put, ascended to the realms above.' H. H. Wilson *ad loc.* cites the parallel passage in the *Bhágavata-puráńa* 4. 14. 43—46 with the rendering of E. Burnouf *Le Bhâgavata Purâṇa* Paris 1844 ii. 2. 78: 'Ayant pris cette résolution, les Rîchis secouèrent rapidement la cuisse du roi qu'ils avaient tué, et il en sortit un nain. Noir comme un corbeau, ayant le corps d'une extrême petitesse, les bras courts, les mâchoires grandes, les pieds petits, le nez enfoncé, les yeux rouges et les cheveux cuivrés. Prosterné devant eux, le pauvre nain s'écria: Que faut-il que je fasse? et les Brâhmanes lui répondirent: Assieds-toi, ami. De là lui vint le nom de Nichâda. C'est de sa race que sont sortis les Nâichâdas qui habitent les cavernes et les montagnes; car c'est lui dont la naissance effaça la faute terrible de Vêna,' *ib.* 4. 15. 1—6 (ii. 2. 79 Burnouf) 'Mâitrêya dit: Les Brâhmanes ayant ensuite agité les bras du roi Vêna, qui était mort sans postérité, en firent sortir deux enfants, un fils et une fille. A la vue de ces deux enfants, les Rîchis qui expliquent le Vêda, y reconnaissant une portion de la substance de Bhagavat, s'écrièrent, pleins d'une extrême joie: Celui-ci est une portion de la substance du bienheureux Vichṇu, qui est faite pour purifier le monde; celle-là est une création de Lakchmî, la compagne fidèle de Purucha. De ces deux enfants, le mâle deviendra le premier roi; ce sera le Mahârâdja, nommé Prîthu, dont la gloire et la renommée seront répandues au loin. Celle-ci sera sa royale épouse; douée d'une taille parfaite et de belles dents, faite pour rehausser les ornements et la vertu elle-même, elle sera, sous le nom d'Artchis, inviolablement attachée à Prîthu. Cet enfant est sans contredit une portion de Hari, qui est né dans le désir de sauver le monde; et cette fille est certainement Çrî son épouse dévouée, compagne inséparable du Dieu qu'elle a suivi [sur la terre].' H. H. Wilson *op. cit.* vi. 182 n. 1 further remarks: 'The Padma (Bhúmi Khańda) has a similar description [of Nisháda]; adding to the dwarfish stature and black complexion, a wide mouth, large ears, and a protuberant belly. It also particularizes his posterity as Nishádas, Kirátas, Bhillas, Bahanakas, Bhrahmaras, Pulindas, and other barbarians or Mlechchhas, living in woods and on mountains.' A. Kuhn *op. cit.*[2] p. 149 f. refers to the *Harivaṁśa*, a supplement to the *Mahabharata*, for the same tale.

(3) Mândhâtṛ, an ancient king, son of Yuvanâçva, was born from his father's side. Yuvanâçva, when hunting, had drunk sacrificial butter and so become pregnant (*Mahabharata* trans. M. N. Dutt Calcutta 1896 iii. 187 = *Mahabh.* 3. 126. 24—31 'O great king, as you, being very thirsty, have drunk the water prepared with sacred hymns which was

filled with the virtue of my religious labours, you must bring forth out of your own body a son as described above. We shall perform for your sake a sacrifice of wonderful effect, so that you will bring forth a son equal to Indra. You will not feel any pain at the time of the delivery. When one hundred years passed away, a son, as effulgent as the sun, came out by riving the left side of that high-souled king. The greatly effulgent child came out, but king Yuvanashwa did not die,—it was no doubt a great wonder. Then greatly effulgent Indra came there with the desire of seeing him. Thereupon the celestials asked Indra, "What is to be sucked by this boy?" Then Indra gave his own fore finger into his mouth (to suck), and the wielder of thunder said, "he will suck me." Thereupon the dwellers of heaven with Indra gave him the name "Mandhatta",' H. H. Wilson *op. cit.* London 1866 viii. 267 = *Vishńu Puráńa* 4. 2 'When the Munis rose, and found that the water had been drunk, they inquired who had taken it, and said: "The queen that has drunk this water shall give birth to a mighty and valiant son." "It was I," exclaimed the Raja, "who unwittingly drank the water": and, accordingly, in the belly of Yuvanáśwa was conceived a child. And it grew; and, in due time, it ripped open the right side of the Raja, and was born: and the Raja did not die. Upon the birth of the child, "Who will be its nurse?" said the Munis; when (Indra,) the king of the gods appeared, and said, "He shall have me for his nurse" (mâm ayaṁ dhásyati); and, hence, the boy was named Mándhátŕi. Indra put his fore-finger into the mouth of the infant, who sucked it, and drew from it (heavenly) nectar.'

(4) The *Buddha-karita* of Aśvaghosha (*c.* 100 A.D.) narrates the birth of Buddha from the side of queen Mâyâ: *Buddha-karita* trans. E. B. Cowell 1. 25, 26, 29 (*The Sacred Books of the East* Oxford 1894 xlix. 5 f.) 'At that time the constellation Pushya was auspicious, and from the side of the queen, who was purified by her vow, her son was born for the welfare of the world, without pain and without illness. Like the sun bursting from a cloud in the morning,—so he too, when he was born from his mother's womb, made the world bright like gold, bursting forth with his rays which dispelled the darkness.... As was Aurva's birth from the thigh, and Pŕithu's from the hand, and Mândhâtŕi's, who was like Indra himself, from the forehead [but see *supra* (3)], and Kakshîvat's from the upper end of the arm,—thus too was his birth (miraculous).' The *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, a translation of the *Buddha-karita* into Chinese made by the Indian priest Dharmaraksha (*c.* 420 A.D.), repeats the narrative: *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king* trans. S. Beal 1. 1. 9—11 (*The Sacred Books of the East* Oxford 1883 xix. 2 f.) 'While she (thus) religiously observed the rules of a pure discipline, Bodhisattva was born from her right side, (come) to deliver the world, constrained by great pity, without causing his mother pain or anguish. As king Yu-liu [*sc.* Aurva] was born from the thigh, as king Pi-t'au [*sc.* Pŕithu] was born from the hand, as king Man-to [*sc.* Mândhâtŕi] was born from the top of the head [but see *supra* (3)], as king Kia-*k'h*a [*sc.* Kakshîvat] was born from the arm-pit, So also was Bodhisattva on the day of his birth produced from the right side; gradually emerging from the womb, he shed in every direction the rays of his glory.'

(5) F. Liebrecht *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia* Hannover 1856 p. 72 notes that, according to an Old French legend, Phanuel once peeled an apple and wiped the knife on his thigh. The juice soaked into and impregnated his thigh, from which nine months later a girl—the mother of the Virgin Mary—was born (J. von Lassberg *Ein schoen alt Lied von Grave Friz von Zolre, dem Oettinger, und der Belagerung von Hohen Zolren, nebst noch etlichen andern Liedern* (Constanz 1842) p. 76 f.: 'Sainz fanoel se sist un Jour | Emmi sa sale ala froideur | Seur vn coulstes de cendaul | Il apela son senechaul | Des pomes li fit apourter | Es melades en veut doner | Ses seneschauz laut apourta | Et a ses piez sa genoilla | Trois des pomes et un coutel | Mit en la main sainz fanoel | Ly rois les prit sy les tailla | Et es melades en dona | Quant ly rois ot taille la pome | De la seue qui tant fut bone | Entint vn poy a son coutel | Or oiez de saint fanoel | Quant il vit son coutel moille | De la pome quil ot taille | A sa cuisse le ressuia | Et la seue ly engenra | Vne mout gentil demoiselle | Qui mout parfut cortoise et belle. || Qvant ly rois vit la grand meruoille | A cui nullę ne sa peroille | Il hamende tous ses amis | Et les mires de son pais | Il ny vint mires tant senez | Ne feciein tant letrez | Qui sehut dire la

doleur | De la Jambe lempereur | Tant furent esbahy ly mire | Ly plus saige ne sot que dire | Quant vint au iour que dieux imit | Sy commen lescriture dit | Ly rois melades acoucha | Et de la cuisse deliura | Iceille gentil demoiseille | Qui tant fut cortoise et belle | Ce fut sainte anne don ie dy | D la meire ihesu nasqui'). Liebrecht *loc. cit.* thinks that this may conceivably be 'eine Reminiscenz der Dionysius[*sic*]-sage.' Hardly so.

(6) S. Baring-Gould *Legends of Old Testament Characters* London and New York 1871 p. 20 f. 'The inhabitants of Madagascar have a strange myth touching the origin of woman. They say that the first man was created of the dust of the earth, and was placed in a garden, where he was subject to none of the ills which now affect mortality; he was also free from all bodily appetites, and though surrounded by delicious fruit and limpid streams, yet felt no desire to taste of the fruit or to quaff the water. The Creator had, moreover, strictly forbidden him either to eat or to drink. The great enemy, however, came to him, and painted to him in glowing colours the sweetness of the apple, the lusciousness of the date, and the succulence of the orange. In vain: the first man remembered the command laid upon him by his Maker. Then the fiend assumed the appearance of an effulgent spirit, and pretended to be a messenger from Heaven commanding him to eat and drink. The man at once obeyed. Shortly after, a pimple appeared on his leg; the spot enlarged to a tumour, which increased in size and caused him considerable annoyance. At the end of six months it burst, and there emerged from the limb a beautiful girl. The father of all living was sorely perplexed what to make of his acquisition, when a messenger from heaven appeared, and told him to let her run about the garden till she was of a marriageable age, and then to take her to himself as his wife. He obeyed. He called her Bahouna, and she became the mother of all races of men.' The relation of this and similar Malagasy tales to Biblical teaching is discussed by J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1912 v. 708 b. F. Liebrecht *Zur Volkskunde* Heilbronn 1879 p. 490 n.** (=*id.* in *Germania* 1860 v. 479) cites a variant from J. W. Wolf *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* Leipzig 1845 p. 599 (on no. 198): 'Die Einwohner von Madagaskar erzählen, Adam habe stark gegessen und in Folge dessen einem natürlichen Bedürfnisse genügen müssen, was sich aber gleich im Paradiese durch den Geruch verrathen. Darob sei er vom Teufel verklagt worden und Gott habe ihn aus dem Paradiese geworfen. Einige Zeit nachher wäre sein Bein aufgeschwollen und man habe ein jung Mädchen heraus geholt, welches er geheirathet.'

(7) In Norse cosmogony Ymir, ancestor of all the giants, went to sleep, fell into a sweat, and brought forth a female-child and a male-child from under his arm-pit, while from the union of his two feet he produced a six-headed son (G. Vigfusson—F. York Powell *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* Oxford 1883 i. 66=*Vafþrúðnis-mal* 2. 31 '*Woden.* Seventhly, tell me, etc., How did this sturdy giant beget sons, since he knew not giantess? —*Wafthr.* A maid-child and man-child grew together from under his arm-pit. Foot begat with foot a six-headed son to that wise giant,' K. Simrock *Die Edda*[7] Stuttgart 1878 p. 252=*Gylfaginninng* 5 'Da antwortete Har: Wir halten ihn mit nichten für einen Gott: er war böse wie alle von seinem Geschlecht, die wir Hrimthursen nennen. Es wird erzählt, als er schlief fing er an zu schwitzen: da wuchs ihm unter seinem linken Arm Mann und Weib und sein einer Fuss zeugte einen Sohn mit dem andern. Und von diesen kommt das Geschlecht der Hrimthursen; den alten Hrimthurs aber nennen wir Ymir'). See further J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 559, K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*[5] Bonn 1878 pp. 17, 35, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 145, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 342, P. Herrmann *Nordische Mythologie* Leipzig 1903 p. 574.

(8) Persephone Χειρογονία (Hesych. Χειρογονία· ἡ Περσεφόνη) has been variously explained. I. Vossius in the notes to J. Alberti's edition of Hesychios (Lugduni Batavorum 1766) ii. 1546 n. 30 asks: 'An quod manuum labore nascantur fruges?' M. Schmidt in *Philologus* 1858 xiii. 220 replies: 'Vielmehr Χειρογένεια, was aus Ἀχειρογένεια entstanden sein könnte; doch hängt vielleicht Ἀχειρώ mit Ἐγγῆρυς Eccere Cere-

Hydría at Queens' College, Cambridge:
Apollon visits the Lesbian oracle of Orpheus.

See page 99 f.

Phantoms were in fashion. The Platonic Phaidros, perhaps taking a hint from Stesichoros[1] or Euripides[2], tells how the gods, indignant that Orpheus was unwilling to die for love, sent him back empty-handed after showing him a mere phantom of his wife, not her very self[3].

In this connexion the design on a red-figured *hydría* in my possession is deserving of notice (pl. xvi)[4]. It is Attic work dating from the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. In the centre stands a slender, youthful Apollon. He wears a bay-wreath on his flowing locks and a *chlamýs* with weighted corners over his left arm. In his right hand he holds a long bay-branch; in his left, a lyre. Both hands are lowered, and the god looks downwards at the head of Orpheus, which with parted lips and upturned face is

zusammen [Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀχηρώ (Ἀχειρώ cod.)].' G. J. Vossius *De theologia Gentili, et physiologia Christiana*[2] Amsterdami 1668 i. 224 = lib. 2 cap. 28, F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 iv. 330, Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 452, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 781 n. 3 take the appellative to describe Persephone as a goddess of birth. E. Maass *De Aeschyli Supplicibus commentatio* Gryphiswaldiae 1890 pp. xix, xxxvi f. suggests that Χειρογονία must be daughter of a Zeus *Χειρογόνος, 'qui ut infans nascatur manu efficit.' He compares, not only the Zeus Λεχεάτης of Aliphera in Arkadia (Paus. 8. 26. 6 καὶ Διός τε ἱδρύσαντο Λεχεάτου βωμόν, ἅτε ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκόντος) and the Zeus εὐώδιν of Nonnos (*Dion.* 48. 974 f. καὶ θεὸς ἀμπελόεις πατρώιον αἰθέρα βαίνων | πατρὶ σὺν εὐώδινι μιῆς ἔψαυσε τραπέζης. See further Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 2532 B), but also (Zeus) Agamemnon *Ὀρσίλοχος assumed to account for Iphigeneia Ὀρσιλοχία (Ant. Lib. 27) and Zeus *Ἔπαφος assumed to account for Dionysos Ἐπάφιος (Orph. *h. Lys. Len.* 50. 7 and *h. triet.* 52. 9 cited *supra* p. 4 n. 0). *Id. Aratea* Berlin 1892 p. 349 adds: 'Ac fortasse de Dactylorum etymo hac eadem ratione edocebimur quid sibi velit. Quid? si χειρογόνοι credebantur et digitis placide ventri immissis contrectando efficere, ut parerent parturientes? Essent igitur Δάκτυλοι = Δακτυλογόνοι.... Coniectura haec est, nihil amplius.' Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 860 n. 2 concludes: 'Orsilocheia und Persephone Cheirogonia ... sind selbst Geburtsgöttinnen gewesen, nicht nach (Zeus) Agamemnon *Orsilochos oder Zeus *Cheirogonos ... genannt.' F. Liebrecht *locc. citt.* would bring Persephone into line with Prithu (*supra* (2)): 'Persephone heisst die Fingergeborene (χειρογονία) und deshalb auch wieder aus den Fingern Gebärende.' This is attractive, but cannot claim the support of any actual myth. The preceding statement 'die Paliken erscheinen als Fingergeburten' is erroneous, the whole context being presumably copied from J. J. Bachofen *Versuch über die Gräbersymbolik der Alten* Basel 1859 p. 174 'Darum erscheinen die Paliken auf bekannten Vasenbildern als Fingergeburt; darum heisst auch Persephone selbst Χειρογονία, die Fingergeborne, und deshalb auch wieder aus den Fingern Gebärende.'

[1] O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1323, citing A. Hug's commentary on Plat. *symp.* p. 43.

[2] O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1158.

[3] Plat. *symp.* 179 D Ὀρφέα δὲ τὸν Οἰάγρου ἀτελῆ ἀπέπεμψαν ἐξ Ἅιδου, φάσμα δείξαντες τῆς γυναικὸς ἐφ' ἣν ἦκεν, αὐτὴν δὲ οὐ δόντες, ὅτι μαλθακίζεσθαι ἐδόκει, ἅτε ὢν κιθαρῳδός, καὶ οὐ τολμᾶν ἕνεκα τοῦ ἔρωτος ἀποθνῄσκειν ὥσπερ Ἄλκηστις, ἀλλὰ διαμηχανᾶσθαι ζῶν εἰσιέναι εἰς Ἅιδου.

[4] The vase (height 8¾ inches) was found in Attike, and was acquired by me in 1933.

chanting an oracle from the ground[1]. Behind Orpheus stands a young woman, presumably the Pythia. She too looks down, and holds her right hand with a deprecatory gesture above the head. She has a beaded fillet and upright bay-leaves in her hair, and she is clad in a *péplos* with long overfold and girdle. Behind Apollon stands another woman, closely swathed in *chitón* and *himátion*. She also gazes at the head of Orpheus, but with loosened hair and a look of such obvious distress that we must surely identify her with Eurydike[2]. I take the whole design to portray the visit of Apollon to the Lesbian oracle of Orpheus—a scene graphically described by Philostratos[3] the Athenian early in *s.* iii A.D.:

'He (*sc.* Apollonios of Tyana) put in at Lesbos and made his way to the *ádyton* of Orpheus. The story goes that once on a time Orpheus here practised seercraft with pleasure, until Apollon took notice of him. For men no longer resorted to Gryneion for oracles, nor to Klaros, nor yet to the Apolline tripod[4]; but Orpheus alone gave oracles, his head having lately arrived from Thrace. Wherefore the god came upon him as he was chanting an oracular strain and said: "Leave my business to me: I have borne long enough with your singing".'[5]

Hitherto the only available illustration of this narrative was the design on a red-figured *kýlix* now in the Lewis collection at Cambridge, published many years ago by G. Minervini (fig. 35) and noted by A. Furtwängler as Attic work referable to the time of the Peloponnesian War[6]. The obverse of this vase shows Apollon's

[1] Philostr. *her.* 6. 4 *ἡ κεφαλὴ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον ἐς Λέσβον κατασχοῦσα ῥᾴγμα τῆς Λέσβου ᾤκησε κἀν κοίλῃ τῇ γῇ ἐχρησμῴδει. ὅθεν ἐχρῶντό τ' αὐτῇ τὰ μαντικὰ Λέσβιοί τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πᾶν Αἰολικὸν καὶ Ἴωνες Αἰολεῦσι πρόσοικοι, χρησμοὶ δὲ τοῦ μαντείου τούτου καὶ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἀνεπέμποντο. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὸν ἄνω βασιλέα ἡ κεφαλὴ ᾖδε, Κύρῳ τε τῷ ἀρχαίῳ χρησμὸν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκδοθῆναι λέγεται, "τᾰμά, ὦ Κῦρε, σά," κ.τ.λ.*

[2] The only other possibility would be to regard her as 'the Muse herself that Orpheus bore,' whether Kalliope or another (O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1073 f.). But this is not the type of any known or recognisable Muse.

[3] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 14 p. 133 f. Kayser.

[4] *Sc.* Delphoi.

[5] The concluding words are *ἐφίσταταί οἱ χρησμῳδοῦντι ὁ θεὸς καὶ "πέπαυσο" ἔφη "τῶν ἐμῶν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ (καὶ) ᾄδοντά σε ἱκανῶς ἤνεγκα."* Possibly the original source of the story (Damis of Nineveh? Maximus of Aigai? see Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 1. 3 p. 3 f. Kayser) had a hexameter passage such as *χρησμῳδοῦντι θεός ποτ' ἐφίστατο καὶ προσέειπε | 'παῦσαι ἐμῶν, καὶ γάρ σ' ἱκανῶς ᾄδοντ' ἤνεγκα'* or *'τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἐμῶν—καὶ γάρ σ' ἱκανῶς ἤνεγκα—πέπαυσο.'* But the later oracles of Apollon tend to drop verse for prose (Frazer *Pausanias* v. 238). It is curious, if no more, that the words *τὰ ἐμά* occur again in the oracle spoken by Orpheus' head to Kyros the Elder (Philostr. *her.* 6. 4 *τᾰμά, ὦ Κῦρε, σά.*)

[6] G. Minervini 'Oracolo di Orfeo e dell' Apollo Napeo in Lesbo: vaso dipinto di fabbrica nolana' in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1858 vi. 33—39 pl. 4, 1 (= my fig. 35) held that on one side Pelops is taking down an oracle pronounced by the head of Orpheus under the protection of Apollon Ναπαῖος (schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 144), and that on the other Kalliope has picked up her son's lyre and a second Muse the strap from which it was hung. Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 493, 2 is more cautious: '(A) La tête coupée d'Orphée rend des

visit to the oracle of Orpheus' head; its reverse, the finding of Orpheus' lyre by a couple of Lesbian women (hardly Muses). The

Fig. 35.

new vase also amplifies the oracular visit by the addition of two women, but lends a far greater significance to them by making one the devotee of Apollon, the other the wife of Orpheus. And, if that

is the case, Eurydike must necessarily be present in phantom form—a figure comparable with the ghost of Klytaimestra as she appears on more than one Greek vase[1]. Mr C. T. Seltman further points out to me that both these Orpheus-vases presuppose an interest at Athens in the *sacra* of Lesbos and handle the theme with a light-hearted semi-humorous touch understandable enough during the Athenian domination of the island in 427—412 B.C.[2]

Lastly, there is the phantasmal Aeneas, whom Iuno in Virgil's epic fashions out of 'hollow cloud' and decks with Dardanian armour

oracles, qu'un éphèbe (Pélops?) transcrit sur un diptyque en présence d'Apollon (?). (B) Deux femmes, tenant l'une la lyre d'Orphée, l'autre le baudrier auquel elle était suspendue.' A. Furtwängler in the *Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* l. 163 'eine ausgezeichnete Schale im Stile der Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges zeigt den abgeschlagenen Kopf des Orpheus, der singend Orakelsprüche ertheilt, welche ein Jüngling in ein Diptychon aufzeichnet, während Apollon als Orpheus Beschützer mit ausgestreckter Hand hinter dem Kopfe steht' is followed by O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1177 f. fig. 3. But Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 247 ff. fig. 139 has more to say: 'Als Beschützer des Kopfes [Ov. *met.* 11. 50 n., cp. Stob. *flor.* 64. 14 Phanokles (ed. Gaisford ii. 418 f., Wachsmuth—Hense iv. 1. 461 f.)] und Herr des Ortes erscheint Apollon offenbar auch auf dem Vasenbilde. Auf der Rückseite derselben Schale scheint die Lyra des Orpheus in den Händen einer Muse dargestellt, während eine zweite eine Tänie bereit hält, um die Leier damit als Weihgeschenk zu umschlingen. Das Bild scheint darauf anzuspielen, dass die Leier dem Apollon geweiht ward [Loukian. *adv. indoct.* 11].' C. Robert 'Das orakelnde Haupt des Orpheus' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1917 xxxii. 146 f. fig. 1 rightly holds that the vase-painter, like Philostratos, is depicting the myth of Apollon's protest. See further C. D. Bicknell in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 230 pl. 12, H. Philippart in *L'Antiquité Classique* 1935 iv. 209 pl. 27, 1.

Fig. 36.

To the gems discussed by Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 245 f. add a sliced chalcedony in my collection (fig. 36 scale $\frac{2}{1}$), which resembles his i pl. 20, 53 = pl. 22, 5, cp. 6, ii. 100, 107. A chip above the young man's head has been crudely altered by some later hand into a would-be *pétasos*. See too the Etruscan mirrors figured on my pl. xvii, and a 'Campanian' *amphora* of *c.* 450—425 B.C., now in the Musée Borély at Marseille, interpreted by Prof. P. P. Jacobsthal, to whom I am greatly indebted for my pl. xviii, as a youth consulting the oracular head of Orpheus.

[1] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1244 ('Das Schattenbild Klytaimestras'). The greatest resemblance to our Eurydike is shown by the phantom Klytaimestra of a *kratér* from Armento (*c.* 420 B.C.), now in the Louvre (J. de Witte in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1847 xix. 413 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* iv. pl. 48 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 132, 2, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 714 f. Atlas pl. 29, 7, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 330 ff. pl. 120, 4, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 576, 597 f., iii. 356 fig. 798, L. Séchan *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* Paris 1926 p. 97 ff. pl. 1, 2), who likewise occupies a position on the extreme left of the group.

[2] Mr Seltman also suspects that the story told by Philostratos about Kyros the Elder (*supra* p. 100 n. 1) belongs more properly to Kyros the Younger. If the former captured Babylon in 538, the latter had designs upon it in 401. If the corpse of the one was beheaded by Tomyris, that of the other was beheaded by Artaxerxes. Confusion might result, and some points of the story suit the Younger better than the Elder. Be that as it may, Philostratos' mention of Babylon suggests that he may here be indebted to Damis of Nineveh.

(1)

(2)

(3)

Etruscan mirrors representing the oracular head of Orpheus.

(1) A mirror from Clusium, now in the Casuccini collection (no. 176), Villa Marcianella, Chiusi. The head of Orpheus (ƎΦ⊲ΩV) looks up from the ground with parted lips, while a young man on the right takes down the oracle (B. Bandinelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1925 xxx. 542—552 fig. 10, W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 35 f. fig. 6).

(2) A mirror, now in Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 50 no. 1724), of similar design, but without names (E. Gerhard in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1861* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 407 f. pl. 2, *id. Etr. Spiegel* iii. 275 f., 325 ff. pl. 257 A, B. Bandinelli *loc. cit.* p. 547 f.).

(3) A fragmentary mirror, formerly in the Borgia collection and now presumably at Naples, which had once a similar design (E. Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 190 pl. 196, B. Bandinelli *loc. cit.* p. 548).

See page 102 *n. o.*

Early 'Campanian' *amphora* in the Musée Borély at Marseilles:
a youth consulting the oracle of Orpheus' head (?).

See page 102 *n.* 0.

in order to lure Turnus from the fight[1]. The Roman poet probably based his figment on a passage of the *Iliad*, in which Apollon rescues Aineias from Diomedes by carrying off his *protégé* and substituting a phantom resembling him in person and equipment[2]. We are not, however, told that the Homeric phantom was made of cloud; indeed, it would appear that in genuine Greek myth, as distinct from the inventions of a Euripides or a Virgil, the cloud-effigy was always female, since the cloud itself was feminine.

§ 7. *Zeus and the Wind.*

(a) Men believed to control the winds.

The Greeks, like other imperfectly civilised nations[3], credited certain persons with the power of controlling the winds. At Athens the *Heudánemoi* or 'Lull-winds' had an altar near the Metroön[4]: they seem to have been a clan tracing their descent from an eponymous founder *Heudánemos*, who was revered as an angel in Christian times[5]. At Eleusis too there was a well-known altar of

[1] Verg. *Aen.* 10. 633 ff. haec ubi dicta dedit, caelo se protinus alto | misit agens hiemem nimbo succincta per auras, | Iliacamque aciem et Laurentia castra petivit. | tum dea nube cava tenuem sine viribus umbram | in faciem Aeneae (visu mirabile monstrum) | Dardaniis ornat telis, clipeumque iubasque | divini adsimulat capitis, dat inania verba, | dat sine mente sonum gressusque effingit euntis; | etc. After enticing Turnus to follow him on board the ship of Osinius, the phantom disappears: *ib.* 663 f. tum levis haud ultra latebras iam quaerit imago, | sed sublime volans nubi se immiscuit atrae.

[2] *Il.* 5. 449 ff. *αὐτὰρ ὁ εἴδωλον τεῦξ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων* (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 601 says inadvertently: Aeneas a Neptuno opposita nube liberatur) | *αὐτῷ τ' Αἰνείᾳ ἴκελον καὶ τεύχεσι τοῖον,* | *ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' εἰδώλῳ Τρῶες καὶ δῖοι Ἀχαιοὶ* | *δῄουν ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι βοείας* | *ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους λαισήϊά τε πτερόεντα.* W. Leaf *ad loc.* comments: 'The mention of the "wraith" is not like Homer, nor does it appear on other occasions when a hero is snatched away by a god. It plays no further part in the action, nor does there seem to be the least surprise shown at the reappearance of the original Aineias in the field, l. 514. Thus 449—453 are probably interpolated; the last two lines come bodily from M 425—6.'

On heroes etc. wrapped in a cloud and carried off by god or goddess see F. von Duhn *De Menelai itinere Aegyptio* Bonnae 1874 p. 38, A. von Premerstein in *Philologus* 1896 lv. 636, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 996 n. 1, 1153.

[3] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 319—331 ('The Magical Control of the Wind'), The Scapegoat pp. 176, 178 ff., Balder the Beautiful ii. 232 f.

[4] Arrian. *an.* 3. 16. 8 *καὶ ταύτας* (*sc.* Antenor's group of Harmodios and Aristogeiton) *Ἀθηναίοις ὀπίσω πέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ νῦν κεῖνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ αἱ εἰκόνες, ᾗ ἄνιμεν ἐς πόλιν, καταντικρὺ μάλιστα τοῦ Μητρῴου, <οὐ* (*ins.* N. Blancardus *post* B. Facii 'non procul')*> μακρὰν τῶν Εὐδανέμων τοῦ βωμοῦ· ὅστις δὲ μεμύηται ταῖν θεαῖν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι* (G. Loeschcke, followed by J. Töpffer, cj. *ἐν Ἐλευσινίῳ*. But K. Wachsmuth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2335 notes other examples of *Ἐλευσῖνι* wrongly altered to *Ἐλευσινίῳ*), *οἶδε τοῦ* (so A. G. Roos for *τὸν* cod. A.) *Εὐδανέμου τὸν βωμὸν* (B. Vulcanius reads *τὸν Εὐδανέμου βωμὸν*) *ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου ὄντα.*

[5] Hesych. *Εὐδάνεμος· ἄγγελος, παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις.* H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 259 n. 28 cj. *γένος* for *ἄγγελος*. *Alii aliter*: see C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im*

Heudánemos[1]; and that the *Heudánemoi* had something to do with Eleusinian ritual appears from the title of a speech fathered upon Deinarchos, *viz.* 'The *Heudánemoi v.* the *Kérykes in re* the Basket[2]'—presumably the sacred basket of Demeter[3]. At Corinth there was a similar clan of *Anemokoîtai* or 'Wind-layers,' whose business was to hush the winds to sleep[4]. Even in the days of Constantine Sopatros of Apameia, a pupil of Iamblichos[5], was accused of having bound the south winds and so prevented the corn-ships of Egypt, Syria, and Phoinike from reaching Byzantion: his enemies actually induced the emperor to order his execution[6].

With regard to the precise rites practised by the wind-layer there is a dearth of evidence. Perhaps the harmful gale was conjured into a jar[7] or bag[8]. Empedokles of Akragas was surnamed

Alterthum Leipzig 1890 ii. 1. 441 n. 3. Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 209 n. 0 concludes: 'Hesych. v. Εὐδάνεμος bleibt uns dunkel. Ob der Glossator Εὐδάνεμος geschrieben, das für εὔδιος ἄνεμος genommen und nach Anleitung von Hebr. 1, 7 ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα interpretiert hat, oder wie er sonst zu seiner Glosse gelangt ist, lässt sich nicht sagen.' Hesychios seems to imply that the pagan eponym became a Christian angel without losing his special function of tempering the wind.

[1] *Supra* p. 103 n. 3.

[2] Dion. Hal. *de Dinarch.* 11 (=J. G. Baiter—H. Sauppe *Oratores Attici* Turici 1850 ii. 323 b 9 f.) Διαδικασία Εὐδανέμων πρὸς Κήρυκας ὑπὲρ τοῦ κανῶς· κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Infra* Append. P, cp. i. 530 n. 2. J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 112 would detect 'eine Anspielung auf irgendwelche mit den Heudanemen in Beziehung stehende liturgische Handlungen' in Hermesianax *frag.* 2, 17 ff. Diehl, 7, 17 ff. Powell, *ap.* Athen. 597 D ἥ τε πολὺν μύστησιν (so C. J. Blomfield for πολυμνηστησιν cod. A. E. Diehl prints πολὺ<μ> μύστησιν) Ἐλευσῖνος παρὰ πέζαν | εὐασμὸν κρυφίων ἐξεφόρει λογίων, | Ῥάριον ὀργίων ἀνέμῳ διαποιπνύουσα | Δημήτρᾳ· γνωστὴ δ' ἔστι καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδῃ. But in the crucial line 19 the reading of cod. A. ὀργιωνανεμωι was corrected by J. G. J. Hermann into ὀργειῶνι νόμῳ, by C. J. Blomfield into ὀργειῶνα νόμῳ. Hermann is followed by Diehl, Blomfield by J. U. Powell: in either case the allusion to wind-laying disappears.

[4] Hesych. Ἀνεμοκοῖται· οἱ ἀνέμους κοιμίζοντες. γένος δὲ τοιοῦτόν φασιν ὑπάρχειν ἐν Κορίνθῳ = Souid. *s.v.* Ἀνεμοκοῖται, cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1645, 41 f. χρήσιμον δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀνέμους πανέμεναι (*Od.* 10. 22) καὶ τὸ Ἀνεμοκοῖται, γένος ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἀνέμους κοιμίζοντες.

[5] O. Seeck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 1006 f.

[6] Eunap. *v. Aedes.* 41 καὶ οἱ πάλαι βασκαίνοντες, εὑρηκέναι καιρὸν ἡγούμενοι κάλλιστον, "ἀλλὰ Σώπατρός γε," ἔφασαν, "ὁ παρὰ σοῦ τιμώμενος κατέδησε τοὺς ἀνέμους δι' ὑπερβολὴν σοφίας, ἣν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαινεῖς, καὶ δι' ἣν ἔτι τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγκάθηται θρόνοις." καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ συμπεισθεὶς κατακοπῆναι κελεύει τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἐγίνετο διὰ τοὺς βασκαίνοντας ταῦτα θᾶττον ἢ ἐλέγετο.

[7] Cp. the Indian 'jar of the winds' (*infra* § 7 (h)). It was believed that a toad emprisoned in a new jar and buried in the field would safeguard the crops against stormy weather (Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 294 Archibius (on whom see M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 466) ad Antiochum Syriae regem scripsit, si fictili novo obruatur rubeta rana in media segete, non esse noxias tempestates). The same remedy served to protect millet against sparrows and worms (Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 158 multi ad mili remedia rubetam noctu arvo circumferri iubent, priusquam sariatur, defodique in medio inclusam fictili. ita nec passerem nec vermes nocere, sed eruendam, priusquam metatur; alioquin amarum fieri, *Geopon.* 2. 18. 14 Ἀπουλήϊος δέ φησι (see L. von Schwabe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 249, E. Oder *ib.* vii. 1221 f.), πρὶν σκαφῆναι τὴν ἄρουραν, φρῦνον, τουτέστι βάτραχον χερσαῖον, νυκτὸς περὶ αὐτὴν περιενεγκόντα κατακλεῖσαι ἐν σκεύει κεραμιαίῳ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ

Alexanémas, 'Averter of Winds[1],' or *Kolysanémas*, 'Preventer of Winds,' because once, when the Etesian Winds were spoiling the crops, he had asses flayed and bags made of their skins: these bags he proceeded to set round the hills and mountain-tops in order to catch the wind[2]. His choice of the ass was certainly not accidental, for at Taras a sacred ass was allowed to run wild till it was sacrificed

καταχῶσαι τῆς ἀρούρας· κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ σπόρου ἀνορύξαι τὸ σκεῦος, καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς ἀρούρας, ἵνα μὴ πικρὸς ὁ καρπὸς γένηται, *ib.* 2. 18. 15 ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀπουλήϊός φησι, τοῖς σπειρομένοις χρῆναι παραμιγνύναι ὀλίγην φακῆν· φύσει γὰρ ἀντιστατεῖ πρὸς τὸ χαλεπὸν τῶν ἀνέμων). And very similar beliefs on French soil are noted by P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 264 f. In Italy toads are said to spring from the first large raindrops of a storm (A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 379 n. 2), and in France to announce the coming downpour by repeated croaks (P. Sébillot *op. cit.* iii. 260) or leaps (*id. ib.* iii. 267). In Switzerland a toad crawling across the road betokens rain (H. Bächtold-Stäubli in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1933 v. 609). 'Eine "Dreissgenkröte" im Estrich aufgehängt, zieht in Tirol alle "bösen Winde," an einem Faden in der Stube aufgehängt, im Kt. Bern alle giftigen Dünste in sich' (*id. ib.* p. 619).

[s] *Infra* § 7 (b).

[1] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 29 Ἀλεξάνεμος μὲν ἦν τὸ ἐπώνυμον Ἐμπεδοκλέους = Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 136 Ἀλεξάνεμος μὲν ὂν τὸ ἐπώνυμον Ἐμπεδοκλέους. Cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1645, 42 f. εἰς ὅπερ (*supra* p. 104 n. 4) δεξιῶς λέγεται διακεῖσθαι καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς. L. C. Valckenaer in his note on Eur. *Phoen.* 120 restored ἀλεξανέμας as the right reading in Iambl. *loc. cit.*

[2] Timaios *frag.* 94 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 215 f. Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 60 φησὶ δὲ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους τεθαυμάσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ γὰρ ἐτησίων ποτὲ σφοδρῶς πνευσάντων ὡς τοὺς καρποὺς λυμήνασθαι, κελεύσας ὄνους ἑκδαρῆναι καὶ ἀσκοὺς ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τοὺς λόφους καὶ τὰς ἀκρωρείας διέτεινε πρὸς τὸ συλλαβεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα· λήξαντος δέ, Κωλυσανέμαν κληθῆναι. Souid. *s.v.* ἄπνους cites the same passage, but reads Κωλυσάνεμον. The incident is said to have happened at Akragas (Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 3 p. 445, 11 ff. Stählin Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος Κωλυσανέμας ἐπεκλήθη. λέγεται οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος ὄρους, πνέοντός ποτε ἀνέμου βαρὺ καὶ νοσῶδες τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν ἀγονίας αἰτίου γινομένου, παῦσαι τὸν ἄνεμον· διὸ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι γράφει (*frag.* 111, 3 ff. Diels)· παύσεις δ' ἀκαμάτων ἀνέμων μένος οἵ τ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν | ὀρνύμενοι θυητοῖσι καταφθινύθουσιν ἀρούρας· | καὶ πάλιν, εὖτ' ἐθέλῃσθα, παλίντιτα πνεύματα θήσεις, Souid. *s.v.* ἀμύκλαι·...Ἐμπεδοκλῆς... ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Κωλυσανέμας διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀνέμους ἐπιθεμένους τῇ Ἀκράγαντι ἐξελάσαι αὐτόν, δοράς ὄνων περιθέντα τῇ πόλει—a note re-inserted with the variation ἀνέμου πολλοῦ ἐπιθεμένου *s.v.* Ἐμπεδοκλῆς and thence transcribed *s.v.* δορά, where it is omitted by codd. V.C.). Here and there, in less credulous quarters, we observe a tendency to minimise the marvel. Plutarch substitutes a practical wall for the bag-magic (Plout. *de curiositate* 1 ὁ δὲ φυσικὸς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὄρους τινὰ διασφάγα βαρὺν καὶ νοσώδη κατὰ τῶν πεδίων τὸν νότον ἐμπνέουσαν ἐμφράξας λοιμὸν ἔδοξεν ἐκκλεῖσαι τῆς χώρας, *adv. Colot.* 32 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ... τήν τε χώραν ἀπήλλαξεν ἀκαρπίας καὶ λοιμοῦ, διασφάγας ὄρους ἀποτειχίσας, δι' ὧν ὁ νότος εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπερέβαλλε); Philostratos, a passing cloud for the persistent gales (Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 8. 7. 8 p. 313 Kayser ἀκηκοὼς δὲ τὰ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, ὃς νεφέλης ἀνέσχε φορὰν ἐπ' Ἀκραγαντίνους ῥαγείσης); Hesychios, promise for performance (Hesych. Κωλυσανέμας· ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς οὕτω καλεῖται, ὡς ὑπισχνούμενος ἐφέξειν τοὺς ἀνέμους). But the fame of the exploit lasted on into the twelfth century (Tzetz. *chil.* 4. 524 ff. τῷ παύειν δ' ὄμβρους καὶ αὐχμοὺς καὶ προγνώσκειν πάντα | Θαλῆς καὶ Πυθαγόρας τε σὺν τῷ Ἀναξαγόρᾳ· | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Μελίτωνος ὁ καὶ Κωλυσανέμας).

In the corrupt passage Plout. *symp.* 8. 8. 1 καὶ τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἐμοὶ τῷ παυσαμένῳ Πυθαγορικῶς περαίνειν τὰ δόγματα στέγουσαι φρενὸς κ.τ.λ. it is probable that we should read καὶ τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἐμοὶ τὸν παυσάνεμον (cp. Aisch. *Ag.* 214 παυσανέμου...θυσίας) Πυθαγορικῶς παραινεῖν τὰ δόγματα στέγειν ἔσω φρενὸς κ.τ.λ. or the like (see D. Wyttenbach *ad loc.*).

to the Winds[1]. And his employment of bags recalls the methods used by unsophisticated folk to capture souls[2].

The same power of controlling violent winds was ascribed by the Greeks to Pythagoras, Epimenides, and Abaris[3]. Indeed, any and every wonder-worker could claim the prerogative—even Sophokles[4]. Nowadays, it would seem, the mere mention of the great man's name will suffice. In the Macedonian district of Liakkovikia, during an *anemospláda* or 'whirlwind,' people often mutter the charm: 'Alexander the Great liveth, aye he doth live and reign[5].'

(b) Aiolos Hippotades.

A figure interesting in this connexion is that of Aiolos Hippotades. He appears in the *Odyssey*[6] as Lord of Aiolie, a floating island[7] with sheer rocky sides crowned by a wall of unbreakable bronze. Here he feasted with his six sons, whom he had united in wedlock with his six daughters. Here too he entertained Odysseus for a month, at the end of which time he slew an ox, made a bag of its skin, bound the blustering winds within it, and gave it as a parting gift to the hero, fastening it with a silver cord on board his ship. He also supplied him with a west wind to waft him on his way homewards. But later, while Odysseus slept, his comrades, under the belief that the bag was full of treasure, untied it and, to their own discomfiture, let loose the warring winds.

Now Aiolos is said to have been established as keeper, or king,

[1] Hesych. *ἀνεμώτας· ὄνος ἀφετος* (so Salmasius for *ὄνομα ἀφεκτός* cod.), *ἱερός, τοῖς Ἀνέμοις θυόμενος ἐν Ταραντίνοις, et. mag.* p. 103, 33 f. *ἀνεμύτας* (*sic*)· *παρὰ Ταραντίνοις ὁ ὄνος ὁ Ἀνέμοις θυόμενος. Supra* ii. 464. Cp. the sacrifice of asses to Apollon among the *Ὑπερβόρεοι* 'at the back of the North Wind' (*supra* ii. 463 f., 494 ff., 843).

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo pp. 46 ff., 52 f., 64, 67, 75 f., *id. Folk-lore in the Old Testament* ii. 510 ff.

[3] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 29 *προρρήσεις τε γὰρ ἀπαράβατοι σεισμῶν διαμνημονεύονται αὐτοῦ* (*sc.* *τοῦ Πυθαγόρου*) *καὶ λοιμῶν ἀποτροπαὶ σὺν τάχει καὶ ἀνέμων βιαίων χαλαζῶν τ' ἐκχύσεως καταστολαὶ καὶ κυμάτων ποταμίων τε καὶ θαλαττίων ἀπευδιασμοὶ πρὸς εὐμαρῆ τῶν ἑταίρων διάβασιν. ὧν μεταλαβόντας Ἐμπεδοκλέα τε καὶ Ἐπιμενίδην καὶ Ἄβαριν πολλαχῆ ἐπιτετελεκέναι τοιαῦτα. κ.τ.λ.* = Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 135 *προρρήσεις τε σεισμῶν ἀπαράβατοι καὶ λοιμῶν ἀποτροπαὶ σὺν τάχει καὶ ἀνέμων βιαίων χαλαζῶν τε χύσεως παραυτίκα κατευνήσεις καὶ κυμάτων ποταμίων τε καὶ θαλασσίων ἀπευδιασμοὶ πρὸς εὐμαρῆ τῶν ἑταίρων διάβασιν. ὧν μεταλαβόντας Ἐμπεδοκλέα τε τὸν Ἀκραγαντῖνον καὶ Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρῆτα καὶ Ἄβαριν τὸν Ὑπερβόρεον πολλαχῆ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτά τινα ἐπιτετελεκέναι. κ.τ.λ.*

[4] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 8. 7. 8 p. 313 Kayser *ἐννοήσας δὲ Σοφοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, ὃς λέγεται καὶ ἀνέμους θέλξαι τῆς ὥρας πέρα πνεύσαντας.* A. von Blumenthal in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 1047 comments: 'Hier hat wohl das Empedoklesbild eingewirkt.'

[5] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 250 f. *Ζῇ, ζῇ καὶ βασιλεύει ὁ Μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος* (from Α. Δ. *Γουσίου* "*Η κατὰ τὸ Πάγγαιον Χώρα*' p. 79). Possibly *Ἀλέξανδρος* has acquired the virtues of *Ἀλεξανέμας*.

[6] *Od.* 10. 1 ff.

[7] *Infra* Append. P (1).

of the winds by Zeus[1]. And Aëthlios, son of Aiolos, was reputed to be the son of Zeus[2]. There is therefore something to be urged for Usener's suggestion that Aiolos himself was 'a sort of Zeus[3].' Perhaps the same thought occurred to Ovid, when he made Iupiter shut Aquilo in the caves of Aeolia and send forth Notus to cause a deluge[4].

Others, however, have rightly insisted that the Homeric Aiolos is not as yet fully deified[5]. Hence his description as 'dear to the immortal gods[6].' Rather, he is a subordinate power, not improbably a dead tribal chieftain, who lives on in his Otherworld island[7] and is conceived as a superhuman magician, the wind-controller *par excellence*. His bag of winds recalls an odd superstition recorded by Tzetzes and the scholiast on the *Odyssey*[8]:

'Artful contrivers and those who write on infamous practices declare that, if a man flays a dolphin and makes its skin into a bag and then keeps it at home, he will cause to blow whatever wind he may choose.'

Somewhat similar is Philostratos' account of Indian weather-magic[9]. Apollonios of Tyana and his party are visiting the cloud-capped hill of the Brachmanes, four days' journey from the city Parax:

'And they say that they saw two jars of black stone, filled with rains and winds respectively. The jar of the rains is opened, if India should be oppressed

[1] *Od.* 10. 21 ταμίην ἀνέμων ποίησε Κρονίων, Verg. *Aen.* 1. 52 rex Aeolus, 65 f. divom pater atque hominum rex | et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento.

[2] Paus. 5. 8. 2 εἶναι γάρ φασι καὶ Ἀέθλιον Αἰόλου, Διὸς δὲ ἐπίκλησιν. It is clear from the context that this Aiolos was the father of Kretheus. It is an assumption that he was one with Aiolos Hippotades.

[3] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 346 ff. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 275 ff.): 'wie eine Art Zeus' (p. 346 (=p. 276)). We need not, of course, subscribe to Usener's view that Αἴολος was the 'Zig-zag' lightning of Zeus (cp. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 42 αἰολοβρόντα Διὸς αἴσᾳ), or that his six pairs of children were the twelve months of the year. G. Libertini *Le isole Eolie nell' antichità greca e romana* Firenze 1921 p. 61 f. argues that Hippotes was a degraded form of Poseidon Ἵππιος, Aiolos an ex-appellative of Zeus (Pind. *Ol.* 9. 42 αἰολοβρόντα, Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 10 αἰολόμορφε) or perhaps rather of Poseidon, the ever-changeful.

[4] Ov. *met.* 1. 262 ff.

[5] A. H. Keane in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 255, G. Foucart *ib.* 1917 ix. 782.

[6] *Od.* 10. 2.

[7] Cp. *supra* i. 239, 243.

[8] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 738=schol. *Od.* 10. 2 φασὶ γὰρ οἱ μηχανικοὶ (J. Potter cj. μαγικοὶ G. F. Thryllitzsch cj. μαθηματικοὶ M. C. G. Müller prints μάγοι, but notes: 'Vtrumque tamen, μάγοι et μηχανικοὶ, bene se habet') καὶ οἱ τὰ ἀρρητουργικὰ γράφοντες ὡς, ἐάν τις δελφῖνα ποιήσῃ ἀσκὸν ἐκδείρας αὐτὸν καὶ ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ποιήσει πνεῖν ὃν ἂν βούλοιτο ἄνεμον. E. Scheer *ad loc.* cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1645, 59 f. παρ' οἷς καὶ φέδεται ὁ ῥηθεὶς τοῦ Αἰόλου ἀσκὸς δελφῖνος εἶναι δέρμα, *ib.* p. 1646, 8 ff. ὅτι δὲ ἀσκοὶ οὐ μόνον οἱ τυνήθως ἐξ αἰγῶν καὶ βοῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρων δῆλόν ἐστι. δελφῖνός τε γὰρ ὁ ῥηθεὶς ἀσκὸς τετελεσμένος εἴτουν γεγοητευμένος κ.τ.λ.

[9] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 3. 14 p. 92 f. Kayser καὶ διττὼ ἑωρακέναι φασὶ πίθω λίθου μέλανος μβρων τε καὶ ἀνέμων ὄντε. κ.τ.λ. Euseb. πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως Ἱεροκλέους λόγους 22 p. 388 Kayser scoffs at βροντὰς καὶ ἀνέμους ἐν πίθοις. But the ncident is by no means incredible.

by drought, and sends up clouds to moisten the whole country; but if rains should be in excess, it is shut up and puts a stop to them. The jar of the winds, I suppose, plays the same part as the bag of Aiolos; for they open the jar ever so little and let one of the winds blow in season, whereby the country is refreshed.'

Other parallels to Aiolos Hippotades are collected by Sir James Frazer[1]. The closest hails from the Slavonic area:

'It is said that Perdoytus, the Lithuanian Aeolus, keeps the winds enclosed in a leathern bag; when they escape from it he pursues them, beats them, and shuts them up again[2].'

Certain features in the myth of Aiolos invite further investigation. His bag full of winds, opened by the prying followers of Odysseus, bears at least a superficial resemblance to the *píthos* or 'jar' containing evils opened by the inquisitive woman in Hesiod's *Works and Days*[3], or to the *píthos* of Zeus containing good things opened by the over-curious man in a fable of Babrios[4]. The resemblance is increased if, with Miss J. E. Harrison[5], we accept O. Gruppe's[6] conjecture that the *píthos* in question was that

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 326 f.

[2] *Id. ib.* i. 326 n. 5 after E. Veckenstedt *Die Mythen, Sagen und Legenden der Žamaiten* (*Litauer*) Heidelberg 1883 i. 153. Sir James Frazer adds: 'The statements of this writer, however, are to be received with caution.'

H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 97: '"Perdoytus gott der kaufleute, von *perdout* verkaufen" *P* 27 [*i.e.* Matthaeus Praetorius *Deliciae Prussicae oder Preussische schaubühne* ed. W. Pierson Berlin 1871 p. 27] vgl. *Sl* 91 (18) [*i.e.* A. Schleicher 'Lituanica' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1853 xi. 91 (= extr. p. 18)]. das ist *Pardůtojis*, nomen agentis von *pardůti* verkaufen. Doch *Bardoayts Ag* [*i.e.* Kirchenagende von 1530 ed. J. Bender in der *Altpreussischen monatsschrift* iv. 97 f.] unter *Gardoaeten.* Ist *Perdoytus* und seine bedeutung erst von *P* [*i.e.* Matthaeus Praetorius] um der etymologie willen construiert? vgl. Voigt, Gesch. Pr. 1, 593 anm. 1 [*i.e.* J. Voigt *Geschichte Preussens* Königsberg 1827 i. 593 n. 1 Gardetis nach Oſtermeyer S. 18 von gardas eine Schaafheerde... Perdoytos vom Altpreuß. perdauns verkaufen, im Lettiſch. pahrdoht verkaufen, Handel treiben. Lucas David B. I. S. 86 verändert den Namen in Gardiaito und Hartknoch S. 142 behauptet, daſſ Gardoaetos und Perdoytos ein und derſelbe Gott ſey].'

If *Perdoytus* was really a wind-god, his name might be related to the Russian *perdĕti*, Slovenian *prdĕti*, πέρδομαι, etc. (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 362, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 771, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 569) and imply a very crude and primitive conception of the wind as 'flatus ventris.'

[3] Hes. *o.d.* 94 ff.

[4] Babr. 58. 1 ff. Ζεὺς ἐν πίθῳ τὰ χρηστὰ πάντα συλλέξας | ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν πωμάσας παρ' ἀνθρώπῳ. | ὁ δ' ἀκρατὴς ἄνθρωπος εἰδέναι σπεύδων | τί ποτ' ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ πῶμα κινήσας διῆκ' ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὰ πρὸς θεῶν οἴκους, | κἀκεῖ πέτεσθαι τῆς τε γῆς ἄνω φεύγειν. | μόνη δ' ἔμεινεν ἐλπίς, ἣν κατειλήφει | τεθὲν τὸ πῶμα. τοιγὰρ ἐλπὶς ἀνθρώποις | μόνη σύνεστι, τῶν πεφευγότων ἡμᾶς | ἀγαθῶν ἕκαστον ἐγγυωμένη δώσειν. This rewriting of the Hesiodic myth was obviously prompted by the later estimate of ἐλπίς as a good, not an evil.

For the concept of a celestial store-house or treasury see H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 p. 182 ff.

[5] Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1900 xx. 99 ff., *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 169 f., 279 ff.

[6] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 94, 761 n. 9, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 585 ff.

of the earth-goddess Pandora opened once a year at the festival of the *Pithoígia* for the temporary release of souls. For winds are notoriously akin to souls[1]. Indeed, Greeks of the mythopoeic age would probably have assented to the direct equation winds *are* souls. It may even be that the very name *Aíolos* is cognate with the Gothic *saiwala* and the English *soul*[2]. The island of Aiolos would on this showing too be an island of souls[3]—a typical Otherworld island, as we had already seen reason to suspect.

Aiolos Hippotades has both in ancient[4] and in modern[5] times been identified with Aiolos, the eponymous ancestor of the Aeolians. K. Tümpel[6] thinks that the Hesiodic *Catalogue*[7] described the latter

[1] See *e.g.* Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 248 n. 1, ii. 122 n. 2, 264 n. 2, K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2176 ff., R. v.d. Meulen 'Über die litauischen Vēlēs' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1914 xvii. 125 ff., L. Weber 'Androgeos' *ib.* 1926 xxiii. 249 ff., *supra* ii. 62 n. 1 (the Furious Host), and the history of such words as *ἄνεμος*, *animus*, *anima*; *πνοή*, *πνεῦμα*; *ψύχω*, *ψυχή*, etc.

[2] So R. Koegel in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897 clix. 655 (relates west-German *saiwala sēula sēla* to *αἰόλος*, for **σαιϝόλος*, 'beweglich, regsam,' and cp. *Αἴολος*), C. C. Uhlenbeck in the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 1905 xxx. 305 (accepts *saiwala*: *αἰόλος*), J. Scheftelowitz in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1905 xxix. 44 ('got. *saiwala* "seele": gr. *αἰ(ϝ)ολος* "beweglich"'), Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 26 ('*αἰόλος* "mobile, agité" < **αἰολός* < **αἰελος* cf. *αἰέλουρος* J. Schmidt KZ. 32, 324. Cf. got. *saiwala* "âme".' Etc.), and as a tenable alternative K. Brugmann—A. Thumb *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 47. See, however, T. von Grienberger in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1900 cxlii. 179, A. Walde in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1901 xii. 382 f. and in his *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 669 f. *s.v.* 'saevus,' W. van Helten in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1906 xix. 198; P. Persson in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1893 xix. 276 ff.

[3] G. Gerland *Altgriechische Märchen in der Odyssee* Magdeburg 1869 p. 38 ff., F. Hommel *Die Insel der Seligen in Mythus und Sage der Vorzeit* München 1901, *infra* Append. P.

[4] Hyg. *fab.* 125 ad Aeolum Hellenis filium, cui ab Iove ventorum potestas fuit tradita. M. Schmidt *ad loc.* obelizes *Hellenis*, remarking 'imo *Hippotae*.' Euripides in his *Melanippe desmôtis* (Hyg. *fab.* 186), if not also in his *Melanippe sophé* (Greg. Kor. *in* Hermog. *περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* 28 in C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1834 vii. 2. 1313, 6 ff.), made Melanippe the daughter of one Aiolos and the mother of another. Diod. 4. 67 went further in the same direction. His Aiolos, son of Hippotes and Melanippe, was great-grandson of Aiolos son of Hellen, and in turn grandfather of Aiolos brother of Boiotos. On these fictitious genealogies see further W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 192 ff., K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1037, 1040, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 398 n. 3, 1323 n. 2.

[5] K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1040 f.

[6] *Id. ib.* i. 1036, 1039, 1041.

[7] Hes. *frag.* 25, 1 f. Kinkel, 7, 1 f. Rzach *ap.* Plout. *symp.* 9. 15. 2, schol. Lyk. *Al.* 284, Tzetz *in* Lyk. *Al.* 284, *exeg. Il.* pp. 63, 14 f., 134, 22 f. Hermann (printed at the end of Draco Stratonicensis *liber de metris poeticis* ed. G. Hermann Lipsiae 1812) "Ελληνος δ' γένοντο φιλοπτολέμου βασιλῆος (so schol. Lyk.: for variants see A. Rzach *ad loc.*) | Δῶρός τε Ξοῦθός τε καὶ Αἴολος ἱππιοχάρμης. The second line is quoted also by schol. Thouk. 1. 3 p. 5, 20 Hude), and in part by Herodian. *περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* 2. 42 (ii. 647, 24 Lentz). Cp. schol. V. *Od.* 10. 2, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 242 with schol. *ad loc.* (p. 197, 2 f. Nauck).

as *hippiochármes*, 'fighting with chariot and horses,' in obvious imitation of the patronymic *Hippotádes* applied in the *Odyssey* to the former[1]. And both epithets might conceivably have reference to the frequent conception of the winds as horses[2]. I should, however, prefer to stress another point of contact between Aiolos Hippotades and Aiolos son of Hellen, I mean the abnormal endogamic character of the marriage-custom that obtained among their descendants.

According to Homer, the six sons of Aiolos Hippotades married their six sisters[3]. Greeks of the Hellenistic age, perhaps jibbing at the idea, felt it necessary to invent some explanation. Thus Parthenios, Virgil's tutor[4], making a *précis* of Philetas' *Hermes* for the benefit of Virgil's friend Cornelius Gallus[5], told how Odysseus in the course of his wanderings round Sicily had reached the island of Meligounis (later called Lipara[6]) and there fallen in love with Polymele, one of Aiolos' daughters; how, after his departure with the bag of winds, she had been found in love-sick plight weeping over certain spoils of Troy; how Aiolos had reviled the absent Odysseus and resolved to take vengeance on Polymele; and finally how her brother Diores, who was enamoured of her, had begged her off and persuaded his father to give her to him as his wife[7].

Now the same peculiar usage occurs again in connexion with the other Aiolos, eponym of the Aeolians. For he was king of Thessaly[8]; and the marriage of brother with sister is expressly stated to have been an ancient custom among the Thessalians[9]. Moreover, Makedon the ancestor of the Macedonians was, in the opinion of Hellanikos[10], a son of Aiolos. Hence the fact that the

[1] *Supra* p. 106.

[2] W. H. Roscher *Hermes der Windgott* Leipzig 1878 p. 107, E. H. Meyer *Indogermanische Mythen* Berlin 1887 ii (Achilleis). 451 ff., H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2691, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 838 f., 1148, H. Steinmetz 'Windgötter' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 33 n. 5.

[3] *Supra* p. 106.

[4] Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 17. 18 with L. Jan *ad loc.*

[5] Parthen. *narr. am.* praef. 1 f.

[6] Kallim. *h. Artem.* 47 f., Strab. 275, Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* Λιπάρα, Μελιγουνίς.

[7] Parthen. *narr. am.* 2, περὶ Πολυμήλης (ἱστορεῖ Φιλητᾶς Ἑρμῇ (on which poem see A. Meineke *Analecta Alexandrina* Berolini 1843 p. 348 ff., K. Kuiper 'De Philetae Coi Mercurio' in H. van Herwerden's *Album Gratulatorium* Trajecti ad Rhenum 1902 pp. 143—149, J. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina* Oxonii 1825 p. 91 f.)).

[8] Apollod. 1. 7. 3, cp. Konon *narr.* 27.

[9] Archinos Θεσσαλικά *frags.* 1, 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 319 Müller) *ap.* schol. T. *Od.* 10. 7 ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, ὡς Ἀρχῖνος (so W. Dindorf for Ἀρχίνου cod.) ἐν Θεσσαλικοῖς. πρῶτα δὲ Αἴολον ὁμομητρίας κόρας ἀδελφοῖς συνοικίσαι (so W. Dindorf for συνοικῆσαι cod.). Cp. schol. B. Q. *Od.* 10. 7 ἀρχαῖον ἔθος τὸ συνοικίζειν ἀδελφούς. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀδελφῇ οὔσῃ συνοικεῖ τῇ Ἥρᾳ. κ. τ. λ. For Archinos see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 541.

[10] Hellanik. *frag.* 46 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 51 Müller) = *frag.* 74 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 126

Ptolemies married their own sisters is probably to be explained, not merely as a concession to Egyptian feeling[1], but also as a survival or revival of a practice proper to an old Macedonian family of Aeolic extraction. It will be observed that the spelling of the Ptolemies' name—*Ptolemaîos*, not *Polemaîos*—certifies their Aeolic descent[2]. Finally, H. D. Müller sought to prove that Hera was originally a goddess of the Aeolians[3]. If so, the conception of her as sister and yet wife of Zeus may have arisen on Aeolic ground.

Be that as it may, I am disposed to conclude that Aiolos Hippotades was in pre-Homeric days[4] none other than Aiolos

Jacoby) *ap.* Const. Porphyrog. *de thematibus* 2. 2 (iii. 48 Bekker) ἄλλοι δ' (*sc.* derive the name Μακεδονία) ἀπὸ Μακεδόνος τοῦ Αἰόλου, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος Ἱερειῶν πρώτῃ τῶν ἐν Ἄργει· 'καὶ Μακεδόνος <τοῦ (ins. A. Meineke)> Αἰόλου, <ἀφ' (ins. C. Müller)> οὗ (οὕτω cod. F., whence C. Müller prints τονῦν) νῦν Μακεδόνες καλοῦνται, μόνοι μετὰ Μυσῶν τότε οἰκοῦντες.'

[1] This explanation is advanced by Paus. 1. 7. 1 and defended by Miss R. E. White (Mrs N. Wedd) in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 238 ff. For the prevalence of *Geschwisterehe* in Egypt see Diod. 1. 27, Philon *de specialibus legibus* 4 (v. 68 Richter); A. Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 153 f., Sir G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 50 f., E. Bevan *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* London 1927 p. 158. Examples of it there and elsewhere are collected by Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. 1. 7. 1 (ii. 84 f.), E. Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage*[3] London 1901 p. 290 ff., P. Wilutzky *Vorgeschichte des Rechts* Breslau 1903 i. 55 ff., F. v. Reitzenstein *Urgeschichte der Ehe*[4] Stuttgart 1908 p. 70 f., H. Ploss—M. Bartels *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*[10] Leipzig 1913 i. 713, W. H. R. Rivers in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 425 b, F. Ll. Griffith *ib.* viii. 444 a.

Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God p. 193 f. comments: 'On this hypothesis we can understand why the custom of marriage with a full or a half sister has prevailed in so many royal families. It was introduced, we may suppose, for the purpose of giving the king's son the right of succession hitherto enjoyed, under a system of female kinship, either by the son of the king's sister or by the husband of the king's daughter; for under the new rule the heir to the throne united both these characters, being at once the son of the king's sister and, through marriage with his own sister, the husband of the king's daughter. Thus the custom of brother and sister marriage in royal houses marks a transition from female to male descent of the crown[1] [[1]This explanation of the custom was anticipated by McLennan. ..(*The Patriarchal Theory, based on the Papers of the late John Ferguson McLennan*, edited and completed by Donald McLennan (London, 1885), p. 95)]. In this connexion it may be significant that Cronus and Zeus themselves married their full sisters Rhea and Hera, a tradition which naturally proved a stone of stumbling to generations who had forgotten the ancient rule of policy which dictated such incestuous unions, and who had so far inverted the true relations of gods and men as to expect their deities to be edifying models of the new virtues instead of warning examples of the old vices[2] [[2]Compare Cicero, *De natura deorum*, ii. 26. 66; [Plutarch], *De vita et poesi Homeri*, ii. 96; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 10; Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, xii. 4].'

[2] O. Hoffmann *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 123, 224, *ib.* 1893 ii. 344 f., 502 f., *id. Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 173, A. Thumb *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* Heidelberg 1909 pp. 207, 240, K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 174.

[3] H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen 1857 i. 251 ff.

[4] E. Forrer 'Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi' in the

eponym of the Aeolians, a great tribal chief who after his death was believed by his people to live on in his island of souls. Such an one might well supply the hero of the Otherworld visit[1] with the souls or winds that he needed to waft him back to Ithake[2].

(c) The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis.

The results of the last section throw a new and welcome light on one of the outstanding problems of Greek religion—the true character of the mysterious powers known to the ancients as *Tritopátores* or *Tritopatreîs*[3].

Phanodemos, a Hellenistic historian interested in religious

Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin März 1924 Nr. 63 pp. 1—22 makes out a strong case for an Aeolian occupation of Pamphylia in Hittite times: p. 10 'Der dritte Name ist der Name des Volkes, dem Tavag(a)lavas angehört; er wird nämlich einmal genannt: a-ja-va-la-as-König und dies ist offensichtlich *αἰϝολος* "Äolier-König".' p. 21 'Fassen wir zum Schluss zusammen, was uns die Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi an grundlegenden Angaben über die Griechen liefern: 1. Der König des Landes Aḫḫijavā = Ἀχαιϝα war seit etwa 1330 vor Chr. als Grosskönig und damit als "Bruder" des Ḫatti-Königs anerkannt. 2. Er war zugleich als Vasall des Ḫatti-Königs mit Pamphylien belehnt. 3. Er war ein Ajavalas = Äolier. 4. Aḫḫijavā = Achaia und Lazpas = Lesbos waren seine Kernländer. 5. Ant(a)ravas = Andreus war rund 1350—1325 vor Chr. König von Aḫḫijavā und Lazbas, vgl. Punkt 1. 6. Tava-g(a)lavas = Eteokles war sein Sohn und Nachfolger seit etwa 1325 vor Chr. 7. Um 1250 vor Chr. vertreibt Attarissijas, König von Aḫḫijā, den Madduvattas, den Fürsten des südlichen Kariens.' Etc.

[1] *Supra* i. 239 f.

[2] A. D. Fraser 'The origin of Aeolus' in *The Classical Journal* 1933 xxviii. 364—366 cites *inter alia* a parallel from the north-east coast of Scotland (D. A. Mackenzie *Tales from the Moors and the Mountains* Glasgow 1931 pp. 62—67 'A weather witch, Stine Veg, supplies a party of fishermen with a collection of winds confined in a water jar whose mouth is stopped with a wisp of straw. Like the Ithacans, they are a prey to curiosity and, upon unstopping the jar, are blown back to their starting-point'). Prof. Fraser concludes: 'The tradition apparently accompanied the Achaeans in their wanderings from some point near the Baltic to the Mediterranean, while a somewhat different version was carried by another branch of Indo-European speaking people into the heart of India.'

[3] P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1920 x. 41 showed that Τρῑτοπατρεῖς was originally a verse-form of Τρῐτοπάτορες ('Wenn Τριτοπάτορες in daktylischem Versmaass gebraucht werden sollte—möglicherweise wurde der Name in Hymnen, Gebeten oder Epigrammen genannt—, so war diese Form mit ihren fünf Kürzen selbst bei metrischer Dehnung der ersten Silbe noch nicht anwendbar und mag daher durch Τρῑτοπατρῆες Τρῑτοπατρεῖς ersetzt worden sein, wobei man die auch im Epos nicht ganz seltene Kürze vor Muta cum Liquida mit in Kauf nehmen musste').

The attempt of M. Budimir, a Serbian scholar, to invalidate this conclusion, reported by L. Radermacher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 4, 1922 p. 199 f. ('Dass diese Form nur eine epische Bildung aus *τριτοπάτωρ* sei des Hexameters wegen, wie P. Kretschmer meint, ist nicht anzunehmen, da Cicero und attische Inschriften, die Prosa schreiben, ausschliesslich die Form Τριτοπατρεύς—Τριτοπατρεῖς [*sic*] kennen. Es ist also auch aus diesem Grunde der Name der attischen *ἄνακες* von dem gutbürgerlichen Verwandtschaftsnamen *τριτοπάτωρ* zu trennen... und die attischen Τριτοπατρεῖς haben mit *τριτοπάτορες* nichts zu tun'), fails to reckon with the fact that an epic appellative may pass into popular parlance and acquire ritual (*e.g.* Γαιήοχος: *supra* p. 10 ff.) or mythical (*e.g.* Ἰφιγένεια) importance. The point is one deserving of further investigation.

antiquities[1], states that the Athenians alone offered sacrifices and prayers to the Tritopatores, when about to marry, for the procreation of children[2]. This statement is, in part at least, confirmed by tangible traces left by the cult in question.

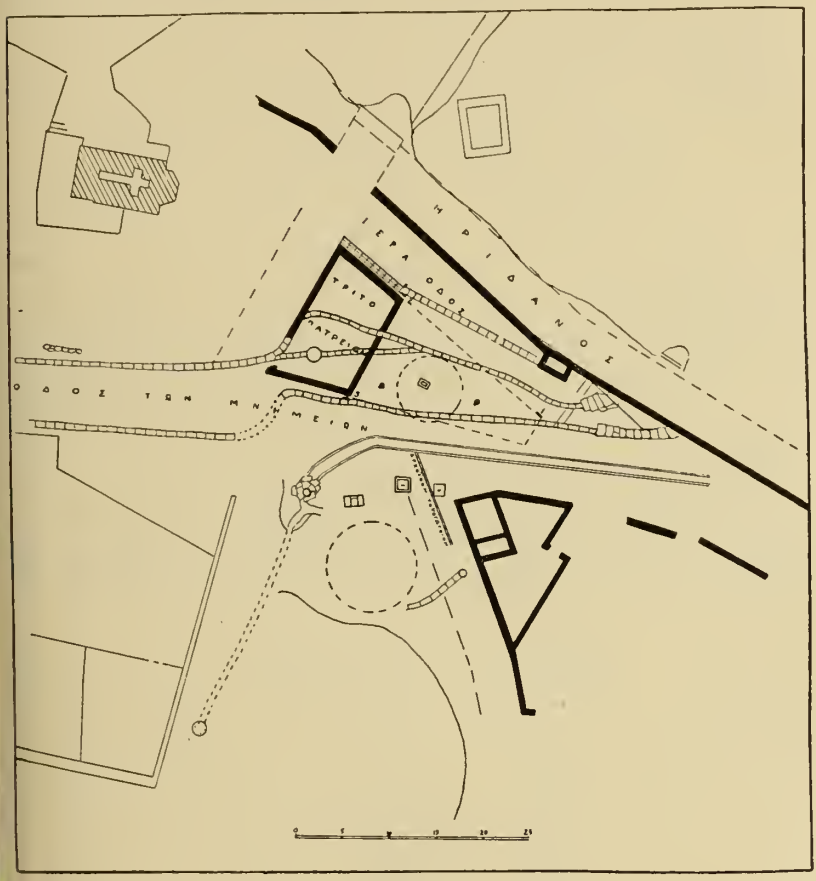


Fig. 37.

Excavations in the Kerameikos at Athens, conducted by A. Brückner and G. Oikonomos from February 1909 to September 1910[3], led to the discovery of an important group of remains in the angle between the Road to Eleusis and the Street of Tombs. A

[1] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 110 n. 3.

[2] Phanodem. *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 367 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες· ... Φανόδημος δὲ ἐν ϛ′ φησὶν ὅτι μόνοι Ἀθηναῖοι θύουσί τε καὶ εὔχονται αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ γενέσεως παίδων, ὅταν γαμεῖν μέλλωσιν· κ.τ.λ. = Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες = Souid. *s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες = *et. mag.* p. 768, 5 ff. = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1775, 45 ff.

[3] A. Brückner 'ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΑΙ ΚΕΡΑΜΕΙΚΟΥ' in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1910 pp. 101—111 with figs. 1—3 and pl. A′ (= my fig. 37).

broken boundary-stone, found at the north-eastern corner of the truncated triangle (fig. 37, no. 1) and inscribed

[HAB]ATON 'Not to be trodden,'

showed that the spot was taboo[1]. Behind it were vestiges of a low circular tomb marked out by large stones. Beyond that in turn was a four-walled enclosure roughly trapezoidal in shape. In front of its two eastern corners stood a pair of similar boundary-stones (fig. 37, nos. 2 and 3), both inscribed in lettering of *c.* 450—400 B.C.

HOPOΣ : HIEPO 'Boundary of the sanctuary
TPITOΠATPEON of the Tritopatreis.
HABATON Not to be trodden.'

Yet another ancient stone, built into the southern wall of the precinct, reads:

HIEPON [TPITOΠA]TPEON 'Sanctuary of the Tritopatreis.'

Here, then, in immediate juxtaposition with the Street of Tombs, was the simple *ábaton* of the fifth-century Tritopatreis. Within a stone's throw of it stood till recently the modern Church of the Hagia Trias (fig. 37), which by a curious coincidence, if no more[2], recalls the triple character of the local *numina*.

U. Köhler[3] in 1879 published a similar but somewhat later boundary-stone, which he had copied years before in the Central Museum at Athens. It is inscribed in letters of *c.* 400—350 B.C.

OPOΣIE 'Boundary of the sanct-
POTPITO uary of the Trito-
ΠATPEΩN patreis
ΠAKYAΔΩ[N] of the Zakyadai.'

[1] A. Brückner *loc. cit.* p. 104 suggests that the actual apex, where the road forked, was probably consecrated to Hekate.

[2] A. Struck *Griechenland* Wien u. Leipzig 1911 i. 131 f. (*supra* i. 171).

The Church of the Hagia Trias was removed in 1931. Excavations conducted by the German Archaeological Institute in the mound beneath it and in some neighbouring areas proved that the whole site had been used as a cemetery from the Protogeometric period down to the Byzantine Age (K. Kübler, R. Eilmann, and W. Kraiker 'Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1932 xlvii. Arch. Anz. pp. 183—208 with plan, sections, and figs., K. Kübler and W. Kraiker *ib.* 1934 xlix Arch. Anz. pp. 196—245 with plan and many figs., E. P. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1932 xxxvi. 351—357, H. G. G. Payne in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 238, 1933 liii. 269).

[3] U. Köhler 'Horosstein der Zakyaden' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1879 iv. 287, *id.* in the *Corp.*

Whether the Zakyadai, whose name does not occur elsewhere, formed a *génos* or a *phratría*, has been disputed[1]. But it is clear that the addition of the last word was meant to limit the circle of worshippers to members of a specified tribal division, bound together by real or fictitious community of descent.

The sacrificial calendar from *Koukounari* in the Epakria district, which again belongs to the earlier part of *s.* iv B.C.[2], mentions among the annual rites of Marathon that in Skirophorion before the Skira a sheep was offered to the Tritopatreis and another to the Akamantes[3], also among the trieteric rites of the same place that at the same time of year a table was set for the Tritopatreis[4]. The

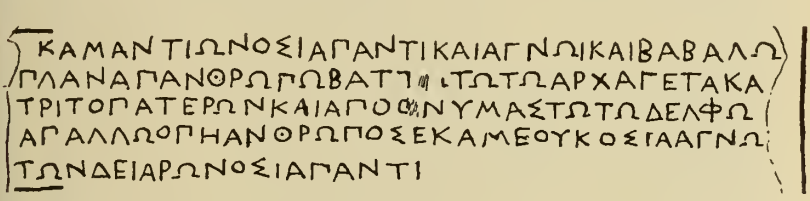


Fig. 38.

context in both cases is suggestive of fertility and fertilisation. P. Maas[5] claims that the Tritopateres are again connected with the *Akámantes* in an important ritual text of *s.* iv B.C. found at Kyrene and first published by S. Ferri in 1927 (fig. 38)[6]; and

inscr. Att. ii. 2 no. 1062 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 741 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 443 = *id. ib.*[3] no. 925 ὅρος ἱε|ρῶ Τριτο|πατρέων | Ζακυαδῶ[ν].

[1] J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 313 says: 'Die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass letztere ein *γένος* waren, ist meiner Meinung nach mindestens ebenso gross, wie die, dass sie eine Phratrie bildeten.' G. Lippold in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1911 xxxvi. 106 n. 1 decides for a *γένος* on the ground that the Ἱπρρακίδαι (*infra* p. 118) certainly were such. On the other hand, U. Köhler *locc. citt.*, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Aristoteles und Athen* Berlin 1893 ii. 268 n. 11, W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 187 ('wohl einer Phratrie'), and W. Dittenberger *locc. citt.* prefer to assume a *φρατρία*.

[2] R. B. Richardson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 220 f.

[3] J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 46 ff. no. 26 B, 30 ff. Σκιροφοριῶνος· πρὸ Σκίρων· Ὑττηνίοι τὰ ὡρα[ῖ]|α οἷς ΔΗΗ. Κοροτρόφωι χοῖρος ΗΗΗ, ἱερώσυνα ΗΗΙ. | Τριτοπατρεῦσι οἷς, ἱερῶσυνα ΗΗ. Ἀκάμασιν | οἷς ΔΗΗ, ἱερώσυνα ΗΗ.

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 46 ff. no. 26 B, 51 ff. Σκιροφοριῶνος· πρὸ Σκίρων· Γαλίοι κριὸς Δ[ΗΗ,]| ἱερώσυνα ΗΗ, φρέατος ΠΗ. Τριτοπατρεῦσι | τράπεζα Η.

[5] P. Maas in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 1927 xlviii. 1953 ('Ακαμαντίων von Heiligtümern der Ἀκάμαντες?').

[6] Reading and rendering are alike in dispute. S. Ferri 'La "Lex Cathartica" di Cirene' in the *Notiziario Archeologico* 1927 iv. 91—145 with pls. 14—17 and a facsimile (part of which = my fig. 38) § 4, 21 ff: [αἴ] κα μαντίων ὁσία παντὶ καὶ ἀγνῶι καὶ βαβάλω[ι·]| πλὰν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπω Βάττ[ω] τῶ τῶ Ἀρχαγέτα κα[ὶ] | τριτοπατέρων καὶ ἀπὸ Ὀνυμάστω τῶ

K. Latte[1] suggests that these 'Unwearied Ones' might be either wind-spirits[2] or else a euphemistic[3] expression for the dead (*kamóntes*).

One other example of actual cult has been furnished by the French excavations in Delos[4]. Close to the south-east angle of the great precinct of Apollon, at a spot where three roads meet, G. Leroux in 1906 uncovered a paved triangular place of small size (25^{m} by 12^{m}). Towards its southern end was a circular structure of white marble consisting of curved slabs (0·54^{m} high), which rest on a raised course of masonry and carry a projecting cornice with bevelled top (fig. 39). The ring-wall is broken on the north-west by an aperture (0·80^{m} wide). Inside is a pavement of gneiss, from which sundry slabs are missing. Above this pavement were found sherds of coarse vases, a piece of stag's antler, ashes and fragments of carbonised wood. Below it, excavations pursued down to the

Δελφῶ[ν] (?), | ἀπ' ἄλλω ὅπη ἄνθρωπος ἔκαμε οὐκ ὁσία ἀγνῶ[ι]· | τῶν δὲ ἰαρῶν ὁσία παντί, '(Alla domanda) se (in materia) di oracoli (esista ugual) *religio* per ognuno, e per il puro e per l'impuro, (Apollo rispose): tranne che (per gli oracoli provenienti) dall' uomo Batto, quello dell' Archegeta e dei Tritopateres e da Onymastos, quello di Delfi, da qualunque altro (libro) dove uomini hanno lavorato non vi è *religio* per il puro (cioè: il puro non è obbligato a conformarvisi; oppure: deriva empietà al puro che se ne serva). In materia di sacrifici (?) vi è invece ugual *religio* per tutti indistintamente.'

G. De Sanctis 'Le decretali di Cirene' in the *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 1927 lv. 185—212 gives § 4, 21 ff. [αἴ] κα μαντίων ὁσία παντὶ καὶ ἀγνῶι καὶ βαβάλω[ι·] | πλὰν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπω Βάττ[ω] [[τῶ]] τῶ Ἀρχαγέτα κα[ὶ] | τριτοπατέρων καὶ ἀπὸ Ὀνυμάστω τῶ Δελφῶ | ἀπ' ἄλλω ὅπη ἄνθρωπος ἔκαμε οὐκ ὁσία ἀγνῶ[ι,] | τῶν δὲ ἰαρῶν ὁσία παντί, 'Se vi è liceità sacra di oracoli (presi nelle tombe) e pel puro e per l' impuro. Salvo che dall' uomo Batto, l' Archegeta, e dai Tritopateri e salvo che da Onimasto di Delfi, da altro (oracolo) ove un uomo morì (*cioè* dove è un morto) non vi è liceità sacra (di far consulto) al puro. Di sacrifizî (alle tombe) vi è liceità sacra per tutti.'

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Heilige Gesetze. Eine Urkunde aus Kyrene' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* Phil.-hist. Classe 1927 pp. 155—176 prints § 4, 21 ff. αἴ κα μαντίων ὁσία, παντὶ καὶ ἀγνῶι καὶ βαβάλω[ι], | πλὰν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπω, Βάττω τω τῶ ἀρχαγέτα κα[ὶ] | τριτοπατέρων καὶ ἀπὸ Ὀνυμάστω τῶ Δελφῶ [καὶ] | ἀπ' ἄλλω, ὅπη ἄνθρωπος ἔκαμε, οὐκ ὁσία ἀγνῶ[ι]. | τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν ὁσία παντί, and translates 'Wenn ὁσία der Seher ist, ist sie es für jeden, den Reinen und Profanen; nur von einem Menschen, Battos dem Könige, und den Urahnen und von dem Delpher Onymastos und jedem anderen, wo ein Mensch Ruhe gefunden hat, ist keine ὁσία für einen Reinen; aber von den Tempeln ist ὁσία für jeden.'

See further G. Oliverio in the *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 1928 lvi. 222 ff.

[1] K. Latte 'Ein sakrales Gesetz aus Kyrene' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 41—51.

[2] Cp. Emped. *frag.* 111, 3 Diels παύσεις δ' ἀκαμάτων ἀνέμων μένος κ.τ.λ., Soph. *Trach.* 112 πολλὰ γὰρ ὥστ' ἀκάμαντος ἢ νότου ἢ βορέα τις κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Supra* ii. 1112 n. 7, 1125 n. 1.

[4] Pending the full publication in *Délos* vii. 2, there is an *interim*-report by M. Holleaux in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1907 pp. 353—356 with a photographic cut. The general lie of the land can be well seen from the chart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1906 xxx pl. 9; but the only plan hitherto published that marks the *sekós* of Tritopator is that by J. Replat given in *Délos* vii. 1 opposite p. 2.

Fig. 39.

level of the virgin soil discovered not only ashes and charcoal, but also the bones of small cattle. Trial pits sunk outside the ring-wall beneath the paving of the triangular place brought similar *débris* to light. It was obvious that the cult here celebrated was older than the construction of the circular edifice. And an inscription (fig. 40) incised on the inner surface of one of the curved slabs, beneath the cornice, reads as follows[1]:

Τριτοπάτωρ	'Tritopator
Πυρρακιδῶν	of the Pyrrhakidai
Αἰγιλιῶν	from Aigilia.'

The first two lines are engraved *stoichedón* in careful lettering of

Fig. 40.

c. 400 B.C. The third line is less well cut and appears to have been crowded, as an afterthought, into the narrow margin left by the other two. M. Holleaux notes that the Pyrrhakidai were an Attic *génos*, familiar to us from Delphic records of the Athenian Pythaïs[2], and P. Roussel points out that their *archegétes* Pyrrhakos is described as a contemporary of Erysichthon[3], who went from Athens to

[1] M. Holleaux *loc. cit.* p. 354: 'Des huit lettres qui la composent, on n'a pu jusqu'à présent déchiffrer sûrement que la première et les trois dernières.' But P. Roussel 'Deux familles athéniennes à Délos' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1929 liii. 166 ff. (167—179 Pyrrhakidai, 179—184 Erysichthonidai) gives fresh photographs of the monument (figs. 1—4, of which 2 and 4 = my figs. 39 and 40) and makes it clear that the inscription should be read as here printed. He rightly connects the *génos* with the Attic deme Αἰγιλιά (v. Schoeffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 39 f.). Τριτωπάτωρ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 179 is a mere blunder.

[2] See Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 711 *D*[1], 30 f. n. 13.

[3] Hesych. Πύρρακος· ἥρως κατ' Ἐρυσίχθονα γεγονώς.

Delos[1] and there set up the first wooden statue of Apollon[2]. On this showing the circular structure found by Leroux would be in the nature of a Delian family *herôon*[3]. Immediately to the south of it are the remains of a Byzantine church. Was this another case of the pagan Tritopatores being replaced by the Christian Trinity?

Putting together these various indications of popular worship, we perceive that the Tritopatores from the fifth century onwards had been established at the cross-roads (Kerameikos, Delos), where a hypaethral enclosure, either trapezoidal (Kerameikos) or circular in plan (Delos), was set apart for them in a roughly triangular space. The cult there carried on might be limited to members of a particular clan (the Zakyadai at Athens, the Pyrrhakidai in Delos) and involved the sacrifice of sheep etc. (Marathon, Delos). In some respects, therefore, the Greek Tritopatores recall the Lares *Compitales*, who were likewise worshipped at the cross-roads—that immemorial *rendez-vous* of family-ghosts[4]. This disposes us to see in the former, as in the latter[5], ancestral spirits watchful over the welfare of their descendants.

Literary evidence with regard to the nature of the Tritopatores follows two lines of tradition, one supporting, the other supplementing, the inferences drawn from the monuments.

[1] Phanodemos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 366 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 392 D.

[2] Plout. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 8. 1.

[3] P. Roussel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1929 liii. 177: 'D'après les observations faites par G. Leroux, un culte était célébré depuis longtemps sur l'emplacement où s'éleva le monument du Tritopator. Tout le quartier a été si profondément remanié jusqu'à la basse époque romaine qu'il est difficile de déterminer l'aspect qu'il pouvait présenter au V^e^ siècle ou précédemment; mais l'hypothèse n'est point exclue qu'il ait jadis fait partie d'une vaste nécropole dont on a retrouvé des traces, d'une part dans la région à l'Ouest de la partie septentrionale de la rue du Théâtre, d'autre part dans la partie Sud-Est du sanctuaire même d'Apollon, près de l'autel de Zeus Polieus. On imaginerait volontiers que les Pyrrhakidai eurent la tombe réelle ou fictive d'un ancêtre en cette région et qu'au moment de la purification de 426, on y substitua le monument d'un culte héroïque.'

Id. Délos colonie athénienne Paris 1916 p. 158 n. 5 had already commented on the fact that a similar structure, discovered in 1912 to the south of the lower reservoir of the Inopos, was dedicated to the Νύμφαι Πυρρακιδῶν. In the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1929 liii. 171 ff. he adds fig. 5 plan, fig. 6 inscription, and fig. 7 restoration of this second monument.

[4] See J. A. MacCulloch 'Cross-roads' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 330 b—335 b, R. Wünsch 'Cross-roads (Roman)' *ib.* 335 b—336 b, K. F. Smith 'Hecate's suppers' *ib.* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 565 a—567 a, Schrader *Reallex.*[2] p. 335.

[5] *Supra* ii. 1159 with n. 1. See further E. Samter *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* Berlin 1901 p. 105 ff., *id.* 'Der Ursprung des Larenkultes' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1907 x. 368—392, A. von Domaszewski *ib.* 1907 x. 336 f. (=*id. Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig und Berlin 1909 p. 174 f.), Miss M. C. Waites 'The nature of the Lares and their representation in Roman art' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1920 xxiv. 241—261.

On the one hand, the Tritopatores are described as remote and mythical ancestors. The author of the work known as the *Exegetikón*, who has been plausibly identified[1] with Kleidemos or 'Kleitodemos, the oldest of all writers on the local customs of Athens[2],' and would thus be referable to the middle of the fourth century B.C.[3], stated that the Tritopatores were sons of Ouranos and Ge, named Kottos, Briareos, and Gyges[4]. Philochoros, the most important of the Atthidographers, followed suit with the assertion that the Tritopatreis were the earliest offspring of Ge and Ouranos, and the first to begin generation[5]. Elsewhere he gave a slightly divergent account. The Tritopatreis were the first of all. At that time men believed that the earth and the sun, Ge and Apollon as they called them, were their parents, and that the offspring of these were Tritoi Pateres[6]. The meaning of these two passages is not over-clear. But C. A. Lobeck[7] makes it probable that, in Philochoros' view, the earth fructified by the sun produced the Tritopatreis, who acting as procreators for the first time thereby became the parents of all mortal men. Cicero, quoting from a Greek Catalogue of the gods which seems to have been drawn up in the second or first century B.C.[8], makes Zeus, 'a very ancient king,' the father by Persephone of the first Dioskouroi—a triad of brothers known as Anaktes at Athens and named Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, and Dionysos[9]. These varying versions agree in attributing the names Tritopatores, Tritopatreis, Tritopatreus to prehistoric progenitors of a more or less superhuman sort. It is possible that behind them

[1] See A. Tresp *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller* Giessen 1914 p. 110 f.

[2] Paus. 10. 15. 5.

[3] F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 591.

[4] Harpokr. *s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες = Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες = Souid. *s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες·...ὁ δὲ τὸ Ἐξηγητικὸν ποιήσας Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς φησιν αὐτοὺς εἶναι, ὀνόματα δὲ αὐτῶν Κόττον, Βριάρεων καὶ Γύγην. Cp. *et. mag.* p. 768, 10 ff. = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1775, 49 ff.

[5] Philochor. *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 384 Müller) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τριτοπάτωρ· Τριτοπάτρεις...Φιλόχορος δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ Γῆς καὶ Οὐρανοῦ, ἀρξαντας δὲ γενέσεως.

[6] Philochor. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 384 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες = Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες = Souid. *s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες·...Φιλόχορος δὲ τοὺς Τριτοπάτρεις πάντων γεγονέναι πρώτους· τὴν μὲν γὰρ γῆν καὶ τὸν ἥλιόν φησιν, ὃν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα τότε καλεῖν, γονεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπίστανται οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τούτων τρίτους πατέρας. Cp. *et. mag.* p. 768, 1 ff. (Selene substituted for Ge), Favorin. *lex.* p. 1775, 45.

If this passage is rightly assigned by C. Müller to the *Atthis*, it may be surmised in view of the inscription from Epakria (*supra* p. 115) that the other passage (*supra* n. 5) occurred in Philochoros' treatise on the Attic Tetrapolis (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 410 f. Müller).

[7] Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 761 f.

[8] *Supra* ii. 1135 n. 4.

[9] Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53 cited *supra* ii. 1135 n. 4.

all lay the greater authority of Aristotle, who is said to have used the word *tritopátor* in the sense of 'great-grandfather[1].'

On the other hand, somewhat to our surprise, the Tritopatores are identified with, or at least brought into close connexion with, the winds. Demon in his *Atthís* (*c.* 300 B.C.) roundly declared that the Tritopatores were the winds[2]—a statement implicitly traversed by his critic and rival Philochoros[3]. The author of the Orphic *Physiká*, which was attributed (no doubt, wrongly[4]) to Brontinos[5] of Metapontum[6], explained that the Tritopatores were 'door-keepers and guardians of the winds[7]' and gave their names as Amalkeides, Protokles, and Protokreon[8]—a trio well adapted for hexameter

[1] Aristot. *frag.* 376 Rose *ap.* Poll. 3. 17 *ὁ δὲ πάππου ἢ τήθης πατὴρ πρόπαππος, ὡς Ἰσοκράτης· τάχα δ' ἂν τοῦτον τριτοπάτορα Ἀριστοτέλης καλοῖ.* H. Steuding in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1209 assumes that the name *Ἀριστοτέλης* has here displaced that of *Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ Βυζάντιος*—a view put forward by G. Kaibel and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 473 n. 4). See further G. Lippold in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1911 xxxvi. 106 n. 2 'Übrigens hat bei Pollux eine Handschriftenklasse (II bei Bethe) *τριπάτωρα.* Ebenso Hesych. *Τριπατρεῖς· οἱ πρῶτοι γεννώμενοι* und das 5. Bekkersche Lexikon (Anecdota Graeca I 307, 16): *Τριπάτορες: οἱ μὲν τοὺς πρώτους ἀρχηγέτας, οἱ δὲ τρίτους ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός, ὅ πέρ ἐστι προπάππους* (vgl. Schmidt zur Hesychstelle). Nun ist *τριπάτωρ* (vgl. *τρίπαππος* tritavus Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum II 459, 31) die Form, die man für ein Wort mit der Bedeutung *πρόπαππος* (dritte Generation vom Vater an) erwarten sollte, und Wilamowitz (Aristoteles und Athen II 268 Anm. 11) hat die Gleichung *πρόπαππος=τριτοπάτωρ* für grammatisch unmöglich erklärt. Es ist also sehr gut denkbar, dass das jetzt nur schwach bezeugte *τριπάτωρ* in der Bedeutung *πρόπαππος* bestanden hat und erst in der lexikalischen Überlieferung mit *Τριτοπάτωρ*, mit dem sich wegen seiner dunklen Etymologie die Lexikographen viel beschäftigten, zusammengeworfen wurde. Dann würde Aristoteles als Zeuge für *Τριτοπάτωρ* ausscheiden. Über den mutmasslichen Zusammenhang der Aristotelesstelle vgl. Rose, Aristoteles pseudepigraphus p. 428, 52 (*θεσμοθετῶν ἀνάκρισις, εἰ Ἀθηναῖοί εἰσιν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκ τριγονίας*' [Aristot. *frag.* 374 Rose *ap.* Poll. 8. 85]). But M. Budimir, the Serbian scholar reported by L. Radermacher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 4, 1922 p. 199, comes to a very different conclusion: 'Demnach kann *τριτοπάτωρ* "*tertium patrem*, das heisst *πρόπαππον*" und "*eum cui tertius pater superest*" bezeichnen, ebenso *τριπάτωρ* "*eum cui tres patres sunt*" (wie *τριάνωρ*), was aber keinen Sinn hat, und wie *τριγέρων τρίδουλος trifur triparcus triscurria*, den Erzvater, *προπάτωρ, ἀρχηγὸς γενέσεως, ὁ πρῶτος ἀρχηγέτης.*' On which showing Aristotle's name may stand.

[2] Demon *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 378 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* *Τριτοπάτορες*= Phot. *lex. s.v.* *Τριτοπάτορες*=Souid. *s.v.* *Τριτοπάτορες· Δήμων ἐν τῇ Ἀθθίδι φησὶν ἀνέμους εἶναι τοὺς Τριτοπάτορας.* Cp. *et. mag.* p. 768, 1=Favorin. *lex.* p. 1775, 44 f. *Τριτοπάτορες· Δήμων ἀνέμους εἶναι φησί*, and Phot. *lex. s.v.* *Τριτοπάτωρ· Τριτοπάτρεις οἱ μὲν ἀνέμους, κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Harpokr. *s.v.* *Ἡετιώνεια*, Souid. *s.v.* *Φιλόχορος*: see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 142.

[4] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 984.

[5] Souid. *s.v.* *Ὀρφεύς* (p. 1175. 11 Bernhardy). [6] Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 267.

[7] Phot. *lex. s.v.* *Τριτοπάτωρ·...ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ἀνέμων παῖδας* is presumably a blunder for *ἀνέμων φύλακας.*

[8] Orph. *Φυσικά frag.* 240 Abel, 318 Kern *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* *Τριτοπάτορες*=Phot. *lex. s.v.* *Τριτοπάτορες*=Souid. *s.v.* *Τριτοπάτορες·...ἐν δὲ τῷ Ὀρφέως Φυσικῷ ὀνομάζεσθαι τοὺς Τριτοπάτορας Ἀμαλκείδην καὶ Πρωτοκλέα καὶ Πρωτοκρέοντα* (Πρωτοκλέοντα Souid.), *θυρωροὺς*

verse[1]. Others went on to compare them with Aiolos Hippotades[2], and in so doing all but reached the only satisfactory solution of the whole problem.

For, if the Tritopatores on the one hand are ancestral spirits and on the other hand are winds, that is but another proof of our contention that to naïve Greek thinking winds are souls and souls are winds[3]. The *Tritopátores*, the 'Great-grandfathers,' were naturally invoked 'for the procreation of children[4].' It was they who gave life to each succeeding generation in the form of wind or breath[5]. Nay more, it was they who *were* the life of each generation. Every infant lived just because there had entered into its body the breath or wind that was the soul of some long-buried ancestor[6]. That—I take it—was the original function of the Tritopatores, dimly remembered in fifth-century Athens, but still lingering in the background of popular belief, and strong enough to assert itself here and there, in a suburb like the Kerameikos, in a country-town like Marathon, in a distant island like Delos.

καὶ φύλακας ὄντας τῶν ἀνέμων. Cp. *et. mag.* p. 768, 6 ff.=Favorin. *lex.* p. 1775, 47 ff. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ὀρφέως Φυσικοῖς τοὺς τρίτους πατέρας Ἀμαλκείδην, Πρωτοκλείαν, καὶ Πρωτοκρέοντα, θυρωροὺς καὶ φύλακας ὄντας τῶν ἀνέμων. Other forms of the names: Ἀμαλκείδην cj. S. Eitrem, Ἀμακλείδην Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 738=schol. *Od.* 10. 2, Ἀμακλείδην (?) noted by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 773 ('Hamaclides'), Ἀνακλείδην cj. A. Fick, Ἀλακλείδην cj. L. Radermacher. Πρωτοκλῆ Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 738=schol. *Od.* 10. 2. Πρωκρέοντα (*sic*) schol. P. *Od.* 10. 2.

[1] *E.g.* ἀνέμων δὲ θυρωροῖς καὶ φυλάκεσσιν | <εὖξαθ'> Ἀμαλκείδῃ, Πρωτοκλεΐ, Πρωτοκρέοντι.

[2] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 738=schol. *Od.* 10. 2 καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα ἐμυθεύσαντο αὐτὸν (*sc.* Αἴολον τὸν Ἱππότου) δεσπότην εἶναι ἀνέμων. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀμακλείδην καὶ Πρωτοκλῆ καὶ Πρωτοκρέοντα, ὥς φησιν Ὀρφεύς.

[3] *Supra* ii. 1039, iii. 109.

[4] *Supra* p. 113.

[5] Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 248 n. 1 'Entschlagen wir uns aller Speculation, so erkennen wir in den Tritopatoren Ahnenseelen, die zu Windgeistern geworden sind und mit anderen ψυχαί (die ja auch vom Windhauche benannt sind) im Winde fahren, von denen, als von wahren πνοιαὶ ζῳογόνοι [see Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 760], ihre Nachkommen Hilfe erhoffen, wenn es sich um Lebendigwerden einer neuen ψυχή handelt. Seelen als Windgeister sind sehr wohl verständlich; bei den Griechen ist diese Vorstellung nur vereinzelt erhalten und ebendarum werden solche vereinzelt im Glauben lebendig gebliebene Windseelen zu besonderen Dämonen, die Tritopatoren nicht anders als die Harpyien (s. *Rhein. Mus.* 50, 3 ff.).' Cp. B. Schweitzer *Herakles* Tübingen 1922 p. 72 ff. (summarised by E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1209 f.), who takes the Tritopatores to be ancestral spirits conceived as winds (p. 75 f. 'Bei der Begattung tritt sie [*sc.* πνεῦμα] aus dem Munde der Eltern aus und vermischt sich mit der wachsenden Frucht...Der Name bedeutet dasselbe wie πρόπαππος It. tritavus="Drittvater"...also einfach Ahne, ἀρχηγέτης des Geschlechts, der "rechte Vorfahr"').

[6] On the reincarnation of ancestors in their descendants see E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 ii. 3—5, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo pp. 365—372. Evidence drawn from Greek and Roman burial customs, Greek nomenclature, etc. is collected by F. B. Jevons 'Greek Law and Folk Lore' in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 248 f., J. E. King 'Infant Burial' *ib.* 1903 xvii. 83 f. (*supra* ii. 1059), Frazer *Totemism and Exogamy* iii. 298 f.

So much for the main point. Sundry side-issues have yet to be settled. If *tritopátor* meant strictly a 'father in the third (ascending) generation' and so, more generally, a 'lineal ancestor,' its correlatives would be represented by such words as *tritogenés*[1] and *tritokoúre*[2]. G. Lippold[3] has ingeniously suggested that an echo of the prayer addressed before marriage to the Tritopatores[4] may be heard in the first half[5] of the proverbial line:

Grant me a child that is *tritogenés*, not *tritogéneia*[6]—

in other words, a boy of true descent in preference to a girl of true descent. In this connexion the old problem as to the meaning of Athena *Tritogenés*[7] or *Tritogéneia*[8] simply solves itself. The epithet

[1] Mostly found as an epithet of Athena (*infra* n. 7).

[2] Hesych. τριτοκούρη· ἢ πάντα συν(τε)τέλεσται τὰ εἰς τοὺς γάμους· τινὲς δὲ γνησία παρθένος. Cp. *etym. magn.* τρητοκουρήτας· γνησίας γυναῖκας. οἱ δὲ παρθένους, from which L. Dindorf in Steph. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 2473 B restored τριτοκούρη· τὰς γνησίας κ. τ. λ.

[3] G. Lippold 'ΤΡΙΤΟΠΑΤΡΕΙΣ' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1911 xxxvi. 105.

[4] *Supra* p. 113.

[5] G. Lippold *loc. cit.*: 'Die beiden letzten Worte sind vielleicht nur eine spätere Ergänzung, um einen vollständigen Hexameter herzustellen; derartige Ergänzungen sind bei Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten etwas sehr häufiges (vgl. Usener, Altgriechischer Versbau 49 ff.).' But M. Budimir, as reported by L. Radermacher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 4, 1922 p. 198, rightly retorts: 'Die Worte "μὴ τριτογένεια" sind kein späterer Zusatz,...denn sie geben dem Gebet die notwendige Pointe und bilden mit dem Vorherigen einen Hexameter.'

[6] Schol. B. L. T. V. *Il.* 8. 39 ἢ ὅτι τρίτῃ φθίνοντος ἐτέχθη· καὶ παροιμία 'παῖς μοι τριτογενὴς εἴη, μὴ τριτογένεια.' ἀρρενώδεις γὰρ αἱ τοιαῦται γυναῖκες. The scholiast's explanation of τριτογένεια is, of course, late and worthless (G. Lippold *loc. cit.* p. 107 f.), but his citation of the proverb is important.

P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1920 x. 42 f. 'Wie erklären sich nun aber hierbei τριτογενής und Τριτογένεια?—Das ist eine Schwierigkeit, die im ersten Augenblick unüberwindlich scheint; denn τριτογενής müsste den in der 3. Generation geborenen bedeuten, und so konnte der junge Ehemann doch nicht den Sohn nennen, den er sich wünscht, und auch die Tochter des Zeus konnte so nicht heissen. Die Lösung des Rätsels ergibt sich aus jenem Prinzip, das Sommer "Konträrbildung" genannt hat und das ich kürzlich in der Anzeige seines Aufsatzes, Glotta VIII 266 f. erörtert habe. Nach τριτοπάτωρ, das nicht mehr wörtlich, sondern nur als Stammvater verstanden wurde, wurde τριτογενής im Sinne von 'Stammsohn,' τριτογένεια oder τριτοκούρη 'Stammtochter' gebildet' (cp. *proavus—pronepos, Grossvater—Grosssohn, grandfather—grandson*, etc.).

G. Lippold's attempt in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1911 xxxvi. 106 to explain the element τριτο- in Τριτοπατρεῖς, τριτογενής, Τριτογένεια, Τριτοκούρη as = γνήσιος, γνησία breaks down through lack of any etymological cognates.

[7] Τριτογενής as an epithet of Athena is not Homeric (T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes on *h. Ath.* 4 Τριτογενῆ), but becomes fairly frequent in later verse (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 15). The earliest examples of it are Aristoph. *eq.* 1189 ἡ Τριτογενής (where Τριτογένεια is a not very probable conjecture: see F. H. M. Blaydes *ad loc.*) and *oracl. ap.* Hdt. 7. 141 = *Anth. Pal.* 14. 93. 6 Τριτογενεῖ.

[8] Τριτογένεια is an appellation of Athena, used normally without her name. It is frequent in Homeric and post-Homeric verse (not, however, in tragedy) (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 15), and occasional even in prose (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 2472 C—D).

The significance of the titles Τριτογένεια, Τριτογενής as applied to Athena is discussed by T. Bergk in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1860 lxxxi. 305—309 = *id. Kleine philo-*

claims that the goddess was the genuine descendant of Zeus, Kronos, and Ouranos—a claim whose validity we shall later have occasion to test.

Again, the use of such a term as *Tritopátores* to signify a line of remote ancestors implies the primitive view that 'three' is a typical plurality[1]. And the successive 'three' (= many) generations naturally enough leads to the simultaneous 'three' (= many) generators. Accordingly, when names are given to the Tritopatores, they are a triad such as Kottos, Briareos, Gyges[2], or Amalkeides, Protokles, Protokreon[3], or Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos[4]. But this last and latest specification offers quite inadequate support to S. Eitrem's hypothesis that the Tritopatores were originally, like the Dioskouroi, two in number, the addition of a third being due to a mere misconception of their name[5].

Misconception, however, of a sort there certainly was, and indeed still is. For as soon as the prose *Trītopátores* became the poetic *Trītopatreis*, the way was open for the whole group of *Trīto-* names to overlap and get entangled with an entirely different group of *Trīto-* names, represented by the sea-god Triton, the sea-goddess Amphitrite, a river Triton, a spring or lake Tritonis, etc. These names presuppose *trīton* or the like as an early word for 'water.' É. Boisacq[6], for example, following in the steps of E. Windisch[7], H. Osthoff[8], A. Fick[9], K. Brugmann[10], and H. Pedersen[11], relates

logische Schriften Halle a. S. 1886 ii. 653—657, J. Escher *Triton und seine Bekämpfung durch Herakles* Leipzig 1890 pp. 14—19 ('Tritogeneia und verwandtes'), W. Schulze *Quaestiones epicae* Guetersiohae 1892 p. 177 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 266—270, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1143 n. 1, 1212 n. 2, 1219 n. 3, M. Budimir 'Atena Tritogenija i' atički Tritopatreiji' in the *Glasnik zem. Muzeja* 1920 xxxii. 295—328 reported by L. Radermacher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 4, 1922 pp. 198—203. E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1146—1150 sets out impartially the competing interpretations, but ends with a *non liquet.*

[1] *Supra* ii. 893 n. o.

[2] *Supra* p. 120.

[3] *Supra* p. 121.

[4] *Supra* p. 120.

[5] S. Eitrem *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen* (*Videnskabsselskabets Skrifter.* II. Historisk-filos. Klasse 1902 No. 2) Christiania 1902 pp. 60 n. 3, 118, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 628.

[6] Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 986.

[7] E. Windisch in the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 1877 iv. 268, *id. Kurzgefasste irische Grammatik mit Lesestücken* Leipzig 1879 p. 39 § 155.

[8] H. Osthoff—K. Brugmann *Morphologische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* Leipzig 1881 iv. 195.

[9] A. Fick *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* Göttingen 1894 ii^4. 137.

[10] K. Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* Strassburg 1906 ii^2. 1. 298.

[11] H. Pedersen *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* Göttingen 1909 i. 179.

Tríton the god to the Old Irish *triath*, genitive *trethan*, the 'sea.' This formidable array of philologists may be supposed to have fixed with some certainty the derivation of the names in question. And their assumption, that a word once existing in common speech may have survived only in a handful of proper names, is fully justified by analogous examples[1]. Confusion between the stems *Trĭto-* and *Trīto-* undoubtedly modified the meaning of the appellative *Tritogéneia*, which ceased to be thought of as 'Great-granddaughter,' the pendant of *Tritopátor*, 'Great-grandfather[2],' and was re-interpreted as 'Born beside the Triton,' a river variously located in Libya[3], Crete[4], Arkadia[5], Boiotia[6], and Thessaly[7]. This

[1] *E.g. bach* or *bache*, a variant of *beck*, in the place-names Bacup, Comberbach, Sandbach, etc. (J. B. Johnston *The Place-Names of England and Wales* London 1915 pp. 120, 211, 431) and the surnames Bache, Batch, Bage, Greatbatch, Huntbach (E. Weekley *Surnames* London 1916 p. 53). Similarly Old High German *aha*, Middle High German *ahe*, 'running water' (cp. Lat. *aqua*), survives as *a*, *aa*, *ach*, *ache*, etc. in a great variety of place-names (W. Sturmfels *Etymologisches Lexikon deutscher und fremdländischer Ortsnamen* Berlin—Bonn 1925 p. 1).

[2] *Supra* p. 123.

[3] This is the usual version in lexicographers, scholiasts, mythographers, etc.: *e.g.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τριτογενής = Souid. *s.v.* Τριτογενής· ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ·...ἢ ὅτι παρὰ < τῷ (*inserui* A. B. C.) > Τρίτωνι τῷ ποταμῷ Λιβύης ἐγεννήθη, ...ἢ ἐπεὶ παρὰ Τρίτωνι ἐγένετο·...ἢ ὅτι ἀπελούσατο ἐν τῷ Τρίτωνι τῷ Λιβύης ποταμῷ. Cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Τριτογενής· ἐπιθετικῶς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ·...ἢ τῷ παρὰ Τρίτωνι, τῷ ποταμῷ Λιβύης, ἐμφανισθῆναι, *et. mag.* p. 767, 40 ff. Τριτογένεια, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ·...ἢ ὅτι παρὰ τῷ Τρίτωνι ποταμῷ γέγονεν, *et. Gud.* p. 535, 32 f. Τριτογένεια, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὅπου γεννηθεῖσα ἀπελούσατο, Orion p. 151, 10 f. Τριτογένεια· ἤτοι ἡ παρὰ τῷ Τρίγωνι (P. H. Larcher *corr.* Τρίτωνι) ποταμῷ γεννηθεῖσα,....

Schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 1189 ἐνετριτώνισεν·...ἢ ὡς ἀπὸ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ Λιβύης, παρ' ᾧ ἐτέχθη ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 267 ὅτι ἡ Τριτωνίς, εὐρεῖα λίμνη, μέση Λιβύης ἔλκεται· περὶ ἣν καί τι νησίδιον ἱστοροῦσιν εἶναι. ἀπὸ ταύτης ὁ μῦθος τὴν Τριτογένειαν Ἀθηνᾶν παρωνομάσθαι βούλεται, ὡς γεννηθεῖσαν περὶ αὐτήν, *id. in Il.* p. 696, 38 f. (= Favorin. *lex.* p. 1775, 30 f.) ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρίτωνος Λιβυκοῦ ποταμοῦ καλεῖται οὕτω (*sc.* Τριτογένεια), ἀλλαχοῦ δηλοῦται, *id.* p. 1265, 7 ff. Τριτογένεια δὲ κἀνταῦθα ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. καὶ διὰ τί μὲν οὕτω καλεῖται, ἀλλαχόθι δεδήλωται. ὅτι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸν Τρίτωνα ποταμὸν ἡ λέξις λέγεται, ὡς ἐκεῖ γεννηθείσης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ῥητέον εἰς τοῦτο νῦν ἐκεῖνο καὶ μόνον, ὡς κ.τ.λ., *id. in Od.* p. 1473, 11 f. Τριτογένεια δὲ...ἢ ἐκ Τρίτωνος Λιβυκοῦ ποταμοῦ, schol. A.D. *Il.* 8. 39 οἱ δὲ νεώτεροί φασι τὴν παρὰ τῷ Τρίτωνι ποταμῷ γεννηθεῖσαν, ὅς ἐστι τῆς Λιβύης. A fine effort of scholiastic harmonism will be found in schol. T. (cp. schol. B. L. V.) *Il.* 8. 39 Μῆτιν τὴν Ὠκεανοῦ ἀμείβουσαν εἰς πολλὰ τὴν μορφὴν Ζεὺς βουλόμενος παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχειν κατέπιεν ἔγκυον οὖσαν ὑπὸ Βρόντου τοῦ Κύκλωπος· τελεσφορηθείσης δὲ τῆς παιδός, ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τεκὼν δίδωσι τῷ Τρίτωνι τῷ ποταμῷ τρέφειν· ὅθεν Τριτογένεια ἐκλήθη ὡς ἐκ τριῶν συναυξηθεῖσα, Βρόντου Διὸς Τρίτωνος! This is largely based on Apollod. 1. 3. 6—a passage discussed *infra* § 9 (h) ii (κ).

Apollod. 1. 3. 6 ὡς δὲ ὁ τῆς γενέσεως ἐνέστη χρόνος, πλήξαντος αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ Διὸς) τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει Προμηθέως ἢ καθάπερ ἄλλοι λέγουσιν Ἡφαίστου, ἐκ κορυφῆς, ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ Τρίτωνος, Ἀθηνᾶ σὺν ὅπλοις ἀνέθορε, 3. 12. 3 φασὶ γεννηθεῖσαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν παρὰ Τρίτωνι τρέφεσθαι, ᾧ θυγάτηρ ἦν Παλλάς, κ.τ.λ. (quoted by Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 355), Mela 1. 36 super hunc (*sc.* Syrtim minorem) ingens palus amnem Tritona recipit, ipsa Tritonis, unde et Minervae cognomen inditum est, ut incolae arbitrantur, ibi genitae; faciuntque ei fabulae aliquam fidem, quod quem natalem eius putant ludicris virginum inter se decer-

tantium celebrant, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 2. 722 Tritone: fluvius vel palus in Libya, in qua Minerva dicitur nata, sicut Lucanus (Lucan. 9. 354) affirmat. unde Graeci eam Minervam Tritogeniam vocant, Myth. Vat. 1. 124 haec et Tritonia dicitur quia circa Tritonium lacum dicitur apparuisse in virginali aetate, 3. 10. 1 nam quod a Libyca palude hoc nomen (*sc.* Tritonia) meruerit, quia illic a caelo descensum et ad caelum ascensum celebraverit, poëticum esse constat. nam legitur (Lucan. 9. 354): 'et se dilecta Tritonia (*leg.* Tritonida) dixit ab unda.'

Sometimes a rival version is noted: schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 1. 109 *Τριτωνὶς δὲ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, ὅτι ἐν τῷ Τρίτωνι ἐγεννήθη τῷ Λιβυκῷ. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δύο Τρίτωνες, εἷς μὲν Βοιωτικός, ἕτερος δὲ Θεσσαλικός.* Cp. schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1311 (= Favorin. *lex.* p. 1776, 5 ff.) *Τρίτων δὲ πόλις* (R. F. P. Brunck *corr.* ποταμὸς) *Λιβύης. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτίας. παρὰ θατέρῳ δὲ τούτων δοκεῖ γεγενῆσθαι ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ· διὸ καὶ Τριτογένεια λέγεται*, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 171 a Tritone amne Boeotiae, aut a Tritonide palude Africae, iuxta quam nata dicitur.

[4] Diod. 5. 72 *μυθολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ* (*sc.* as well as Zeus: see Diod. 5. 70 cited *supra* ii. 190 n. 2) *τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἐκ Διὸς ἐν ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ γεννηθῆναι· διὸ καὶ Τριτογένειαν ὀνομασθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι περὶ τὰς πηγὰς ταύτας ἱερὸν ἅγιον τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῆς ὑπάρξαι μυθολογοῦσι* (for Diodoros' Cretan sources see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 678).

Diod. 3. 70 (Ammon hid Dionysos, his son by Amaltheia, in a (Cretan?) cave) *πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς μητρυιᾶς Ῥέας ἐπιβουλὰς φύλακα τοῦ παιδὸς καταστῆσαι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, μικρὸν πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων γηγενῆ φανεῖσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, δι' ὃν Τριτωνίδα προσηγορεῦσθαι* (the source here is the 'Phrygian poem' of Thymoites (Diod. 3. 67), on which see J. Carcopino *La Basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure* Paris 1927 p. 301 ff.).

These Cretan legends are of little or no authority. They were possibly prompted by the fact that coins of Itanos from *c.* 460 to the beginning of *s.* iv B.C. have for obverse type a sea-god, probably one with the 'Dagon' of Arados (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. xx f., 1 ff. pl. 1, 1—10, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. 123 ff. pl. 22, 1—9, *id. Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 511 ff. pl. 116, 4—18), since the eponym Itanos is described as a Phoenician (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Ἰτανός· πόλις ἐν Κρήτῃ, ἀπὸ Ἰτάνου Φοίνικος, ἢ τῶν Κουρήτων ἑνὸς μιγάδος*), but in aspect indistinguishable from Triton (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 201 ff. pls. 18, 21—37, 19, 1—9, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 895 ff. pl. 244, 1—16, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 469 f. fig. 251, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 51 pls. 12, 6—8, 13, 1—4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 189, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 499 pl. 241, 3 f., *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 532 nos. 4499—4503 pl. 163, *Bement Sale Catalogue* 1924 ii. 19 no. 1306 f. pl. 45), while from *c.* 376 to the middle of *s.* iv B.C. the sea-god is replaced by the head of Athena, surviving only as an adjunct on the reverse side (J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 204 ff. pl. 19, 10—27, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 901 ff. pls. 244, 17—20, 245, 1—11, Head *op. cit.*[2] p. 470, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 52 pl. 13, 5—8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 189 f. pl. 42, 8 f., *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 499 f. pl. 241, 5—10, *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 533 f. nos. 4504 f. pl. 163, 4506—4512 pl. 164, *Michaïlovitch Sale Catalogue* 1922 p. 42 no. 629 pl. 24, *Bertier de la Garde Sale Catalogue* 1923 p. 92 nos. 2276—2280 pl. 64). I show a representative series, of which fig. 41 = J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 18, 23 Paris, fig. 42 = Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* pl. 244, 4 Jameson collection, fig. 43 = a specimen, from unpublished dies, in my own collection, fig. 44 = *Photiades Sale Catalogue* 1890 i. 10 no. 1293 pl. 7, fig. 45 = J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 19, 6 de Luynes collection fig. 46 = J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 19, 9 Paris, fig. 47 = Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* pl. 245, 4 de Luynes collection.

A somewhat similar deity on an unpublished bronze coin of Karystos in my collection (fig. 48) is presumably Glaukos, from whom the athlete Glaukos of Karystos traced his descent (Paus. 6. 10. 1). *Obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* ΚΑ Sea-god to right, grasping fish (holed).

[5] Paus. 8. 26. 6 *Ἁλιφηρεῦσι δὲ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῇ πόλει γέγονεν ἀπὸ Ἁλιφήρου Λυκάονος παιδός, ἱερὰ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς, ἣν θεῶν σέβονται μάλιστα, γενέσθαι κ*

τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτὴν λέγοντες· καὶ Διός τε ἱδρύσαντο Λεχεάτου (Gédoyn cj. Λοχεάτου) βωμὸν ἅτε ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκόντος, καὶ κρήνην καλοῦσι Τριτωνίδα, τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Τρίτωνι οἰκειούμενοι λόγον. κ.τ.λ. (*supra* ii. 782). W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 ii. 79 with plan on p. 73 identified this Tritonis with a spring on the north-eastern side of the hill of Aliphera.

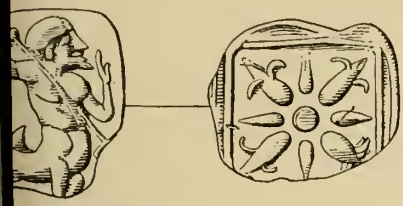


Fig. 41.

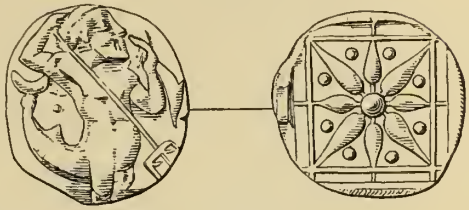


Fig. 42.

Fig. 43.

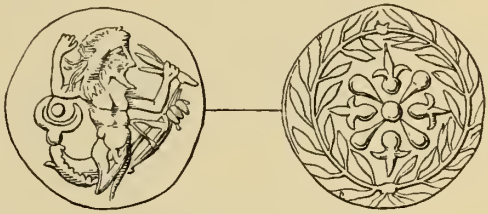


Fig. 44.

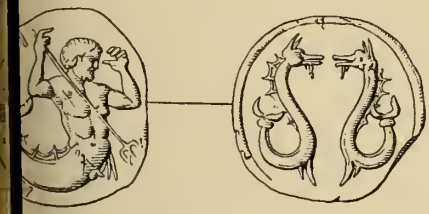


Fig. 45.

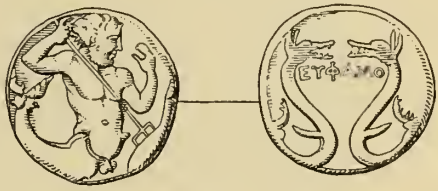


Fig. 46.

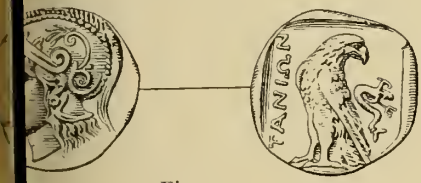


Fig. 47.

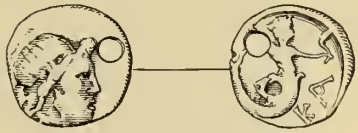


Fig. 48.

[6] Paus. 9. 33. 7 ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐνταῦθα (*sc.* near Alalkomenai) οὐ μέγας χείμαρρος· ὀνομάζουσι δὲ Τρίτωνα αὐτόν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τραφῆναι παρὰ ποταμῷ Τρίτωνι ἔχει λόγος, ὡς δὴ τοῦτον τὸν Τρίτωνα ὄντα καὶ οὐχὶ τὸν Λιβύων, ὃς ἐς τὴν πρὸς Λιβύῃ (so F. Sylburg for Λιβύην codd.) θάλασσαν ἐκδίδωσιν ἐκ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης. See also schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 1. 109, 4. 1311 (= Favorin. *lex.* p. 1776, 5 ff.), interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 171, all cited *supra* p. 126 n. 0. The Boeotian towns Athenai and Eleusis (Paus. 9. 24. 2, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀθῆναι) were situated on the banks of the Triton (Strab. 407), which W. M. Leake *Travels in Northern Greece* Cambridge 1835 ii. 135 f. identifies with the stream near the village of *Sulinari*. K. O. Müller *Orchomenos und die*

re-interpretation, a commonplace of classical mythology, is not expressly recorded till the Graeco-Roman period, though there are stray hints of it as early as the fifth century B.C.[1].

Whether the same confusion of *Trĭto-* with *Trīto-* ever brought the Tritopatores or Tritopatreis into relation with the water-powers seems to me more problematic. M. Budimir, who claims that the Tritopatreis had something to do with wells, quotes from the Epakria calendar certain 'priestly dues on account of the well for the Tritopatreis[2].' Unfortunately—as may be seen from J. von Prott's edition of the text[3]—the priestly dues and the well belong to one clause, the Tritopatreis to another. The two are juxtaposed, but not connected. Apart from this, Budimir has to fall back on the somewhat remote analogy of the Vedic god Trita, who sits in wells and presses *soma*[4].

No doubt, the deities of wind and water do draw together in late classical belief. Horace[5] describes the South-wind as the

> Mightiest power that Hadria knows,
> Wills he the waves to madden or compose.

Minyer[2] Breslau 1844 p. 349 ff. argued that the 'Ursitz' of Athena Τριτογένεια was Boiotia, whence the myth spread with the Minyai to Libya. Similarly Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 266 ff. holds that Athena Τριτογένεια originated in Thessaly or Boiotia, and thence passed to Kyrene.

[7] Schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 1. 109 cited *supra* p. 126 n. 0. There are traces of the name even further north, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τρίτωνος· πολίχνιον Μακεδονίας.

[1] Aisch. *Eum.* 292 ff. ἀλλ' εἴτε χώρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυστικῆς (so Auratus for Λιβυστικοῖς codd.) | Τρίτωνος ἀμφὶ χεῦμα γενεθλίου πόρου | τίθησιν ὀρθὸν ἢ κατηρεφῆ πόδα (*sc.* Ἀθηνᾶ), | κ.τ.λ., Hdt. 4. 180 τούτων δὲ ἔχονται τῶν Μαχλύων Αὐσέες· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μάχλυες πέριξ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκέουσι, τὸ μέσον δέ σφι οὐρίζει ὁ Τρίτων...ὀρτῇ δὲ ἐνιαυσίῃ Ἀθηναίης αἱ παρθένοι αὐτῶν δίχα διαστᾶσαι μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλας λίθοισί τε καὶ ξύλοισι, τῷ αὐθιγενέι θεῷ λέγουσαι τὰ πάτρια ἀποτελέειν, τὴν Ἀθηναίην καλέομεν. τὰς δὲ ἀποθνῃσκούσας τῶν παρθένων ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων ψευδοπαρθένους καλέουσι. πρὶν δὲ ἀνεῖναι αὐτὰς μάχεσθαι, τάδε ποιεῦσι κοινῇ· παρθένον τὴν καλλιστεύουσαν ἑκάστοτε κοσμήσαντες κυνέῃ τε Κορινθίῃ καὶ πανοπλίῃ Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ ἐπ' ἅρμα ἀναβιβάσαντες περιάγουσι τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ. ὀτέοισι δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκόσμεον τὰς παρθένους πρὶν ἢ σφι Ἕλληνας παροικισθῆναι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δ' ὧν Αἰγυπτίοισι ὅπλοισι κοσμέεσθαι αὐτάς·...τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίην φασὶ Ποσειδέωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης, καί μιν μεμφθεῖσάν τι τῷ πατρὶ δοῦναι ἑωυτὴν τῷ Διί, τὸν δὲ Δία ἑωυτοῦ μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα, Eur. *Ion* 871 ff. καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἐμοῖς σκοπέλοισι θεὰν | λίμνης τ' ἐνύδρου Τριτωνιάδος | πότνιαν ἀκτάν, Aristoph. *Lys.* 346 ff. καί σε καλῶ σύμμαχον, ὦ | Τριτογένει', ἥν τις ἐκεί|νας ὑποπίμπρῃσιν ἀνήρ, | φέρειν ὕδωρ μεθ' ἡμῶν.

[2] M. Budimir reported by L. Radermacher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 4, 1922 p. 202 'ἱερώσυνα φρέατος Τριτοπατρεῦσι.'

[3] The text is given *supra* p. 115 n. 4.

[4] J. Escher *Triton und seine Bekämpfung durch Herakles* Leipzig 1890 pp. 9—13 ('Vorgeschichte des Triton und Ableitung des Namens,' dealing fully with Vedic *Trita*, Zend *Thrita*, etc.), E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 pp. 104, 431 n. 3, M. Winternitz *A concise Dictionary of Eastern Religion* Oxford 1910 p. 589, A. A. Macdonell in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1921 xii. 604 b.

[5] Hor. *od.* 1. 3. 15 f. trans. J. Conington.

In art, as H. Steinmetz[1] pointed out, wind-gods approximate to the Tritonian type. Lucian[2] touches in the portrait of Thrasykles the philosopher with a few effective phrases:

'Here he comes—beard all a-spread, eyebrows arched, arrogance in the air, an up-against-Olympos look, the tresses waving over his forehead, a very Boreas or Triton in the manner of Zeuxis.'

En revanche Triton, blowing a blast with his sonorous conch, easily takes on the duties of a wind-god. A mosaic[3] found in 1833 at Saint Rustice, north-west of Toulouse, among the ruins of a Roman bath, represents a huge head of Okeanos[4] surrounded by various marine subjects. These include sea-divinities mounted on Tritons, all labelled in Greek lettering of the third century A.D.[5] Adjacent bays on the right show *Thétis* carried by *Tríton*, *Panópea* by *Bórios*; on the left, *Dotó* by *Nynphogenés*, *Palémon* and *Inó* by *Glaûkos*. The artist's signature is incomplete—...*génios Sikiliótes*. Here then we have a genuine Triton wearing a fish-skin as a *chlamýs*, but actually bearing the name of a wind-god *Bór(e)ios*. More than that, one interesting monument made Triton in a sense the ruler of all the winds that blow. The Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhestes[6], built at

[1] H. Steinmetz 'Windgötter' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 35 n. 13, F. R. Dressler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1203.

[2] Loukian. *Tim.* 54 ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; οὐ Θρασυκλῆς ὁ φιλόσοφος οὗτός ἐστιν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος· ἐκπετάσας γοῦν τὸν πώγωνα καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνατείνας καὶ βρενθυόμενός τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔρχεται, τιτανῶδες βλέπων, ἀνασεσοβημένος τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ μετώπῳ κόμην, Αὐτοβορέας τις ἢ Τρίτων, οἵους ὁ Ζεῦξις ἔγραψεν.

[3] J. de Witte in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1834 pp. 157—159, A. L. C. A. Du Mège in the *Histoire et Mémoires de l'académie royale des sciences, inscriptions et belles-lettres de Toulouse* 1834—1836 (Toulouse 1837) iv. 2. 30—51, *id. Archéologie pyrénéenne* Toulouse 1858 Atlas i pl. 14, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 38 no. 1.

[4] P. Gauckler in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 2115 n. 10.

[5] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2519 a ΓΕΝ ΙΟC || CIKI|ΛΙΩ|ΤΗC, b ΠΑΝΟΠΗΑ || ΒΟΡΙoC, c ΘΕΤΙC || ΤΡΙΤΩΝ, d ΔΩΤΩ || ΝΥΝΦΟ|ΓΕΝΗC, ΓΛΑΥΚoC || ΠΑΛΕΜΩΝ || ΙΝΩ.

[6] J. Stuart and N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1762 i. 13—25 with pls. 1 (view), 2 (plan), 3 (restoration), 4 (vertical section), 5—9 (architectural detail), 10 f. (sundials), 12—19 (wind-gods), J. Matz in Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 2112—2115 figs. 2365 (chart), 2366 (restoration), 2367 (vertical section), 2368 (plan), 2369 (*klepsýdra*), Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* pp. 200—203 fig. 9, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 615 f. fig. 324 (Boreas), Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 187 f., E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 pp. 24, 488—491 (date either *s.* ii or early in *s.* i B.C.) with fig., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 pp. 92 n. 11 (date *s.* i B.C.), 333 f. with fig. 41, *ib.*[2] 1931 pp. 97, 374 f., Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 57.

P. Graindor in *Le Musée Belge* 1906 x. 353 ff. and in *Byzantion* 1926 iii. 29 ff. notes the discovery in Tenos, about the year 1906, of a tower like that of the Winds at Athens. This new tower has an inscription (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 2 no. 891, cp. A. Rehm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2427) which shows that Andronikos, the constructor of both, was a native of Kyrrhos in Makedonia (not Kyrrhos in Syria) and that the tower at Athens must be dated in the time of Iulius Caesar.

Athens in the first century B.C. and better known to us as the 'Tower of the Winds,' was an octagonal structure of white marble containing a water-clock. The upper part of its exterior was decorated with eight reliefs of the wind-gods, arranged in accordance with the wind-rose of Eratosthenes[1],—Boreas, Kaikias, Apeliotes, Euros,

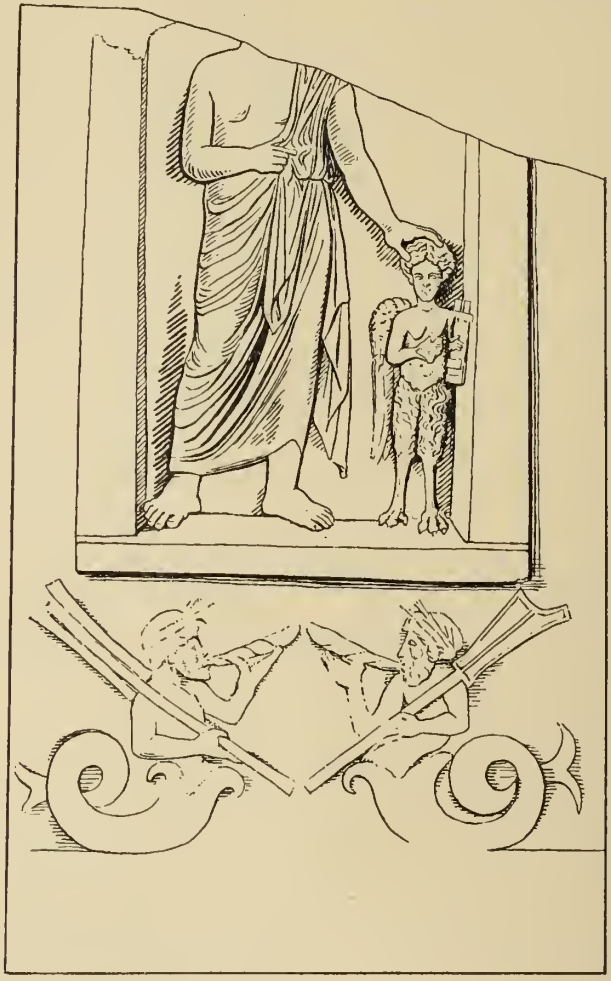


Fig. 49.

Notos, Lips, Zephyros, Skiron. And the roof was crowned by the bronze figure of a Triton, who swung round in the wind and pointed with his rod to the appropriate deity[2].

[1] H. Steinmetz *De ventorum descriptionibus apud Graecos Romanosque* Gottingae 1907 pp. 42 ff., 80, *id.* 'Windgötter' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 34 f.

[2] Vitr. 1. 6. 4, cp. Varr. *rer. rust.* 3. 5. 17.

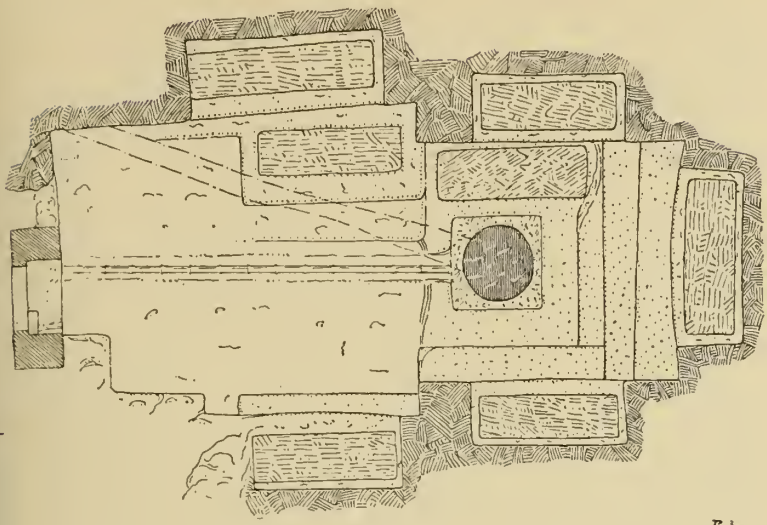


Fig. 50.

Fig. 51.

If Triton thus played the part of Aiolos, can we go further and maintain that the former, like the latter, was a keeper of souls in some island of the Otherworld? It must, I think, be admitted that Tritons on occasion were viewed as protectors of the dead. A *stéle* of Pentelic marble in the Peiraieus Museum (fig. 49), assigned by A. Brückner[1] to the end of the second or the beginning of the first century B.C., represents the dead man standing in an architectural niche (*naïskos*?) with his left hand on the head of a Siren at his side. Below this group are carved in slight relief two bearded Tritons, wreathed with reeds (?), who confront one another, each blowing a conch and shouldering a paddle. Why are they there? Brückner describes them as 'das mythologische Ornament,' which is true but not particularly helpful. I take it that Triton with his echoing horn, like the cock with his lively din[2], was believed to keep maleficent spirits at a distance. And this may well account for the persistent popularity of Tritons on *sarcophagi* and other sepulchral monuments of Graeco-Roman and Etruscan art[3]. They are often accompanied by a train of Nereids and sea-beasts, with diminutive Erotes here, there, and everywhere. I figure a couple of *sarcophagi*, one made for a Roman lady in the third century A.D. (fig. 52)[4], the other made

[1] A. Brückner in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 377—382 pl. 4 (=my fig. 49), F. R. Dressler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1174 with fig. 13.

[2] See E. Baethgen *De vi ac significatione galli in religionibus et artibus Graecorum et Romanorum* Gottingae 1887 pp. 20—23 ('De galli vi averruncanti'), P. Perdrizet in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1904 pp. 12—17, S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 i. 125 f., 319, ii. 82, 120, 140, 151, 153, 155, 311, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 141, F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2532 f., Mrs A. Strong *Apotheosis and After Life* London 1915 p. 257, C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1925 xxvi. 100 f.

[3] F. R. Dressler *Triton und die Tritonen in der Litteratur und Kunst der Griechen und Römer* Wurzen 1892/3 ii. 13—23 (§ 25 'Tritonen (auch Tritoniden) in Reliefs an Sarkophagen hauptsächlich in Verbindung mit Nereiden, Eroten und Seetieren'), 23—25 (§ 26 '...in anderen Sepulcralmonumenten'), 26 (§ 27 'Fischschwänzige Daimonen an etruskischen Grabdenkmälern'), *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1193—1198, 1198 f., 1199 f.

T. L. Shear in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 428 ff. figs. 5—10 reports the finding of Roman chamber-tombs cut out in the hard clay of a hillside S.E. of Cheliotomylos near Corinth. One of these, originally constructed towards the end of *s.* i A.D. (fig. 5=my fig. 50), had a circular well-shaft (0·95^{m} across, 2·30^{m} deep) in the floor of its inner chamber—perhaps to quench the thirst of the departed (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 831 n. 1, *infra* § 9 (d) ii (α))—and was decorated with several paintings. That on the *tympanum* of the niche in the S. wall of the outer chamber (fig. 6=my fig. 51) shows a large *kratér* (orange ground, red lines) flanked by a pair of plunging dolphins, above which are two Tritons (orange and red bodies, greenish-blue tails), each blowing a long reed and holding a wand. Wavy blue strokes below the dolphins indicate the sea. On the N. wall of the outer chamber, at the E. end of the grave is a large trident painted on the transverse wall.

[4] Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 207 fig. 196 (=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 95 no. 3) with Text ii. 502, Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 405 f. no. 440, F. R. Dressler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1194 f. fig. 25. A *sarcophagus*-front of Luna marble. Height 0·55^{m}. Length 2·15^{m}.

about the same time but used for a Christian burial perhaps two centuries later (fig. 53)[1].

The significance of this marine *cortège* has been differently conceived by different critics. F. Buonarroti[2] in 1698 held that graceful Oceanic figures were believed to escort deserving souls to the Islands of the Blest. His view, accepted by archaeologists of the eighteenth century, was extended by E. Q. Visconti[3], who remarked that sea-processions of the sort were suggestive of a Bacchic *thíasos*. E. Petersen[4] caught at the notion and regarded the riot of sea-creatures as an attempt to symbolise the joyous revels of pious souls on entering the Otherworld. He observed that the movement of such groups is centripetal, not processional, and consequently abandoned the idea of an escort to the Islands of the Blest. He failed, however, adequately to explain why ordinary mortals should thus suffer a sea-change. Neither Ino[5] nor Enalos[6] is typical of commonplace humanity. W. H. Roscher[7] suspected that the clue lay in the Samothracian mysteries. Sundry myths of the

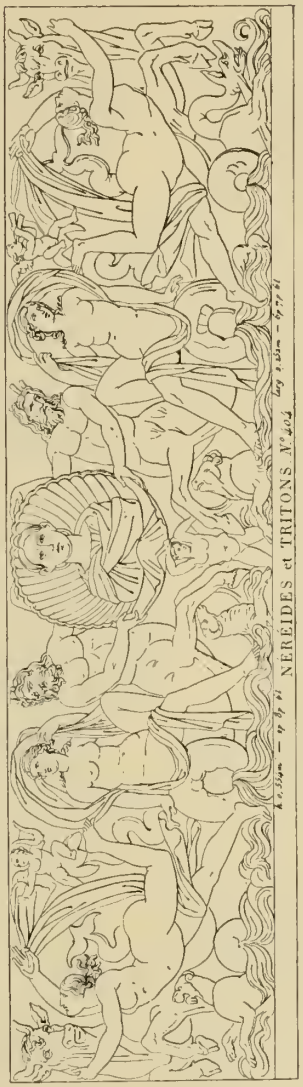


Fig. 52.

[1] C. L. V(isconti) 'Sarcofago con rappresentanza di Nereidi e Tritoni' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1873 i. 192—200 pl. 4 (=my fig. 53). Found near the western side of the large square *porticus* to the right of the Basilica of S. Lorenzo at Rome. Height 0·65^{m}. Length 2·10^{m}. The acclamation PROMOTE | HABEAS (for *Promote, aveas*) is followed by a Latin cross with spread ends.

[2] F. Buonarroti *Osservazioni istoriche sopra alcuni medaglioni antichi all' Altezza serenissima di Cosimo III, gran duca di Toscana* Roma 1698 pp. 44, 114.

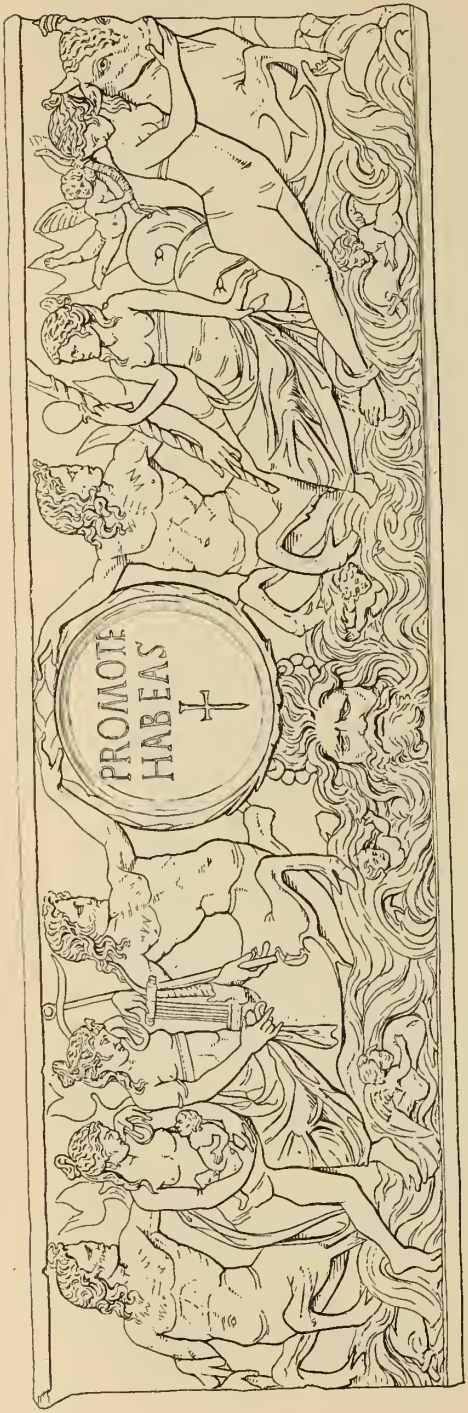
[3] Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* iv. 240 ff. pl. 33.

[4] E. Petersen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860 xxxii. 396 ff.

[5] Pind. *Ol.* 2. 28 ff., cp. *supra* i. 674.

[6] *Supra* i. 170.

[7] W. H. Roscher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 8, 1893 p. 886 f., *id.* in the *Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland* 1893 p. 1054 f.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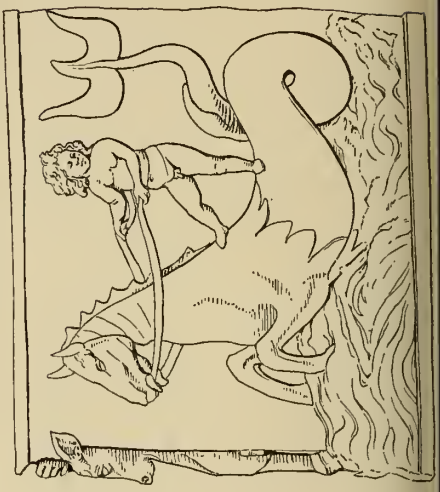

A stucco-relief in the semi-dome of the subterranean basilica at Rome:
the last voyage of the soul over the waters of death to the Islands of the Blest.

Tyrsenian Pelasgoi, who founded these mysteries, told how mortals were transformed into sea-deities or sea-creatures—witness Ino Leukothea, Halia, Kombe, Palaimon, Glaukos Pontios, Enalos, and the Tyrsenian pirates metamorphosed into dolphins. Accordingly Roscher conjectured that any Samothracian mystic drowned at sea was said to have become a deity or a denizen of the deep. Hence the frequency of these 'Samothracian designs.' H. Steuding[1] replied that, if so, we ought to see the deceased himself portrayed as one of the marine powers rather than his effigy borne aloft in their midst. The matter is still in dispute. Personally, I am impressed by F. G. Welcker's[2] claim that these *sarcophagi* are descended from the famous group by Skopas of which Pliny[3] says:

'But most highly esteemed of all his works is the group in the temple built by Gnaeus Domitius in the Circus of Flaminius: in it comprises Poseidon himself with Thetis and Achilles, Nereids riding on dolphins and sea-monsters or on sea horses, and Tritons and the train of Phorkos, with sea beasts and a tumult of creatures of the deep, the whole by the same hand, a wondrous work, even were it that of a life-time.'

If, as is commonly supposed[4], the Scopaic group—almost certainly a pedimental group—represented the passing of Achilles to the Islands of the Blest, or more precisely to Leuke on Borysthenis in the Black Sea[5], it is at least legitimate to interpret the scene on the *sarcophagi* as that of a safe and superhuman convoy moving forward[6] to some Otherworld island[7]. And here it will be remembered that the magnificent stucco-relief, which fills the semi-dome of the subterranean basilica outside the Porta Maggiore at Rome, depicts an analogous scene (pl. xix)[8]. Before us lies a stormy

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[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 26 (trans. Miss K. Jex-Blake).

[4] L. Urlichs *Skopas Leben und Werke* Greifswald 1863 p. 132 ff., *id. Griechische Statuen in republikanischen Rom* Würzburg 1889 p. 17 ff., Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 19 f., 420, J. Sieveking 'Der sogenannte Altar des Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus' in the *Jahresh. d. Oest. arch. Inst.* 1910 xiii. 95–101, G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 573 f. Fleischer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 53–58, J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 240 f., W. Tomaschek *ib.* iii. 739, Farnell *Gr. Hero Cults* p. 286, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 1194 f.

[5] This escapes E. Petersen's objection that the movement of the group is centripetal, not processional (*supra* p. 133).

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A stucco-relief in the semi-dome of the subterranean basilica at Rome:
the last voyage of the soul over the waters of death to the Islands of the Blest.

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[5] Fleischer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 53—58, J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 240 f., W. Tomaschek *ib.* iii. 739, Farnell *Gk. Hero Cults* p. 286, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 1194 f.

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sea with threatening breakers. A rock-bound coast looms up on either hand. From the headland on the right, where a tree is growing, a veiled woman with a lyre steps down towards the water, attended by Eros. In front of her a Triton, or perhaps rather a personification of the Wind, holds a mantle to serve as her ferry-boat across the flood. On the cliff to the left sits a man, who leans his head on his hand in an attitude of deep dejection. In front of him a second and unmistakable Triton turns away, blowing a blast on his horn. Finally, in the distance is seen a rocky island, on which stands Apollon holding out his hand as if to welcome the woman. F. Fornari[1], one of the two scholars first privileged to publish this wonderful composition, saw at once that the subject must be the last voyage of the soul over the waters of death to the Islands of the Blest. Much has been written on the relief since then[2], and, though various points of content[3] and style[4] remain uncertain, it

by G. Bendinelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1926 xxxi pls. 11 (=my pl. xix), 12 (centre), 13 (right side), 14 (drawing). To photograph well an apsidal relief in such a position is something of a technical triumph.

[1] F. Fornari in the *Not. Scavi* 1918 p. 49, being part of the initial publication (E. Gatti and F. Fornari 'Brevi notizie relative alla scoperta di un monumento sotterraneo presso Porta Maggiore' in the *Not. Scavi* 1918 pp. 30—39 and 39—52).

[2] The bibliography given by J. Carcopino *La basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure* Paris 1927 pp. 388—391 mentions thirty-nine articles, paragraphs, and letters dealing directly with the basilica. And the end is not yet. The most important accounts are the following: F. Cumont 'La basilique souterraine de la Porta Maggiore' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1918 ii. 52—73, R. Lanciani 'Il santuario sotterraneo recentemente scoperto *ad Spem Veterem*' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1920 pp. 69—84, R. Leopold 'La basilique souterraine de la Porta Maggiore' in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 1921 xxxix. 165—192, G. Bendinelli 'Il mausoleo sotterraneo altrimenti detto Basilica di Porta Maggiore' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1922 pp. 85—126, H. Lietzmann 'Orphisch-neupythagoräische Katakombenkunst in Rom' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii. Arch. Anz. pp. 348—351, *id.* 'Der unterirdische Kultraum von Porta Maggiore in Rom' in the *Bibliothek Warburg: Vorträge 1922—1923* ii. 66—70, J. Hubaux 'Le plongeon rituel' in the *Musée Belge* 1923 p. 5 ff., E. Strong and N. Jolliffe 'The Stuccoes of the Underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliv. 65—111. To these must be added the clear-headed and well-documented monograph of J. Carcopino *op. cit.* pp. 1—414 with 24 plates and 6 plans, and finally the sumptuous publication of G. Bendinelli 'Il monumento sotterraneo di Porta Maggiore in Roma' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1926 xxxi. 601—860 with 54 figs. and 43 pls.

[3] It is *à priori* probable that the conch of the apse represented a myth rather than a belief. There was therefore something to be said for the suggestion of C. Densmore Curtis 'Sappho and the "Leucadian Leap"' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1920 xxiv. 146—150 that the stucco portrays 'a well-known story, namely the famous "Leucadian Leap" of Sappho in her attempt to be freed from her hopeless love for Phaon' (Ov. *her.* 15. 157—184). F. Cumont 'La basilica sotterranea presso Porta Maggiore a Roma' in the *Rassegna d'Arte* 1921 pp. 37—44 held that this explanation of the scene was possibly compatible with his own Pythagorean hypothesis. J. Carcopino 'Encore la Basilique de la "Porta Maggiore"' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1923 ii. 1—23 turned possibility into something very like certainty by pointing out that the Pythagoreans were much concerned with the myth of

Sappho and Phaon (Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 20 ob hoc (*sc.* male root of white eryngo) et Phaonem Lesbium dilectum a Sappho, multa circa hoc non Magorum solum vanitate, sed etiam Pythagoricorum). E. Strong and N. Jolliffe 'The Stuccoes of the Underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliv. 65—111 justly observe (p. 103 f.): 'It is true that Pliny says nothing about the death or leap of Sappho, nothing therefore bearing on the subject of the apse stucco, yet we may now reasonably assume that the whole Sappho legend entered into Pythagorean lore, and that M. Carcopino by this timely discovery has disposed of any doubt as to the Pythagorean character of the basilica, or as to Sappho's leap being the subject of the apse stucco.' They themselves go further and, taking a hint from H. Stuart Jones (*ib.* p. 103 n. 124 a), interpret the relief as a scene of apotheosis by water (cp. G. Glotz *L'ordalie dans la Grèce primitive* Paris 1904 pp. 34—50 ('Le saut de Leucade'))—'the root idea of baptism.' See further P. Boyancé 'Leucas' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 211—219—an interesting discussion of Pliny's *candida eryngе* = Γοργόνειον, μῶλυ, ἱμερτός, etc. (Dioskor. 3. 21 (24) p. 363 f. Sprengel), ἀείζωον (Mart. Cap. 141, where cod. A has λευκως with gloss *herba albula ut quidam lilium*).

Fig. 54.

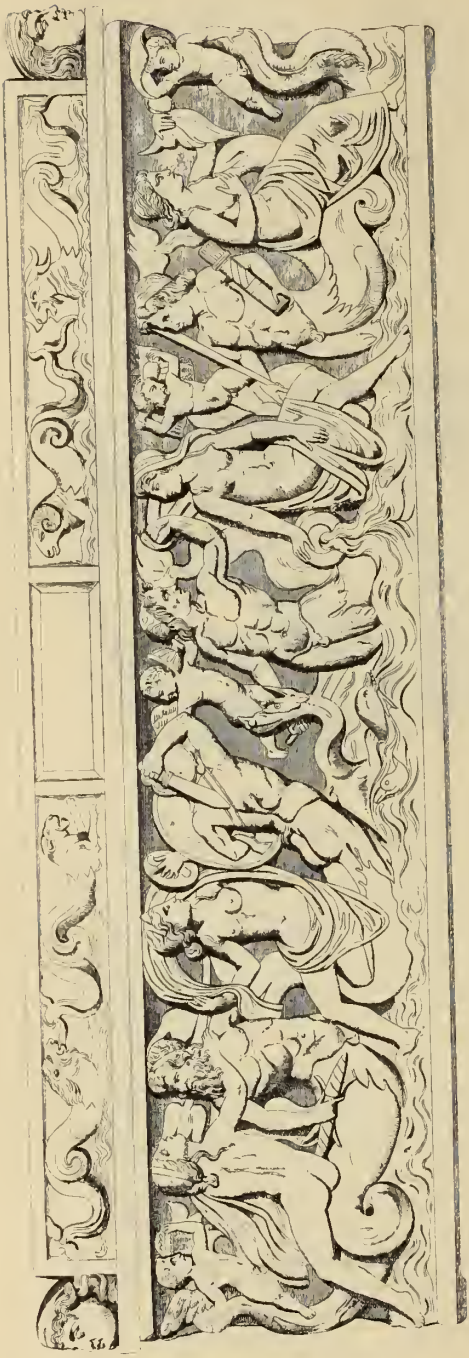
Whatever be thought of this catena of interpretations, it can hardly be denied that Ovid's description of Sappho and the Leap does fit the design of the relief with remarkable aptitude. The single tree overlooking the water (Ov. *her.* 15. 159 f. quem supra ramos expandit aquatica lotos, | una nemus), Apollon on his rock (165 Phoebus ab excelso, quantum patet, adspicit aequor), the woman stepping down from the cliff (172 nec saxo desiluisse time), the personification of wind with a mantle for a boat (177 f. aura, subito: | et mea non magnum corpora pondus habent), the attendant Eros (179 tu quoque, mollis Amor, pennas suppone cadenti), the lyre carried by the woman (181 inde chelyn Phoebo, communia munera, ponam),—almost every point in the picture can be paralleled from the poem.

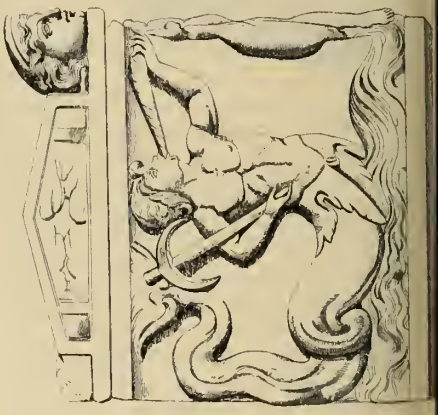
[4] The art-type of Sappho stepping off the rock for love of Phaon was, I think, derived from the earlier art-type of Aphrodite stepping on to the ferry-boat of Phaon, as shown by a red-figured *kratér* found in 1909 'nella proprietà Tamburini fuori Porta Castiglione' and now at Bologna (Pellegrini *Cat. vas. gr. dipint. Bologna* pp. 133—135 no. 288[bis] fig. 77 (=my fig. 54).

Apollon, according to C. Densmore Curtis in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1920 xxiv. 150, appears to be the Apollon Λευκάτης of a coin of Nikopolis struck by Trajan (*supra* i. 345 n. 8).

The dejected man on the rocks to the left has been compared by F. Cumont in the *Rassegna d'Arte* 1921 p. 39 with analogous figures on Attic sepulchral *stêlai*.

But much has yet to be done by way of investigating the antecedents of these and other individual *motifs*.





is now generally admitted that the whole design illustrates the entrance of the soul into the Otherworld as conceived by some Pythagorean sect in the middle of the first century A.D. But we are concerned with the Tritons only, who here as on the *sarcophagi* are present to control the winds and waves, thereby averting the perils of the last dread voyage. If on the *sarcophagus* in the Galleria Corsini at Rome (fig. 55)[1] they are exceptionally equipped with the thunderbolt of Zeus[2], the helmet sword and shield of Ares, the arrows and torch of Eros, etc., that is tantamount to saying that Tritons and the like in this connexion are not merely graceful gambollers but the equivalent of a whole heavenly host.

To sum up, it would seem that the Tritons came to be regarded as, like the Tritopatores, at once controllers of the wind and guardians of the soul. But this was a matter of similarity, not of identity. If *Tritogéneia* meant first 'Great-granddaughter' and then 'Born

Fig. 56.

beside the Triton[3],' that was a case of sheer verbal confusion. Nor have we the right to infer from it a real relationship between the Tritopatores and the Tritons. And, in the absence of any inward identity, I find no sufficient reason for thinking that the Tritopatores were ever outwardly figured as Tritons with fishy tails; still less, for supposing that they already had the Tritonian type in the sixth century B.C. Accordingly, I definitely reject the view of Furt-

[1] O. Jahn 'Sarcofago della Galleria Corsini a Roma' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1859 xxxi. 27—32, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 26 (=my fig. 55), C. Cavedoni in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1860 p. 206, E. Petersen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860 xxxii. 402 f., 412 n. 1, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1860 p. 11 n. 2, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* ii. 368 f. no. 3164, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 223 nos. 1—3.

[2] E. Vinet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1853 p. 100 ff. with fig. (=my fig. 56) published a gem-impression, obtained from T. Cades, which shows a Triton equipped with thunderbolt and trident. Vinet thought him Aigaion.

[3] *Supra* p. 125.

wängler[1], who gave the name of Tritopatores to the three-bodied snake-tailed giant of the earliest Hekatompedon at Athens. That view, though it has commended itself to M. Budimir[2], B. Schweitzer[3], and others, seems to me far less probable than the older identification of the giant with the 'three-bodied Typhon' of Euripides[4].

(d) Zeus *Oúrios, íkmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios.*

The primitive fancy that winds are the souls of ancestors dead and buried was followed, and largely superseded, by the more intelligent notion that winds are atmospheric forces controlled by a sky-god.

This transition from a lower to a higher view was, it would seem, facilitated by long-standing local beliefs. The Aeolians held that the winds were kept by an eponymous forefather Aiolos[5], who dwelt in Aiolie a floating island[6] perhaps originally located in the Black Sea[7], like Leuke or Borysthenis the final abode of Achilles[8]. Further,

[1] A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1905 p. 433 f.

[2] M. Budimir 'Atena Tritogenija i' atički Tritopatreiji' in the *Glasnik zem. Muzeja* 1920 xxxii. 295—328 (reported by L. Radermacher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 4, 1922 pp. 198—203).

[3] B. Schweitzer *Herakles* Tübingen 1922 p. 72 ff. (summarised by E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1209 f.), *supra* p. 122 n. 5.

[4] Eur. *H.f.* 1271 f. τρισωμάτους | Τυφῶνας, where P. Elmsley would not have conjectured Γηρυόνας, had he lived to see the triple monster of the Hekatompedon (*supra* ii. 805 n. 6) or that of the black-figured *kýlix* at Florence (T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 76 f. fig. 84 a and b).

[5] *Supra* p. 106 ff. [6] *Infra* Append. P (1).

[7] This is nowhere stated. But the early connexion of Aeolians with Asia Minor (V. G. Childe *The Aryans: A Study of Indo-European Origins* London 1926 p. 47 f., *supra* p. 111 n. 4) and that of Achilles with Leuke (first in the *Aithiopis* of Arktinos *ap.* Prokl. *chrestomath. gramm.* 2 in *Epic. Gr. frag.* i. 34 Kinkel—a source referred by W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 63 and 97 to *s.* viii B.C.) combine to give the surmise some measure of probability. Later, of course, Aiolie was located in the west, being identified with one of the Liparenses Insulae. But K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1032 ff. makes it clear that this transference from Aegean to Sicilian waters was the work of Chalcidian colonists.

W. W. Merry in his note on *Od.* 10. 3 writes: 'May not the whole story of the floating island with its precipitous sides be a poetical reproduction of the story of some Phoenician sailors, who had voyaged far enough to the north to fall in with an iceberg? The sheer face of ice and the glittering summit seem to be perfectly described by the words χάλκεον τεῖχος and λισσὴ ἀναδέδρομε πέτρη.' When it comes to the interpretation of an ancient myth, rationalism is usually wrong (*supra* i. 418). Nevertheless Merry's suggestion should not be scouted; for a perusal of Append. P will suffice to show that the floating islands of the Greeks and Romans have almost invariably some foundation in fact. Moreover, icebergs in the Black Sea are not beyond the pale of possibility. W. B. Carpenter in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[9] Edinburgh 1875 iii. 797 says: 'It is reported...that in 401 A.D. the surface of the Euxine was almost entirely frozen over, and that when the ice broke up enormous masses were seen floating in the Sea of Marmora for thirty days [*Chron. Pasch.* 307 B (i. 568 Dindorf)]. In 762 A.D., again, the sea is said to have been frozen from the

there is good reason to think that Aeolian kings (Salmoneus, Keyx, Ixion, etc.) were at one time regarded as human embodiments of Zeus[1]. Indeed, modern mythology is inclined to conjecture that Aiolos himself began life as an appellative of the same god[2]. It would not, therefore, be surprising to find that in saga expanded from Aeolian lays a favouring wind was deemed the special gift of Zeus, or that the cult of Zeus as sender of such a wind persistently clung to the Aeolian coast-line.

In point of fact both expectations are justified. It is often and, in my opinion, rightly supposed that the Homeric poems were essentially the dactylic lays of Aeolian Thessaly put together in hexameter form by a poet or poets who somewhere on the fringe of Asiatic Aiolis, not improbably at Chios, used an Ionic dialect with an inevitable admixture of Aeolisms[3]. Hence Homer, true to Aeolic

terminal cliffs of the Caucasus to the mouths of the Dniester, Dnieper, and Danube; and contemporary writers assert that the quantity of snow which fell on the ice rose to the height of from 30 to 40 feet, completely hiding the contour of the shores, and that on the breaking up of the ice in the month of February, the masses of it carried by the current into the Sea of Marmora reunited in one immense sheet across the Hellespont between Sestos and Abydos [Theophan. *chron.* i. 670 Classen, Zonar. 15. 7, Glykas *ann.* 4 p. 527 Bekker]. No similar occurrence has been subsequently recorded.' According to *Chambers's Encyclopædia* London and Edinburgh 1923 ii. 206 *s.v.* 'Black Sea,' 'All the coasts are high, with good harbours, except between the mouths of the Danube and the Crimea; there the land is low, and the danger of navigation greatly increased in winter by the presence of floating ice.... The shores from Odessa to the Crimea are ice-bound during January and February; and although the harbour of Odessa is never frozen up, yet the drift-ice frequently renders the entrance to it dangerous.' See further Hdt. 4. 28 (cited Gell. 17. 8. 16, Macrob. *Sat.* 7. 12. 31), Verg. *georg.* 3. 349 ff., Strab. 73 and 307, Ov. *trist.* 3. 10. 31 f., *ex Pont.* 3. 1. 15 f., 4. 9. 85 f., Sen. *H.f.* 539 f., Mela 1. 19. 115, Macrob. *Sat.* 7. 12. 32 f.

[8] *Supra* p. 135. [1] *Supra* ii. 1088, 1122 f. [2] *Supra* p. 107 n. 3.

[3] Literature on the subject is cited and in part criticised by W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 68 f., K. Witte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2220 f., Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 473, P. Cauer *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*[3] Leipzig 1921 i. 136—179. The topic is dealt with here and there by D. Mülder 'Bericht über die Literatur zu Homer (Höhere Kritik) für die Jahre 1912—1919' in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1920 clxxxii. 1—164 and 'Bericht über die Literatur zu Homer (Höhere Kritik) aus den Jahren 1920—1924' *ib.* 1926 ccvii. 1—90, 171—255. I follow the lead of my friend Dr P. Giles in the *Cambridge University Reporter* for March 9, 1915 p. 696, as does that trenchant critic T. W. Allen *Homer: the Origins and the Transmission* Oxford 1924 p. 103 (who, however, will not admit any 'Aeolic lays'). But see now M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 167 ff., who argues afresh that the Homeric language is a '*Kunstsprache*' and concludes a most temperate discussion thus: 'We may surmise that the first Ionic minstrels took over Aeolic epics—but not the songs which we read to-day—perhaps rather mechanically substituting their own dialect and admitting chiefly such Aeolic stock expressions, words, and forms, for which metrically equivalent Ionic forms were wanting. As the songs were constantly rehandled and even new songs composed, the close fusion of Aeolic words and forms with an Ionic basis was the ultimate result. It is impossible to guess how long a time such a process may have taken. We can only be certain that it must have been long,

tradition, recognises Zeus as natural lord and master of the winds. The *Odyssey* speaks of ships 'delighting in the fair breeze of Zeus'[1] or 'driven by the fair breeze of Zeus[2],' and tells how 'Zeus sent a fair breeze' to certain Phoenician mariners[3]. Similar expressions occur in later poetry[4], sometimes with special reference to a westerly gale[5] or to the etesian winds[6].

Again, Zeus as sender of the fair breeze (*oûros*) bore the cult-title *Oúrios* at least as early as 475 B.C. For, writing about that date, Aischylos makes the suppliant Danaïdes appeal to Zeus *Oúrios*[7]. They had travelled far and would fain reach the haven of their desires. Who should waft them on their way, if not the great Argive[8] god from whom through Epaphos they traced their descent[9]?

Zeus *Oúrios* had a sanctuary on the Asiatic side of the Thracian Bosporos[10]. This was known to the Greeks as *Híeron*, the 'Sanctuary' *par excellence*[11]. The *tabula Peutingeriana* at Vienna, a road-map of the Roman world drawn and painted at the beginning of the

because the evolving of such an artificial language is a slow process. We have further to admit that this formation of a traditional epic language took place twice, first in Aeolic dialect and for a second time in the Ionic dialect, the creation of the fundamentally Ionic language of Homer with an Aeolic admixture.' Etc.

[1] *Od.* 5. 176 ἀγαλλόμεναι Διὸς οὔρῳ.

[2] *Od.* 15. 297 ἐπειγομένη Διὸς οὔρῳ. Strab. 350 quotes the passage as reading ἀγαλλομένη Διὸς οὔρῳ, in which form the line recurs in *h. Ap.* 427.

[3] *Od.* 15. 475 ἐπὶ δὲ Ζεὺς οὖρον ἴαλλεν.

[4] Ap. Rhod. 4. 1223 f. ἦλυθε δ' οὖρος | ἀκραὴς ἠῶθεν ὑπὲκ Διός, Tzetz. *antehom.* 97 ἐς Σπάρτην ἐπαγαλλόμενος Διὸς ἦλυθεν οὔροις.

[5] *H. Ap.* 433 f. ἦλθ' ἄνεμος ζέφυρος μέγας αἴθριος, ἐκ Διὸς αἴσης, | λάβρος ἐπαιγίζων ἐξ αἰθέρος, κ.τ.λ.

[6] Ap. Rhod. 2. 498 f. ἦρι δ' ἐτήσιαι (so G. W. Mooney with one of the Paris codd. ἐτήσιοι vulg.) αὖραι ἐπέχραον, αἵ τ' ἀνὰ πᾶσαν | γαῖαν ὁμῶς τοιῇδε Διὸς πνείουσιν ἀρωγῇ (A. H. Matthiae's cj. ἀνωγῇ can claim the support of four Vatican codd.), 2. 524 ff. τοῖο δ' ἔκητι | γαῖαν ἐπιψύχουσιν ἐτήσιαι (so G. W. Mooney for ἐτήσιοι vulg.) ἐκ Διὸς αὖραι | ἤματα τεσσαράκοντα.

[7] Aisch. *suppl.* 591 ff. αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ φυτουργὸς αὐτόχειρ ἄναξ, | γένους παλαιόφρων μέγας | τέκτων, τὸ πᾶν μῆχαρ, οὔριος Ζεύς.

[8] The word μῆχαρ in Aisch. *loc. cit.* hints at the Argive cult of Zeus Μηχανεύς (*supra* ii. 1144 n. 2).

[9] So the context definitely asserts. For detailed proof see the *stemmata* in Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* ii. 234.

[10] Arrian. *peripl. Pont. Eux.* 37 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 401 Müller) ἐκ δὲ Κυανέων ἐπὶ τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Οὐρίου, ἵναπερ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου, στάδιοι τεσσαράκοντα.

[11] Marcian. Heracleens. *epit. peripl. Menipp.* 7 f. (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 568 f. Müller) κατὰ τὸν Θρᾴκιον Βόσπορον καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς τῆς Ἀσίας μέρεσιν, ἅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ Βιθυνῶν ἔθνους, κεῖται χωρίον Ἱερὸν καλούμενον, ἐν ᾧ νεὼς ἐστι Διὸς Οὐρίου προσαγορευόμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἀφετήριόν ἐστι τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλεόντων... ἀπὸ Ἱεροῦ Διὸς Οὐρίου εἰς Ῥήβαν ποταμὸν εἰσὶ στάδιοι ζ′ = anon. *peripl. Pont. Eux.* 1 and 3 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 402 f. Müller). See further E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 752 f. with large-scale map *ib.* 749 f.

thirteenth century, but based on an archetype of 130—150 A.D.[1], duly records the place as *iouis urius* (fig. 57)[2]. The cosmographer of Ravenna, whose seventh-century work, perhaps composed in Greek, is extant in a ninth-century Latin version[3], terms it both *Ieron*[4] and *Urion*[5], while the Italian geographer Guido in 1119 A.D. borrows from him the name *Ieron*[6] or *Hieron*[7]. P. Gilles (Gyllius) in his learned commentary on Dionysios of Byzantion, whose *Voyage up the Bosporos*[8] he had discovered *c.* 1549, gives for the first time a detailed description and history of the spot[9]. E. D. Clarke in 1816 notes that a town in the vicinity bears the name *Joro* or *Joron*[10]. And the Genoese castle at Anatoli Kavaghi is still called

Fig. 57.

[1] M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1899 ii. 1. 288 .

[2] K. Miller *Die Weltkarte des Castorius genannt Die Peutingersche Tafel: Einleitender Text* Ravensburg 1887 p. 96, *id. Weltkarte des Castorius genannt Die Peutinger'sche Tafel* Ravensburg 1888 segmentum ix. 2 (a full-sized reproduction in the original colours, from which my fig. 57 is taken). Note the proximity, in segmentum ix. 3, of the *Ins. Achillis sive Leuce dicta*.

[3] H. Funaioli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 305—310, M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* München 1920 iv. 2. 126. The *Thes. Ling. Lat.* Index p. 89 says: 'saec. fere IX ex exemplo graeco saec. VII versa.'

[4] Ravenn. anon. *cosmogr.* 1. 17 p. 38, 1 Pinder—Parthey.

[5] *Id. ib.* 5. 9 p. 364, 1 Pinder—Parthey.

[6] Guido *geogr.* 100 p. 529, 21 Pinder—Parthey.

[7] *Id. ib.* 121 p. 548, 13 Pinder—Parthey.

[8] A work formerly believed to have been written before 196 A.D. (E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 755), but more probably of later date (H. Berger *ib.* v. 971).

[9] Gyllius *in* Dionys. Byz. *frag.* 47 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* ii. 57 Müller) and *frags.* 58, 59 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* ii. 75—81 Müller). The same fragments are printed in the editions of Dionysios the Byzantine by C. Wescher (Parisiis 1874 p. 27, 5 ff. (lxxv) and p. 29, 16 ff. (xcii, xciii)) and by R. Güngerich (Berolini 1927 p. 27, 16 ff. (75) and p. 29, 30 ff. (92, 93)) without the remarks of Gyllius.

[10] E. D. Clarke *Travels in various countries of Europe Asia and Africa*[4] London 1816 i. 439 n. 4.

by the Turks *Ioros* Kalessi[1]. Here on a bold promontory, commanding both the sequestered bay of Beuyukdere and the broad

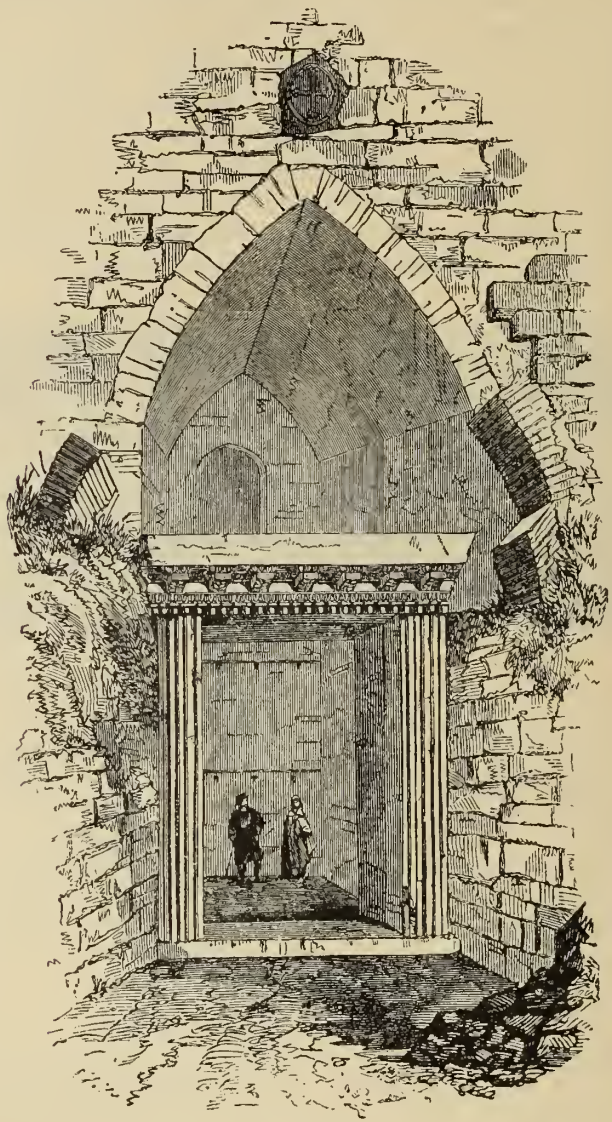


Fig. 58.

waters of the Black Sea, J. Millingen brought to light substantial remains of Greek architecture, which he attributed to the temple

[1] E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 752.

(fig. 58)[1]. These comprise a fine gateway of Parian marble flanked by two columns some 18 ft high; they rest on a great marble threshold and are spanned by a lintel 12 ft 6 ins long and 6 ft broad. Above this rises an archway in the castle-wall, topped by a Byzantine cross; and finally a marble slab on the right-hand tower is inscribed with the ancient formula 'The light of Christ shineth over all[2].' It is possible that a large Ionic capital found by E. D. Clarke on the neighbouring headland of Argyronion came, as he supposed[3], from the same site. Philostratos of Lemnos in the first half of the third century A.D. describes a picture of the Bosporos, and bids us notice various details of its coast-scenery 'until we reach Hieron. And'—he continues—'I think you can see the temple there and *stêlai* set round it and the beacon at the mouth of the straits, hung aloft as a signal to ships sailing from the Pontos[4].' One at least of the said *stêlai*[5] has come down to us—a marble base found by J. Spon and G. Wheler on their Levantine tour (1675—1676) in a house near the church of *Kadi-Kioi* (Kalchedon), and now preserved

[1] J. Millingen in *The Illustrated London News* for Dec. 12, 1863 p. 592 f. with woodcut (=my fig. 58). See further Sir J. E. Sandys' n. on Dem. *Lept.* 36.

[2] R. A. S. Macalister *The Excavation of Gezer 1902—1905 and 1907—1909* London 1912 p. 357 pl. 104, 3 (tomb 147), p. 366 f. pl. 110, 10 (tomb 160), p. 376 f. pl. 118, 16 (tomb 196) and C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*[2] Paderborn 1913 p. 606 publish lamps from Gezer, Jerusalem, etc. with the liturgical phrase *φῶς Χριστοῦ φένι* (=*φαίνει*) *πᾶσιν ἡμῖν* variously distorted, abbreviated, and amplified. Cp. F. Miltner n the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1929 xxiv Beiblatt p. 175 f. no. 77 fig. 74 (*φῶς Χριστοῦ αίνει πᾶσιν ἐν οἴκῳ*). This legend is accompanied by a stylised form of the seven-branched andlestick. I add two similar lamps in my possession, one (fig. 59, *a*, *b*, *c*) said to have ome from Samaria, the other (fig. 60) from *Ain el Sultan* on the site of Jericho. Such amps suggest that the inscription recorded by Millingen had reference to a cresset or eacon—perhaps the *πυρσός* mentioned by Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 1. 12. 5 (*infra* n. 4) and andsomely illustrated in the *tabula Peutingeriana* (*supra* p. 143 fig. 57).

[3] E. D. Clarke *op. cit.*[4] ii. 440 f.: 'We there found the capital of a very antient column, f the *Ionic* order, not less than two feet and an half in diameter. It had been hollowed; nd it now serves as a vase, near to the residence of the Dervish, who relates the idle uperstitions of the country concerning the mountain, and the giant supposed to be there uried' [*sc.* Amykos, as Clarke notes, citing Val. Flacc. 4. 200 gigans. See further H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 327, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* 2000, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 320 n. 5, 570 n. 2, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 42 ff.]. Clarke *ib.*[4] p. 441 n. 6: 'During a subsequent visit to the same place, the author as accompanied by Mons. *Preaux*, artist in the service of Mr. *Spencer Smith*, late linister at the *Porte*. Mons. *Preaux* made a drawing of this *Ionic* capital; which is now Mr. *Smith's* possession.'

[4] Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 1. 12. 5—*ἔστ' ἂν ἐφ' Ἱερὸν ἀφικώμεθα. καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ νεὼν οἶμαι ᾶς καὶ στήλας, αἱ περιίδρυνται* (so C. L. Kayser for *περίδρυνται* Lugd. alt. *παρίδρυνται* cet.) *τῷ, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι πυρσόν, ὃς ἤρτηται* (J. J. Reiske and H. A. Hamaker cjj. *ται*) *ἐς φρυκτωρίαν τῶν νεῶν, αἱ πλέουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου.*

[5] For another see Michaelis in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1864 xxii. 198—202 pl. 192. This slab now at Berlin (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 383 f. no. 945 fig., R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *ie griechische Skulptur*[2] Berlin 1907 p. 173 fig.).

Fig. 59, *a*

Fig. 59, *b*.

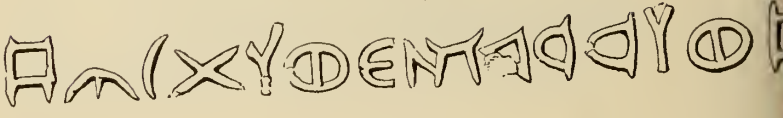


Fig. 59, *c*.

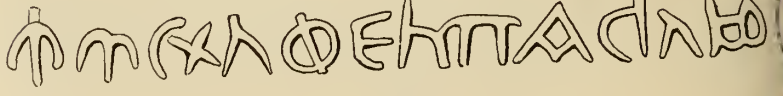


Fig. 60.

in the British Museum (fig. 61)[1]. It once supported a votive statue of Zeus *Oúrios*, and still sings his praises in passable elegiacs:

> The mariner who sets his sail
> For the Blue Eddies, where the gale
> Rolls a big breaker on the sand,
> Or backward bound for fatherland
> Would cross the Aegean—let him call
> From poop to Pilot of us all,
> Zeus of the Fair Breeze, aye and put
> His cakes before this statue's foot;
> For here above the watery waste
> Antipatros' son Philon[2] placed
> The god who meets us as we roam
> With promise of safe voyage home.

ΟΥΡΙΟΝΕΚΠΡΥΜΝΗΣΤΙΣΟΔΗΓΗΤΗΡΑΚΑΛΕΙΤΩ
ΙΗΝΑΚΑΤΑΠΡΟΤΟΝΩΝΙΣΤΙΟΝΕΚΠΕΤΑΣΑΣ
ΕΙΤΕΠΙΚΥΑΝΕΑΣΔΙΝΑΣΔΡΟΜΟΣΕΝΘΑΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ
ΚΑΜΠΥΛΟΝΕΙΛΙΣΣΕΙΚΥΜΑΠΑΡΑΨΑΜΑΘΟΙΣ
ΕΙΤΕΚΑΤΑΙΓΑΙΗΝΠΟΝΤΟΥΠΛΑΚΑΝΟΣΤΟΝΕΡΕΥΝΑΙ
ΝΕΙΣΩΤΩΙΔΕΒΑΛΩΝΨΑΙΣΤΑΠΑΡΑΞΟΑΝΩΙ
ΩΔΕΤΟΝΕΥΑΝΤΗΤΟΝΑΕΙΘΕΟΝΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥΠΑΙΣ
ΣΤΗΣΕΦΙΛΩΝΑΓΑΘΗΣΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΝΕΥΠΛΟΙΗΣ

Fig. 61.

As to the foundation of this popular cult, tradition was twofold. Polybios (*c.* 201—*c.* 120 B.C.) describing the Asiatic shore of the Bosporos begins with 'Hieron, at which place they say that Iason

[1] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3797 = Kaibel *Epig. Gr.* no. 779 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 108 = F. H. Marshall *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iv. 2. 156 f. Oxford 1916 no. 1012 with fig. (= my fig. 61) Οὔριον ἐκ πρύμνης τις ὑφηγητῆρα καλείτω | Ζῆνα κατὰ προτόνων ἱστίον ἐκπετάσας· | εἴτ' ἐπὶ κυανέας δίνας δρόμος, εἴθ' ἁπὸ Ποσειδῶν | καμπύλον εἰλίσσει κῦμα παρὰ ψαμάθοις, | εἴτε κατ' Αἰγαίην πόντου πλάκα βώστον ἐρευνᾶι, | νείσῳθω τῷιδε βαλὼν ψαιστὰ παρ' ξοάνωι. | ὧδε τὸν εὐάντητον ἀεὶ θεὸν Ἀντιπάτρου παῖς | στῆσε Φίλων, ἀγαθῆς σύμβολον εὐπλοίης.

[2] F. Bücheler in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1881 xxxvi. 338 ff. identifies this Philon with the Philon Antas of a sepulchral inscription at Brundisium published by G. Fiorelli in *Not. Scavi* 1880 p. 255, a : Philon | Antas Antipatri | Tyri filius v(ixit) a(nnos) LX | h(ic) situs) | Marcia C. l. Syntyche. His father, Antipatros of Tyre, was presumably the Stoic philosopher who died at Athens shortly before 44 B.C. (H. von Arnim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2516). He in turn appears to have been descended from Antipatros of Chalkedon, the epigrammatist, who was born at Tyre (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 428. 11 f. Meleagros) and flourished *c.* 150—120 B.C. (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 327). On this showing the inscription from Chalkedon may be dated at the end of *s.* i B.C. or the beginning of *s.* i A.D. Hence too the poetic merits of Philon, who perhaps—as Bücheler conjectured—chose to describe Zeus by the rare epithet *εὐάντητος* on account of his own name Ἀντᾶς.

on his return from Kolchis first sacrificed to the twelve gods'[1]. Pomponius Mela (*c.* 43/4 A.D.) puts it more curtly: 'The god of the temple is Zeus, its founder Iason[2].' But Timosthenes of Rhodes, who commanded the fleet of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos, makes the altar to the twelve gods a dedication of Phrixos[3]. And Dionysios of Byzantion recognises two sanctuaries, one on the European, the other on the Asiatic, side of the strait. Of the former he notes: 'They say that here Iason sacrificed to the twelve gods'[4]. Of the latter he states: 'Hieron, the "Sanctuary," was built by Phrixos, son of Nephele and Athamas, on his voyage to Kolchis'[5]. The founder, then, was either Iason or Phrixos. Both attributions amount to much the same thing. For Iason was son of Aison, son of Kretheus, son of Aiolos; while Phrixos was son of Athamas, son of Aiolos[6]. The cult was essentially Aeolian, and Zeus *Oúrios* was but a later religious manifestation of Aiolos himself.

If Zeus *Oúrios* may thus be traced back to a buried tribal ancestor, we can understand an otherwise puzzling feature of his art-type—its markedly heroic character. The Zeus *Oúrios* whose statue Verres carried off from Syracuse was known to the Romans as *Imperator*[7], and is almost certainly represented on a Syracusan coin as a dignified male figure leaning upon his spear[8]. As such he closely resembles the Zeus *Strategós* of Amastris in Paphlagonia[9]. We divine that the old warrior-king, who had led his Aeolians to victory during life, continued to supply them with favouring winds after death, and sent the same from his island-home in the Black Sea.

[1] Polyb. 4. 39. [2] Mela 1. 101.

[3] Timosthenes *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 532 (Τιμοσθένης cod. Paris. Δημοσθένης vulg.), cp. Harpokr. *s.v.* ἐφ' Ἱερόν (Τιμοσθένης vulg. Δημοσθένης codd. B.G.), Souid. *s.v.* Ἐφίερον (*leg.* ἐφ' Ἱερόν, cp. [Dem.] *c. Polycl.* 17, 18, 58).

[4] Dionys. Byz. *frag.* 47 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 57 Müller).

[5] Dionys. Byz. *frag.* 58 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 75 Müller).

[6] *Stemmata* in Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* ii. 223 f.

[7] Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 4. 128 quoted *supra* ii. 917 n. o. Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 4. 129 f. knew o three statues representing Zeus Οὔριος = Iupiter *Imperator*: (1) a statue brought fro Makedonia *c.* 197 B.C. by T. Quinctius Flamininus and dedicated on the Capitol at Rom (Liv. 6. 29 makes it brought from Praeneste to Rome in 380 B.C. by T. Quinctius Cincin natus—an obvious blunder copied by the so-called P. Victor *de regionibus urbis Roma* reg. 8. 49 signum Iovis imperatoris a Praeneste devectum (in H. Jordan *Topographie de Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 308)); (2) the statue on the shore of the Bosporos (3) that stolen by Verres from Syracuse.

The cjj. Iovis *Imbricitoris* (cp. Apul. *de mundo* 37), *Imp.* (= *Impuberis*!), *Temperatoris* and *Induperatoris*, recorded by A. Drakenborch on Liv. 6. 29, are all examples of ingenuit misplaced.

[8] *Supra* ii. 708 fig. 643. [9] *Supra* ii. 707 figs. 639—641, ii. 918 n. o.

It is not difficult to imagine the prayers that would be addressed to this helpful deity. Somewhere in his precinct stood the bronze effigy of a boy with outstretched arms, about which gathered a variety of idle tales[1]. It is probable that a copy of it, if not the original, has come down to us in the 'Praying Boy' of the Berlin Museum (fig. 63)[2]—a masterpiece justly identified[3] with the *adorans* by

[1] Dionys. Byz. *frag.* 59 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* ii. 78 f.) 'in fano...statua aerea est antiquae artis, aetatem puerilem prae se ferens, tendens manus. causae multae afferuntur, cur haec statua sit in hanc figuram conformata. quidam...aiunt audaciae signum esse navigantium, deterrens temeritatem navigationis periculis plenam, atque ostendens redeuntium salutis felicitatem et pietatem: non enim sine terrore utrumque est. alii dicunt puerum in littore errantem aliquanto post venisse quam e portu navis soluta esset, salutisque desperatione affectum manus ad caelum tendere; pueri autem preces deum exaudientem reduxisse navem in portum. alii aiunt in magna maris tranquillitate, omni vento silente, nave diu retardata, nautas inopia potus laborasse; navarcho autem visionem insedisse iubentem ut navarchus filium suum sacrificaret, non enim alio modo posse assequi commeatum et ventos: navarcho necessitate coacto et parato puerum sacrificare, manus quidem puerum tetendisse, deum vero misericordia motum ob absurdum pueri supplicium obque pueri aetatem sustulisse puerum et ventum secundum immisisse. haec quidem et his contraria, ut cuique placuerit, credibilia existimentur.' Dionysios' gossiping explanations run from bad to worse. The third, and worst, works in reminiscences of Agamemnon at Aulis, Abraham and Isaac, Zeus and Ganymedes!

Gyllius *ad loc.* cp. Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 1. 12. 3. But the passage (καὶ ὁ Ἔρως ἐπὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τείνει τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, κ.τ.λ.) alludes to a wholly different figure (B. Sauer in *Philologus* 1908 lxvii. 306 f., H. Lucas in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1912 xxix. 119). E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 752 ('anscheinend dieselbe' etc.) is definitely wrong.

[2] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 2 ff. no. 2 with fig. (bibliography to 1891). Good illustrations are given by Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Skulpt.* pl. 283, H. Bulle *Der schöne Mensch im Altertum*[2] München und Leipzig 1912 p. 122 pl. 64, F. Winter *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*[2] Leipzig (1925) i. 340 fig. 3. See also Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 483 f. fig. 252, R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*[2] Berlin 1907 p. 269 ff. fig., C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 200 with figs. 82, 229. My fig. 63 is from the Brunn—Bruckmann photograph, but a fresh restoration of the arms (*infra* p. 151 n. 4) is needed, which should square with J. D. Ramberg's drawing of the unrestored statue as published by A. Conze in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 9 fig. (=my fig. 62).

Fig. 62.

[3] L. Stephani *Parerga archaeologica* St Petersburg 1851—1876 no. 2, B. Sauer 'Der Betende des Boedas' in *Philologus* 1908 lxvii. 304—310, H. Lucas 'Der betende Knabe des Boidas' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1912 xxix. 112—123 with pl. of 9 figs., H. Lechat '*Boédas* (ou *Boïdas*)' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1913 pp. 153—155.

The history of the Berlin bronze is discussed by A. Conze 'Der betende Knabe in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 1—13 with figs., *id.* 'Zum betenden Knaben' *ib.* p. 223, A. Furtwängler 'Zum betenden Knaben' *ib.* pp. 217—219 with fig. (=my fig. 64), O. Puchstein 'Zum betenden Knaben' *ib.* pp. 219—

Fig. 63.

Bronze statuette from Ephesos, now at Queens' College, Cambridge: a praying Negro.

See page 151 *n.* 4.

Boïdas[1] of Byzantion[2], son and pupil of Lysippos[3]. The boy uplifts his face towards Zeus and, with hands turned outwards in the customary attitude of prayer[4], asks for the fair breeze to speed him on his way. This, the most spiritual of all extant Greek bronzes[5], is of course a votive offering, public or private, and stands for the success of some venturesome quest. One thinks of Pindar's Iason[6]:

> A golden bowl he took, and at the stern
> Called on the Father of the Sons of Heaven—
> Zeus of the Lightning-Lance,
> Called on quick waves and winds' advance,
> Called on the nights and tracks thro' deep seas driven,
> For friendly days and fortune-blest return.

Nevertheless it would be rash to identify the 'Praying Boy' with Iason, or—as L. Stephani suggested[7]—with Phrixos. He is a Lysippian modification of an earlier athletic type[8]. More than that

223; its technique, by E. Pernice in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi. 223—225 fig. 97.

[1] H. Lucas *loc. cit.* p. 118, H. Lechat *loc. cit.* p. 154.

[2] Vitr. 3 *praef.* 2. [3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 66, cp. 73.

[4] E. Voulliéme (*sic*) *Quomodo veteres adoraverint* Halis Saxonum 1887 p. 26 ff. ('De gestu manuum sublatarum') gives a very full collection of literary passages and concludes: 'Precantes brachiis in eandem regionem ita ad caelum sublatis, ut palmae inter se aspiciant, eas pariter resupinabant, quo modo ita vertuntur, ut ad caelum spectent.' *Id. ib.* p. 36 ff. adds a survey of the monumental evidence and a pl. of the Berlin 'Praying Boy' with arms correctly restored. See also C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 305 ff. and the bronze statuette (height $4\frac{3}{8}$ ins) of a Praying Negro, from Ephesos, now in my collection (pl. xx).

[5] The interpretation of it as a ball-player about to catch a ball (J. J. Cornelissen 'Archaeologica' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1878 vi. 424—431, W. Raabe *The Hunger-Pastor* trans. Arnold London 1885 ii. 34, A. Mau 'Der betende Knabe' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1902 xvii. 101—106) is incompatible with the position of the arms (M. Goepel in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix Arch. Anz. p. 187, *id.* 'Zum betenden Knaben und zur springenden Amazone' *ib.* 1905 xx. 108 ff., H. Lucas in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1912 xxix. 113) and grotesquely inadequate. Some critics have no souls.

To group the statue as a suppliant with that of a warrior brandishing lance and shield (A. Herzog *Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* Leipzig 1888 p. 40, cp. two bronzes represented on the *kýlix* by 'the Foundry Painter' (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 593 ff. no. 2294, Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 81—86 pl. 135, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 454 f. no. 1, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 187 no. 2)), or as Taras with that of a colossal Poseidon (H. Willers *Studien zur griechischen Kunst* Leipzig 1914 pp. 125—159 with pls. 9—13 ('Der betende Knabe vor Poseidon')), is a risky, not to say a reckless, expedient.

[6] Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 193 ff.

[7] L. Stephani *Parerga archaeologica* St Petersburg 1851—1876 no. 2 cited by A. Conze in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 11 n. 25 and B. Sauer in *Philologus* 1908 lxvii. 304 n. 1.

[8] A. Furtwängler 'Zum betenden Knaben' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 217—219 with fig. (= my fig. 64) of a beautifully cut, but badly flaked, cornelian at Berlin (*id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 257 no. 6905 pl. 51, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 44, 32, ii. 214),

Fig. 64.

we do not know. Yet it may be permitted us to wonder whether the fame of this solitary figure standing with outstretched arms on the shore of the strait reached the ears of Virgil and prompted one of the most wonderful couplets in the *Aeneid*, his description of the souls on the banks of Acheron:

> *stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum*
> *tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore*[1].
> They stood and prayed to be first ferried o'er,
> Yearning with outstretched hands for the further shore.

Be that as it may, there was inspiration both literal and metaphorical about Zeus *Oúrios*, and the poets were duly impressed. The epigram of Philon[2] can be capped by another of Meleagros[3]:

> Sea-going ships that thread the Dardanelles
> Deep-laden, while the north your canvass swells,
> If on the Coan shore ye chance to see
> My Phanion looking o'er bright waves for me,
> Say this to her, good ships,—Love speeds me fast:
> I come afoot, waiting no other blast.
> Should you thus bear my message without fail,
> Zeus of the Fair Breeze fill your every sail.

Merchants trading with the Euxine introduced the cult of Zeus *Oúrios* to Delos[4], where it acquired an almost cosmopolitan character. Worshippers from far and near linked the name of this Zeus with those of their own special deities and recorded their vows *in primis* to him. Thus a citizen of Askalon, who had escaped from pursuing pirates[5], attested his gratitude by erecting a neat little cylindrical altar inscribed in lettering of *s.* i B.C. (fig. 65)[6]:

which gives us 'die Vorstellung von einer älteren Stufe derselben Composition.' Scale: rather less than $\frac{2}{1}$.

[1] Verg. *Aen.* 6. 313 f.

[2] *Supra* p. 147.

[3] *Anth. Pal.* 12. 53. 1—8 Meleagros. In the last two lines W. R. Paton prints εἰ γὰρ τοῦτ' εἴποιτ', εὐάγγελοι (so N. Piccolos for εὖ τέλοι cod. with space after εὖ), αὐτίκα καὶ Ζεὺς | οὔριος ὑμετέρας πνεύσεται εἰς ὀθόνας. Other emendations are discussed by F. Dübner *ad loc.*

[4] P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Delos du III*e *au I*er *siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 152, *id. Délos, colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 275.

[5] On the prevalence of these pests in the Aegean during *s.* ii—i B.C. see J. M. Sestier *La piraterie dans l'antiquité* Paris 1880.

[6] C. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1909 pp. 307—317 with fig., G. Leroux in *Délos* ii. 1. 58 fig. 81 (= my fig. 65). The altar (height 0·53m: lower diameter 0·41m), found during August 1907 in a Byzantine wall to the south of the 'Hypostyle Hall,' is inscribed: Διὶ Οὐρίωι καὶ Ἀστάρτηι Παλαιστίνηι, | (Clermont-Ganneau here wrongly inserts καί) Ἀφροδίτηι Οὐρανίαι, θεοῖς ἐπηκόοις, | Δάμων Δημητρίου Ἀσκαλωνίτης, | σωθεὶς ἀπὸ πειρατῶν, | εὐχήν and in smaller lettering οὐ θεμιτὸν δὲ προσάγειν | αἴγειον, ὑϊκόν, βοὸς θηλείας.

To Zeus *Oúrios* and Astarte *Palaistíne*,
Aphrodite *Ouranía*, Hearers of Prayer,
Damon, son of Demetrios, an Askalonite,
being saved from pirates
(paid) this vow.

It is not lawful here to bring
goat's flesh, swine's flesh, or aught of the cow.

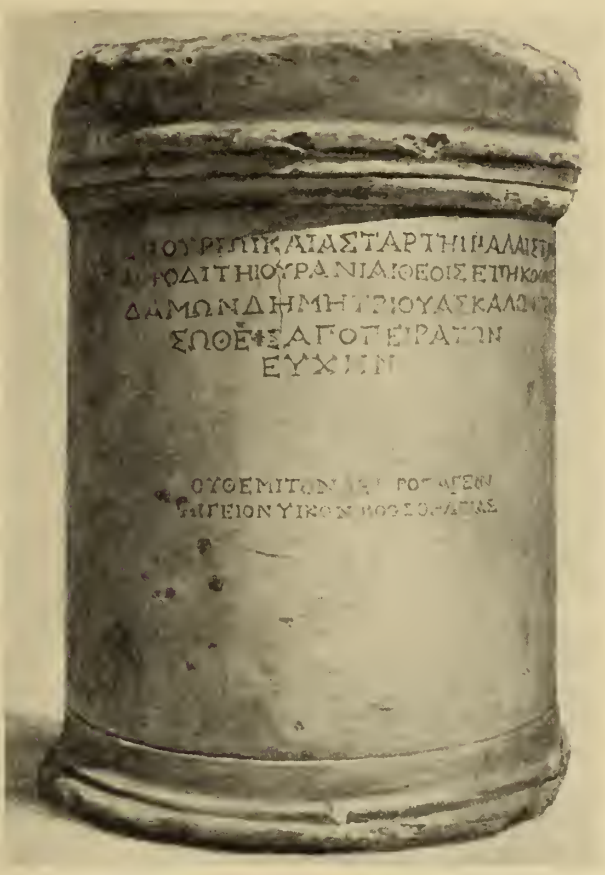


Fig. 65.

The associates of Zeus *Oúrios* are two goddesses, who in function must have borne a rough resemblance to each other, Astarte *Palaistíne* and Aphrodite *Ouranía*. The former appears for the first time in this inscription: she was perhaps the patron-deity of the port (Iamneia? Ioppe?) to which Damon's ship belonged, or possibly

the figure-head of the good ship herself. The latter goddess had a celebrated temple at Askalon[1], Damon's native city.

Dedications to Zeus *Oúrios*, which date from the closing years of the second century B.C., have been found in the Egyptian sanctuary on a terrace to the north-west of Mount Kynthos[2]. There two Athenian brothers, about the year 112—111 B.C., erected a cylindrical base to Zeus *Oúrios*, Sarapis, [Isis,] Anoubis, Harpokrates[3]. Of greater interest was another dedication[4]—

> To Zeus *Oúrios* on behalf of King
> Mithradates Eupator
> and his brother
> Mithradates Chrestos
> and their
> fortunes.

The bluish marble slab thus inscribed was discovered, in front of a small marble pedestal or altar of irregular shape, to the east of the paved way leading through the precinct[5]. Mithradates vi Eupator (120—63 B.C.) was associated in the government of Pontos first with his mother Laodike and then, for a short while in 111 B.C.[6], with his younger brother Mithradates Chrestos. But being of a bloodthirsty and cruel disposition he let his mother die in prison and murdered his brother[7]. The prayer to Zeus 'of the Fair Breeze' for one who was heading straight towards family shipwreck sounds to us almost grimly ironical. A third dedication, by a native of Velia in Lucania, is a white marble base of the year 107—106 (?) B.C., which was found on the eastern slope of the Inopos ravine,

[1] Hdt. 1. 105, Paus. 1. 14. 7.

[2] A. Hauvette-Besnault 'Fouilles de Délos. Temple des dieux étrangers' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 295—352 with plate 11 (ground-plan, etc.), L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2473, P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III^e au I^er siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916, *id. Délos, colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 pp. 249—252, *id. Délos* Paris 1925 p. 33 f. We still await the definitive publication of this important precinct.

[3] P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III^e au I^er siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 152 no. 129 ['A]θη[ναγό]ρα[s] καὶ Λε[ωνίδης] | [οἱ 'A]θηναγόρ[ου] 'Aθ[ηναῖοι] | Διὶ Οὐρίωι, Σαράπι[δι, Ἴσιδι,] | ['A]νούβιδι, 'Αρποκράτε[ι].

[4] A. Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi, 343 no. 57 = T. Reinach *Mithridate Eupator roi de Pont* Paris 1890 p. 457 no. 5 = Michel *Recueil d' Inscr. gr.* no. 1160 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 368 = P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III^e au I^er siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 156 f. no. 134 Διὶ Οὐρίωι ὑπὲρ βασι[λέως] | Μιθραδάτου Εὐπάτορος | καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ | Μιθραδάτου Χρηστοῦ | καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων | αὐτῶν.

[5] The pedestal is K, the paved way V, on the plan (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 301 ff. pl. 11).

[6] T. Reinach *Mithridate Eupator roi de Pont* Paris 1890 p. 457 n. 1.

[7] Memnon περὶ Ηρακλείας 15 *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 541 Müller) *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 230 b 1 ff. Bekker, Appian. *Mithr.* 112.

below the sanctuary of the foreign gods[1]. A fourth is a small base of white marble with a square hole for insertion or attachment. It is dated to the year 105—104 or 104—103 B.C.[2], and was set up by a citizen of Nymphaion (*Eltegen*) on the western shore of the Bosporos Kimmerios[3] as a thank-offering to Zeus *Oúrios*, Sarapis, Isis, Anoubis, and Harphokrates (*sic*)[4] on behalf of himself, his son, and—a noteworthy touch of altruism—all that go down to the sea in ships.

At a point near the south-west angle of the 'Hypostyle Hall' was found the fragment of a circular altar, bearing a dedication to Zeus *Oúrios* in letters of *c.* 100 B.C.[5] Lastly, a wall of late date built against the south wall of the 'Hypostyle Hall' contained a quadrangular block of white marble with two square holes for insertion on its upper surface. The front of the block bore a carefully cut bilingual dedication of *c.* 110 B.C. by the Hermaïstai, Apolloniastai, and Poseidoniastai to Zeus *Oúrios* or—as his name was translated by the Roman merchants—Iupiter *Sequndanus*[6].

[1] P. Roussel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 426 f. no. 32, *id. Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III^e au I^er siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 163 no. 148 (revised reading) – – – – – – – – σι . . λ – – | – – – – – ους Ἐλεάτη[ς] | [Διὶ] Οὐρίωι ε[ὐχ]ήν, [ἐπὶ] | [ἱε]ρέως Ἀπ[ο]λλο[δω]|ρου τοῦ Ἀπ[ο]λλο[δω]|ρου Κρωπίδου, [κλει]|δουχοῦ[ν]τος [Ποσει]|δωνίου τοῦ [Γηρο]|στράτου Πει[ραιέως,]|ζακ[ο]ρεύο[ντος]|[Ν]ικίου.

[2] A. Hauvette—Besnault in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 328 no. 22 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 758, *ib.*[3] no. 1126 = P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III^e au I^er siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 165 f. no. 153 Εὔτυχος Ἀπολ[λ]ων(ί)ου Νυμφαίτη[ς]| ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Εὐβο(ύ)λο[υ]| καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλοϊζομένων πάντων | Διὶ Οὐρίωι, Σαράπιδι, Ἴσιδι, Ἀνούβιδι, Ἁρ|φοκράτει, θεοῖς συννάοις καὶ συμ|βώμοις, ἐπὶ ἱερέως Θεομνήστου | τοῦ Θεογένου Κυδαθηναιέως, | ζακορεύοντος Νυσίου, | χαριστήριον.

[3] E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 560 f.

[4] Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 559, 12 n., *ib.*[3] no. 977[3], 12 n. points out that the aspirate properly belonging to the latter part of the Egyptian *Harpechrat* (E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2746) or *Har-pe-chrod* (M. Pieper in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2410) and recognised in the variants Ἁρποχράτα (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 591, 1 Larissa in Thessaly), Ἁρποχράτει (*Inscr. Gr. Deli* iv no. 1260, 4, *alib.*) has here and elsewhere been transferred to the former part of Ἁρφοκράτης in order to assimilate the divine name to the frequent termination -κράτης. Further changes produced the normal Ἁρποκράτης and even the abnormal Καρποκράτης (E. Sittig in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1913 xlv. 242—245).

[5] P. Roussel and J. Hatzfeld in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 510 no. 26 Διὶ Οὐρίωι | – – –τον ΔΙΑ (? τὸν Δία).

[6] P. Roussel and J. Hatzfeld in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 496 ff. no. 16 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 9237

C. Heius T.f. Libo	L. Pompilius [L.f.]
Q. Saufeius P.f. Treb.	A. Cottius N.f.
L. Veturius P.f.	M. Umbricius M.f.
D. Ampius Q. l.	L. Aufidius L.C. l. Dorot. minor
L. Paconius L.l. Trup.	C. Seius Cn. l. Heracleo
Ti. Maecius L.l.	Cn. Tutorius P. l. Olumpiod.

magistreis de sua pecunia Iovei Sequndano.

This curious title was known already from a passage of Martianus Capella[1], which assigns Iupiter *Secundanus* together with Iovis Opulentia and Minerva to the third of the sixteen regions of the sky recognised in Etruscan lightning-lore[2]. Since the series commences with the north, the third division of the first quarter[3] would correspond with the sector N.E. to E.N.E. of our mariner's compass, and this (north-east by east) is just the direction of a wind blowing down the Dardanelles. The inscription equating Iupiter *Sequndanus* with Zeus *Oúrios* explains in fact Capella's epithet, which had previously puzzled the commentators[4].

Moreover, it adds point to a well known phrase of Catullus[5]. He is telling how his yacht brought him safely from Bithynia to Italy in 56 B.C.:

> And thence through all the seas that break
> She bore her master well,
> Whether the breeze her sail would shake
> And left or right compel,
> Or Jove who followed in her wake
> Full on the canvas fell.

The poet's use of Iupiter *Secundus* is obviously a variation on the more prosaic and technical Iupiter *Secundanus*. The homeward journey through the Bosporos[6] was sped, appropriately enough, by the god whom we have seen identified with Zeus *Oúrios*[7]. And the

Γάιος Ἥιος Τίτου υἱὸς Λίβων, | Λεύκιος Πομπίλιος Λευκίου υἱός, | Κόιντος Σαυφήιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Τρεβιανός, | Αὖλος Κόττιος Νεμερίου υἱός, | Λεύκιος Οὐετόριος Ποπλίου υἱός, | Μάαρκος Ὀμβρίκιος Μαάρκου υἱός, | Δέκμος Ἄμπιος Κοίντου, | Λεύκιος Αὐφίδιος Λευκίου καὶ Γαίου Δωρόθεος νεώτερος, | Λεύκιος Πακώνιος Λευκίου Τρύφων, | Γάιος Σήιος Γναίου Ἡρακλέων, | Τεβέριος Μαίκιος Λευκίου, | Γναῖος Τουτώριος Ποπλίου Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, |

οἱ Ἑρμαισταὶ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιασταὶ καὶ Ποσειδωνιασταὶ (Dessau reads Ποσιδωνιασταὶ) | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Διὶ Οὐρίωι ἀνέθηκαν.

[1] Mart. Cap. 47 nam Iovis Secundani et Iovis Opulentiae Minervaeque domus illic (*sc.* in tertia regione caeli) sunt constitutae. sed omnes circa ipsum Iovem fuerant in praesenti.

[2] C. O. Thulin *Die etruskische Disciplin* i. *Die Blitzlehre* Göteborg 1906 p. 16 ff. ('Die 16 Himmelsregionen'), *id. Die Götter des Martianus Capella und der Bronzeleber von Piacenza* Gieszen 1906 p. 62 ff. ('Das System der 12 Loci,' cp. A. Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 p. 280 ff.).

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 143.

[4] See U. F. Kopp's n. on Mart. Cap. 47. He cp. Mart. Cap. 51 sed etiam Liber ac Secundanus Pales vocantur ex septima (*sc.* regione caeli).

[5] Cat. 4. 18 ff. et inde tot per impotentia freta | erum tulisse, laeva sive dextera | vocaret aura, sive utrumque Iupiter | simul secundus incidisset in pedem.

[6] The stages marked are Mt Kytoros (11 ff.), Amastris in Paphlagonia (13), the Pontos (9), the Propontis (8 f.), Rhodes (8), the Kyklades (7), and the Adriatic (6 f.). But we know that Catullus *en route* for home made offerings at his brother's tomb in the Troad (Cat. 65. 5 ff., 68a. 19 ff., 68b. 49 ff., 101. 1 ff.).

[7] *Supra* p. 155.

religious interest of the passage lies in the fact that the wind astern is distinctly conceived as Zeus or Iupiter in person. The wind is his spirit, the spirit—let us say—of a tribal chief, long since dead and buried, but rightly named Aiolos[1].

It is possible that some such conception underlies the remarkable epithet of Zeus *íkmenos*, 'who follows in our wake'[2]. The Homeric poems apply this participle exclusively to the *oûros* or 'fair breeze' sent by Apollon[3], Athena[4], and Kirke[5], which is on occasion personified and described as 'a good companion'[6]. But Eustathios goes further and quotes from an unspecified source the significant expression 'Zeus *íkmenos*'[7], perhaps the product of some late epic poet, who had in mind Iupiter *Sequndanus* or *Secundus*.

Again, a parallel may be found in the case of Androgeos. L. Weber[8] has drawn attention to the very ancient character of this mythical figure, whom he believes to have been originally a Cretan god, transplanted to Attike and there transformed, first into a hero possessed of chthonian powers, and last into a human prince affiliated to Minos. I should prefer to invert the sequence god, hero, man, and to regard Androgeos as *ab initio* a mortal, heroified after death and worshipped in the Kerameikos under the name *Eurygýes*[9]. Such an appellative was, not improbably, employed from the outset, as a means of avoiding the actual name of the dead[10]. After all,

[1] *Supra* pp. 141, 148.

[2] On the relation of ἴκμενος to ἵκω, ἱκνέομαι, etc. see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 195, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 370 f., K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 365, F. Bechtel *Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a. d. S. 1914 p. 175.

[3] *Il.* 1. 479. [4] *Od.* 2. 420=15. 292, cp. 15. 34 f.

[5] *Od.* 11. 6 ff. = 12. 148 ff.

[6] *Od.* 11. 7=12. 149 ἴκμενον οὖρον ἵει πλησίστιον, ἐσθλὸν ἑταῖρον.

[7] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 964, 63 f. ὅθεν ἄνεμος ἔσται, ὃς ἐξ ἰκμάδος καὶ τοιαύτης ὕλης τὴν σύστασιν ἔχει. ὅθεν καὶ ἴκμενος οὖρος καὶ Ζεὺς φασιν ἴκμενος. It is tempting to infer from the first sentence that Zeus ἴκμενος is a mere blunder for Zeus Ἰκμαῖος (*infra* §8 (c)). But in view of Iupiter *Sequndanus* or *Secundus* the inference would be precarious.

[8] L. Weber 'Androgeos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 34—44, 229—251, *id.* 'Kerameikos-Kulte' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 145.

[9] Hesych. *s.v.* ἐπ' Εὐρυγύῃ ἀγών· Μελησαγόρας (Amelesagoras *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 22 Müller)) τὸν Ἀνδρόγεων Εὐρυγύην (so Musurus for ἀνδρόγεον εὐρύνη cod.) εἰρῆσθαί φησι τὸν Μίνωος, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα τίθεσθαι <τὸν (*inserui*)> ἐπιτάφιον Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ. καὶ Ἡσίοδος (*frag.* 106 Flach, 104 Rzach)· Εὐρυγύης δ' ἔτι κοῦρος (K. W. Goettling cj. ἐπίκουρος, R. Peppmüller cj. ἐπίουρος cp. *Il.* 13. 450) Ἀθηνάων (so J. G. Hermann for Ἀθηναίων cod.) ἱεράων (cp. *Od.* 11. 323). Melesagoras was a legendary Eleusinian seer (Max. Tyr. *diss.* 38. 3), on whom was fathered an *Atthís* perhaps composed as early as *s.* v B.C. (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1822, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 454 n. 1).

[10] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 349 ff. ('Names of the Dead tabooed'), E. Clodd *Magic in Names* London 1920 p. 121 ff. ('Mana in Names of the Dead').

Andrógeos, 'The man of earth'[1], might fairly be dubbed *Eurygýes*, 'He of the broad acres'[2]. It should also be noticed that the names *Andrógeos* and *Eurygýes* are Greek, not pre-Greek; which means that we have to do with a genuine Hellenic, not 'Minoan,' hero. It is therefore interesting to find that at Phaleron, where he had an altar, he was worshipped not only as a nameless 'hero'[3], but also more definitely as 'the hero astern'[4]. This expression might no doubt be taken to imply that an actual effigy of Androgeos was fixed on the vessel's poop[5], like that of the bifrontal Lithuanian *Wejopatis*[6] or those of the dwarfish Phoenician *Pátaikoi*[7] (figs. 68, 69)[8].

[1] W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 87 'Erdmann.'

[2] *Eid. ib.* i. 420 'Breitefeld, wo nicht *Breitwirbel, wie Breitkopf,' F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1328 'Der Besitzer des weiten Saatfeldes (ἡ γύα) ist der Unterweltsgott oder sein heroischer Stellvertreter.' But F. Bechtel—A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 p. 385: '-γύης zu γύα "Hand"? Vgl. ἐγγύη, γύαλον; ἐγγυαλίζω. Εὐρυ-γύης hiess auch 'Ανδρό-γεως (-γηος?).'

[3] Paus. 1. 1. 4 ἔστι δὲ (*sc.* at Phaleron) καὶ 'Ανδρόγεω βωμὸς τοῦ Μίνω, καλεῖται δὲ Ἥρωος· 'Ανδρόγεω δὲ ὄντα ἴσασιν οἷς ἐστιν ἐπιμελὲς τὰ ἐγχώρια σαφέστερον ἄλλων ἐπίστασθαι.

[4] Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 40. 2 p. 30, 20 Stählin τιμᾶται δέ τις καὶ Φαληροῖ κατὰ πρύμναν ἥρως with schol. *ad. loc.* p. 309, 13 ff. Stählin Φαληρεὺς λιμὴν τῆς 'Αττικῆς· ὁ δὲ κατὰ πρύμνας ἥρως 'Ανδρόγεώς ἐστιν, υἱὸς Μίνωος, οὕτως ὀνομασθεὶς ὅτι κατὰ τὰς πρύμνας τῶν νηῶν ἵδρυτο. καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν δ' τῶν Αἰτίων μέμνηται (*frag.* 33[b] Schneider = Αἴτια 4 *frag.* 3 Schneider, A. W. Mair).

[5] So schol. Clem. Al. *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 4).

[6] *Supra* ii. 445 n. 1.

[7] Hdt. 3. 37 ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου (*sc.* Ptaḥ at Memphis: *supra* i. 433, ii. 34 n. 1) τῷγαλμα τοῖσι Φοινικηίοισι Παταΐκοισι ἐμφερέστατον, τοὺς οἱ Φοίνικες ἐν τῇσι πρώρῃσι τῶν τριηρέων περιάγουσι. ὃς δὲ τούτους μὴ ὄπωπε, ὧδε σημανέω· πυγμαίου ἀνδρὸς μίμησις ἐστί. The lexicographers place these little figures on the poop, not the prow (Hesych. *s.v.* Πάταικοι (so M. Schmidt for Παταΐκοι cod., cp. Herodian. περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας 6 (i. 151, 9 Lentz) Πάταικος, *id.* περὶ ὀρθογραφίας (ii. 424, 18 Lentz) Πάταικος, Theognost. Byz. *can.* 326 in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 60, 25 f. Πάταικος)· θεοὶ Φοίνικες, οὓς ἱστᾶσι κατὰ τὰς πρύμνας τῶν νεῶν, Souid. *s.v.* Πάταικοι· θεοὶ Φοινικικοὶ ἐν ταῖς πρύμναις ἱδρυμένοι). But Herodotos' statement is borne out by the numismatic evidence (*infra* n. 8).

Pataikos appears to have been the Phoenician form of the Egyptian Ptaḥ (see J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1675 ff.) in the misshapen, but negrillo rather than 'embryonic,' type Ptaḥ-Seker (Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 243 ff. pls. 98, 1, 99, 1—4, 100, 1—5, 101, 2, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 418 ff. fig. 293), which from the eighteenth dynasty down to Ptolemaic times often occurs as an amulet (A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 76 fig. 51, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Amulets* London 1914 p. 38 pl. 31 fig. 176 *a*—*m*, pl. 46 fig. 176 *n*, *p*, pl. 47 fig. 176 *o*. I illustrate a single and a double amulet of Ptaḥ-Seker, in green glaze, from my collection (figs. 66, 67)) and presumably served a prophylactic purpose. On Ptaḥ-Seker as a dwarfish deified ancestor see further H. R. Hall in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 441 b, D. MacRitchie *ib.* 1912 v. 123 a, 126 a, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *ib.* 1912 v. 249 a, G. Foucart *ib.* 1912 v. 855 a, 856 a. Such an *apotrópaion* would be useful on land as well as at sea, cp. Hesych. *s. vv.* Γιγγρών (so M. Schmidt for Γιγνῶν cod., cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1599, 1 Γιγγρών, p. 1880, 64 Γιγρών), οἱ δὲ Γιγῶν· Πάταικος ἐπιτραπέζιος (so J. Selden for παταϊκὸς ἐπιπαταϊκὸς τραπέζιος cod.). οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιον Ἡρακλέα and Εὐφράδης· Πάταικος ἐπιτραπέζιος (so M. Musurus for παταϊκὸς ἐπιτραπέζειος cod.).

[8] Double shekels of Sidon, struck in *s.* iv B.C., show as their obverse type a Phoenician

war-galley with a small armed figure at the prow (good specimens are *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 145 pl. 19, 5, p. 150 pl. 20, 2, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. 38 pl. 6, 15, p. 53 pl. 9, 2 f., *id. Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 597 f. pl. 121, 7, 601 f. pl. 121, 17, *Weber Cat. Coins* iii. 2. 782 no. 8057 pl. 297). But a more certain representation of the dwarf Pataikos is seen on *statêres* of Arados, struck in *s.* iv B.C., which have for reverse type a galley with a small effigy on the prow (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 6 pl. 2, 1, p. 9 pl. 2, 11 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 225 pl. 75, 11, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. 130 pl. 22, 20 = Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 419 fig. 292, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 523 f. pl. 116, 23 f., 527 f. pl. 117, 2 and 4. I give Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 527 f. pl. 117, 2 (= my fig. 68) and a specimen in my possession (fig. 69)). On coins of Arados struck in *s.* iii—ii B.C. this

Fig. 66.

Fig. 67.

Fig. 68.

Fig. 69.

is replaced by a figure-head of Athena fighting (*Brit. Mus Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 13 ff. pl. 3, 1, 3—8, 16 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 226 f. pl. 75, 15 f., 228, 231 ff. pl. 75, 20—22, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. 132 ff. pl. 23, 1, 3, 5—7, 13, 15—17, 19, 22 f., pl. 24, 4, 7, cp. pl. 24, 16 and 20). Figure-heads of this sort would be gilded (see F. H. M. Blaydes' n. on Aristoph. *Ach.* 547 Παλλαδίων *χρυσουμένων*)—a fact which perhaps explains the comic fragment *χρυσί' ἔστ' ἄπεφθα τοῖς* Παταίκοις *ἐμφερῆ* (*frag. com. anon.* 364 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 695 Meineke) *ap.* Souid. *s.v. ἀπέφθου χρυσίου*).

Much material with regard to *apotrópaia* on ships will be found in D. Ruhnkenii *Opuscula varii argumenti, oratoria, historica, critica*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1823 i. 412—456 ('Disputatio de tutelis et insignibus navium'), C. Torr *Ancient Ships* Cambridge 1894 pp. 65—69, M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 383 ff., H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 p. 248 ff., Ch. Tsountas in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1899 p. 90 ff. figs. 16—21 = Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 301 pl. 81 fig. 1, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1914 xvi. 81—152, H. Diels 'Das Aphlaston der antiken Schiffe' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 61 ff., A. Köster *Das antike Seewesen* Berlin 1923 p. 58 f. fig. 10 f., p. 64 fig. 18, G. Contenau *La civilisa-*

But to my ear it suggests rather that Androgeos unseen followed the ship's trail and supplied her with a steady breeze, much as Boreas with puffed cheeks blows along the raft of Odysseus on a grotesque vase from the Theban Kabeirion (fig. 70)[1]. In either case it is clear that in the Ionian, as in the Aeolian, area the wind following aft might be attributed to, nay more, might be identified with, an ancestral spirit.

Nor were the Dorians wholly untouched by the same superstition, for at Sparta there was a sanctuary of Zeus *Euánemos*, the 'Giver of a Good Wind[2].' But here an obvious difficulty must be

Fig. 70.

met. How comes it that this deity, appropriate to a seafaring folk, was worshipped so far inland? A reasonable answer is given by S. Wide[3], who observes that beside the sanctuary of Zeus *Euánemos*

tion phénicienne Paris 1926 p. 295 f., L. Deubner in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1927 xlii. 180 ff. figs. 12—15, F. Behn in Ebert *Reallex.* xi. 238 with pl. 60, 242 with pl. 62, 248 with pl. 64.

[1] P. Gardner *Cat. Vases Oxford* p. 18 f. no. 262 pl. 26 (=my fig. 70), M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin und Leipzig 1920 p. 154 fig. 134, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 717. The subject is a parody of *Od.* 5. 291 ff.; but note that here the trident is transferred from Poseidon to Odysseus!

[2] Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 169, Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 195, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 118, H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 260, *id.* 'Göttliche Synonyme' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 346 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 276), Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 834 n. 9, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 843.

Εὔᾱνεμος, the appellative of Zeus, =*εὐήνεμος* (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 f. Ἐπίθετα Διός...no. 38 (37) *εὐηνέμου*, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός...no. 37 (38) *εὐηνέμου*).

A modern parallel to Zeus *Euánemos* may be found in *Buenos Aires*, 'Good Winds' (W. Sturmfels *Etymologisches Lexikon deutscher und fremdländischer Ortsnamen* Berlin—Bonn 1925 p. 28). The town owes its name to 'Our Lady of the Favourable Wind' (A. J. Lamoureux in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[11] Cambridge 1910 iv. 754 notes that it was first founded by P. de Mendoza in 1535 as Santa Maria de Buenos Ayres).

[3] Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 10.

stood a shrine of the hero Pleuron[1], eponym of Pleuron in Aitolia[2], and infers that the cult of Zeus the wind-god had been brought from Pleuron, a town adjoining the Calydonian Gulf, to Sparta. I accept Wide's explanation, but go one step further. When we remember that Pleuron stood in a district called Aiolis[3], it becomes at least possible that the original 'Giver of a Good Wind' was, in accordance with Aeolian thinking[4], none other than Pleuron the local hero. It is tempting, though perhaps over-venturesome, to suppose that his very name meant, or was taken to mean, the 'Wind-Blower[5]'. Be that as it may, a happy coincidence led Theokritos, writing in the Aeolic dialect, to say of his journey from Syracuse to Miletos:

> For hither we pray Zeus grant the way with a capful of good wind (*euánemos*)[6].

Zeus *Euánemos*, then, like Zeus *Oúrios*, was on this showing an Aeolian god evolved out of an Aeolian hero. But though Zeus as a wind-god thus presupposes the primitive conception of wind as the soul of a tribal ancestor, we must not imagine that the civilised Greek of the classical period was mindful of origins. He thought of Zeus as a sky-god. The wind blew in the *aér* or lower sky[7]. Clearly therefore Zeus was responsible for the wind. Accordingly the rock-cut inscription from Thera which commemorates *Boreaîos*[8] may well be understood of Zeus *Boreaîos*, god 'of the North Wind.' Indeed, an altar dedicated to Zeus *Bóreios* has actually come to light near Seleukeia in Kilikia (fig. 71)[9]. When Herodes Attikos

[1] Paus. 3. 13. 8 τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ οὐ μακρὰν Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστιν Εὐανέμου, τούτου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Πλευρῶνος ἠρῷον, γεγόνασι δὲ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες τὰ πρὸς μητρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλευρῶνος· Θέστιον γὰρ τὸν Λήδας πατέρα Ἄσιός (so Palmerius for Ἄρειός codd. = Asios *frag.* 6 Kinkel) φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἀγήνορος παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Πλευρῶνος.

[2] Daïmachos of Plataiai (on whom see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2008 f.) *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 442 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 13. 218, Apollod. 1. 7. 7.

[3] Thouk. 3. 102, cp. Strab. 464 f. See further G. Hirschfeld in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1035 and 1115.

[4] *Supra* pp. 106 ff., 140 f., 148, 157.

[5] Πλευρών is certainly a cognate of πλευρόν, πλευρᾶ, 'side', and πλευρόν, πλευρᾶ are possibly related to πλεύμων, 'lung' (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 374 f., F. Muller *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 345. Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 794 disagrees: 'Un rapport avec πλεύμων...se justifie mal'). Presumably in the first instance Πλευρών meant 'Seitler' (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1211), but it is conceivable that the name was re-interpreted as 'Wind-Blower.'

[6] Theokr. 28. 5 τυῖδε γὰρ πλόον εὐάνεμον αἰτήμεθα παὰρ Διός.

[7] *Supra* i. 101 ff. For philosophical views see O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 pp. 511—539 ('Windgenese').

[8] *Supra* i. 142 n. 10.

[9] R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1896 vi. Abh. p. 102 no. 182 on a round altar (height 1·17[m], circumference 2·27[m]) in the village of *Budshukli*, about a mile from Seleukeia up stream on the right bank of the Kalykadnos Διὶ | Βορείῳ | Θεόδοτ[ο]ς | Αἰνέου [τ]οῦ | Θεοδότου | εὐχ[ή]ν with facsimile = my fig. 71, E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1910 xiii. 121.

lost his wife Annia Regilla (160 A.D.), he constructed a precinct known as the Triopion on the Appian Road[1], and there set up the ambitious inscription in which Marcellus of Side[2] described the lady, neither a mortal nor a goddess[3], as dwelling with the heroines in the Islands of the Blest[4]:

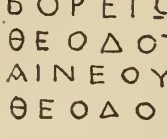


Fig. 71.

> Zeus bade the Elysian breezes of the West
> Bear that proud consort to her ocean rest[5].

Scattered allusions to Zeus as a power controlling the winds may be found throughout Greek literature, even as late as Byzantine times. Eumathios Makrembolites[6] in his *Romance of Hysmine and Hysminias* makes the lovers, eloping from Eurykomis[7], pray both Zeus and Poseidon to favour their voyage:

> 'So to the harbour we came, and stretching our hands toward the bright sky said—"Father Zeus, yielding to thee and thy mystic omens we embark on this journey. Thy son Eros has laid siege to our hearts and is dragging us as his booty away from our fatherland. And do thou, Poseidon, blow from our back, not in our face. Oppose not with thy breath the calm breath of Zeus, oppose not the west wind of Eros, whose well-tempered help has brought us to the haven[8]."'

Finally, there is some slight reason to suppose that whirlwinds (*stróbiloi* by land and *dînoi* by sea[9]) were specially connected with Zeus. His approach at the close of Aischylos' *Prometheus Bound*[10] is heralded by an earthquake, a roar of thunder, spiral flashes of lightning, spinning dust-storms[11], and a windy warfare that confuses

[1] K. Münscher in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 936 ff.

[2] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 678 n. 6.

[3] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1389 Marcell. 1. 43 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 264. 43 *οὐ μὲγ γὰρ θνητή, ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ θέαινα τέτυκται.*

[4] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1389 Marcell. 1. 8 f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 264. 8 f. *αὐτὴ δὲ μεθ' ἡρῴνῃσι νένασται | ἐν μακάρων νήσοισιν, ἵνα Κρόνος ἐνβασιλεύει.*

[5] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1389 Marcell. 1. 21 f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 264. 21 f. *Ζεὺς μὲν ἐς ὠκεανὸν θαλερὴν ἔστειλε γυναῖκα | αὔρῃσι Ζεφύροιο κομιζέμεν Ἠλυσίῃσιν.* Marcellus is thinking of *Od.* 4. 563 ff. Cp. also Hyg. *fab.* 140 at Latonam Iovis iussu ventus Aquilo sublatam ad Neptunum pertulit.

[6] Eumath. 7. 6. [7] *Supra* ii. 1141.

[8] The passage ends thus: *σὺ δ', ὦ Πόσειδον, ἐκ μεταφρένου πνεῦσον, μὴ κατὰ μέτωπον· μὴ πρὸς πνεῦμα πανεύδιον ἀντιπνεύσοις (sic) Διός, μὴ πρὸς Ἔρωτος ζέφυρον, οἷς ἡμεῖς εὐκραῶς περὶ τὸν λιμένα γεγόναμεν.* The sequel shows that Poseidon is not so accommodating: *ib.* 7. 9 *Ἔρως ἀλλήλους (an ἀλλήλοις legendum?) ἡμᾶς ἐδουλογράφησε, καὶ Ζεὺς ἐν θύμασι τὴν ἁρπαγὴν ὑπῃνίξατο· ὁ δέ γε θρασὺς καὶ ἄγριος Ποσειδῶν ὄρη κυμάτων ἐγείρει καὶ πρὸς αἴνιγμα Διὸς ἀντιπνεῖ καὶ ὅλον δουλογραφεῖον ἐρωτικὸν ἐκπλύνει τοῖς κύμασιν.*

[9] Epikour. *epist.* 2. 105 *καὶ ἕως μὲν γῆς τοῦ πρηστῆρος καθιεμένου στρόβιλοι γίγνονται. ἕως δὲ θαλάττης δῖνοι ἀποτελοῦνται.* With the context cp. Lucr. 6. 423 ff., O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 pp. 564, 632.

[10] Aisch. *P.v.* 1080 ff.

[11] *Id. ib.* 1085 *στρόμβοι δὲ κόνιν εἰλίσσουσιν.* Nikephoros Basilakes *progymn.* 7. 10 (i. 489, 12) *στρόμβος πνευμάτων* is a Byzantine (*c.* 1150 A.D.) echo.

sky with sea. Aristophanes in the *Clouds* personifies *Dînos* in a manner highly suggestive of Zeus[1]. Nay more, in the *Lysistrate*[2] he virtually identifies Zeus with the tornado that is to sweep the perfidious Myrrhine to perdition:

> Sweet, sweet, do you call her? Vile, vile, I repeat.
> Zeus, send me a storm and a whirlwind, I pray,
> To whisk her away, like a bundle of hay,
> Up, up, beyond human aid,
> And toss her and swirl her, and twist her and twirl her,
> Till, tattered and torn, to the earth she is borne,
> Astride of an unsheathed blade.

In many parts of the globe whirlwinds have been regarded as demons or witches or wandering souls[3]. And not least in modern Greece, where they are commonly attributed to the Nereids[4] or

[1] *Supra* ii. 2 n. 4.

[2] Aristoph. *Lys.* 971 ff. ΧΟ. ΓΕ. *ποία γλυκερά; | μιαρὰ μιαρὰ δῆτ'. ὦ Ζεῦ Ζεῦ* (*supra* ii. 727 n. 3 (1)), | *εἴθ' αὐτήν, ὥσπερ τοὺς θωμούς, | μεγάλῳ τυφῷ καὶ πρηστῆρι | ξυστρέψας καὶ ξυγγογγυλίσας | οἴχοιο φέρων, εἶτα μεθείης, | ἡ δὲ φέροιτ' αὖ πάλιν εἰς τὴν γῆν, | κᾆτ' ἐξαίφνης | περὶ τὴν ψωλὴν περιβαίη.* I have adopted the translation of B. B. Rogers, but have altered his rendering of lines 976 and 979. In the parallel passage, *thesm.* 56 ff., the diction again suits a whirlwind or waterspout (56 *γογγύλλει*, 57 *χοανεύει*, 61 *συγγογγυλίσας καὶ συστρέψας*, 62 *χοανεῦσαι*), though of course other meanings are attached to every phrase. It may be suspected that Aristophanes had recently (?411 B.C.) witnessed some striking example of a *στρόβιλος* or *δῖνος*.

[3] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 331 n. 2, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 203 (*Zio* or *Ziu*), 229 n. 1 (the Devil, Herodias, Pfol), 285 n. 1 (*Ziu* or *Zio*, Herodias), 1883 ii. 632 (*Zio*, Phol, the Devil, witches), 1888 iv. 1798 (the Evil One), 1799 (witches), 1847 (evil spirits), E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 Index p. 353 *s.vv.* 'Wirbelwind,' 'Wirbelwindselbinnen,' 'Wirbelwindsriesinnen,' P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 81 (démon, Satan, diable), 82 f. (damnés, farfadets, Héroguias, sorcier, loups-garous), 112 (foultot ou lutin).

[4] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 123 ff. ('Die Neraïden gelten gemeiniglich auch als Urheberinnen des alles mit sich fortreissenden Wirbelwindes, *ἀνεμοστρόβιλος*,[4] ([4]Auf Zakynthos ist das Wort corrumpirt in *ἀνεμοστρούφιλος* und *ἀνεμοστρούφουλας*, auf Kephalonia in *ἀνεμορούφουλας*...) welcher in Griechenland zumal im Sommer häufig ist. In diesem Winde schreiten sie einher, und wen sie auf ihrer Bahn antreffen, den heben sie auf und führen ihn mit sich durch die Lüfte. Auf Zakynthos sagt man beim Wehen des Wirbelwindes: "die Neraïden tanzen," *χορεύουνε ἡ 'Νεράϊδες*, und hält die Kreise, welche derselbe im Staube oder im Sande bildet, für die Spuren ihrer Füsse. Die Kinder werden zu solcher Zeit ängstlich gehütet und nicht aus dem Hause gelassen. Wer vom Wirbelwinde überrascht wird, muss sich ducken, um von den daher stürmenden Unholdinnen verschont zu bleiben.[5] ([5]Vgl. die epirotische Sage bei Hahn Nr. 81, wo ein Mädchen, das sich nicht ducken will, von den Neraïden hinweggerafft wird.) Auch hat man für diesen Fall bestimmte Beschwörungsformeln. In Athen pflegen alte Frauen bei entstehendem Wirbelwind den Kopf erdwärts zu beugen und leise zu murmeln: *μέλι καὶ γάλα στὸν δρόμο σας*, d. i. Honig und Milch auf euern Weg![6] ([6]Pittakis in der *Ἐφημ. Ἀρχαιολ.* 1852, *φ.* 30, p. 647 s. Derselbe fügt hinzu, dass dies namentlich in der Nähe des sogenannten Nymphenhügels beobachtet werde: ein Umstand, dem eine dunkle Erinnerung an den ehemaligen Cultus der Nymphen auf der Höhe dieses Hügels... zu Grunde zu liegen scheint.) Ganz ähnlich in anderen Gegenden. Auf Kephalonia, im Bezirk Samos, wird folgender Spruch gesagt, der seine Erklärung in dem hier bestehenden,

Nymphs[1] or other supernatural agencies[2]. Indeed, the word *Ánemos*, 'Wind,' is nowadays a frequent synonym of the Devil[3]. But the most remarkable parallel to the ancient Greek equation of Zeus with the whirlwind has yet to be stated. The *vocabularius sancti Galli*, a vellum manuscript of the seventh or eighth century in the Library of Saint-Gall[4], glosses the Latin *turpines*, that is *turbines*, 'whirlwinds,' by the Old High German *ziu*. If this word has been rightly transcribed[5], it must—as J. Grimm long since pointed

schon oben von mir erwähnten Glauben findet, nach welchem die Oberste der Neraïden die Schwester Alexanders des Grossen ist: Χαιράμεναις, καλόκαρδαις, | μέλι καὶ γάλα | σ' τοῦ βασιλέα τὴν τάβλα! | Στὴ ψυχὴ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου, | κακὸ μὴ μοῦ κάμετε!'), N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 406 no. 691 Τάνεμοσίφουνο τῶν Νεράιδων.

[1] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 150 ('The habit of travelling on a whirlwind, or more correctly perhaps of stirring up a whirlwind by rapid passage, has gained for the nymphs in some districts secondary names—in Macedonia *ἀνεμικαίς*, in Gortynia *ἀνεμογαζοῦδες*[4] (Παρνασσός, iv. p. 765. The origin of the second part of the compound is unknown.)—which might almost seem to constitute a new class of wind-nymphs. But so far as I know the faculty of raising whirlwinds, though most frequently exercised by Oreads, is common to all nymphs').

[2] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 250 f. cited *supra* p. 106.

[3] F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 30 n. 2 ('Auch den Neugriechen ist *ἄνεμος* der Teufel, z. B. entsprechen die Redensarten *ἄγε εἰς ἄνεμον, πήγαινε εἰς ἄνεμον* ganz unserem "Geh' zum Teufel"'), B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 175 ('Sicher ist dieses Wort in einer Anzahl von Redensarten, wie *νὰ πᾷς στὸν ἄνεμο, ἄγε στὸν ἄνεμο* (Arachoba. Kallipolis), ganz gleichbedeutend mit *διάβολος*').

[4] G. Scherrer *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* Halle 1875 p. 331 ff. cod. 913.

[5] On this point there has been divergence of opinion. J. C. H. Büchler *SG. 913. Vocabularius St. Galli auch Wörterbuch des heil. Gallus aus dem 8. Jahrhundert* Brilon 1869 transcribes p. 36 turpines zui and comments p. 81 *turbines*, *turpines*, zui? R. Henning *Über die sanctgallischen Sprachdenkmäler* Strassburg 1874 transcribes p. 18, 232 turpines zui and conjectures p. 57 zui[rbila] 'weil eine frühere Handschrift hier am Rande beschädigt war.' E. Steinmeyer—E. Sievers *Die althochdeutschen Glossen* Berlin 1895 transcribe iii. 4, 41 Turpines zui, adding the note '*Henning ergänzte zu* zuirbila; *mir wenig wahrscheinlich*.'

E contra J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 203: 'A remarkable gloss in the old Cod. sangall. 913, p. 193, has "turbines=*ziu*" (we have no business to write zui), which may mean the storm of war, the Mars trux, saevus, or possibly the literal whirlwind, on which mythical names are sometimes bestowed; so it is either *Zio* himself, or a synonymous female personification *Ziu*, bearing the same relation to Zio as diu (ancilla) to dio (servus).' *Id. ib.* i. 285 n. 1, *à propos* of the story that the head of John the Baptist, when Herodias would have covered it with tears and kisses, blew hard at her and whirled her off into empty space (*Reinardus Vulpes* (*c.* 1150 A.D., ed. F. J. Mone Stuttgart—Tübingen 1832) i. 1153 f. oscula captantem caput aufugit atque resufflat, | illa per impluvium turbine flantis abit): 'This reference to the *turbo* (the whirlwind of his blast), looks mythical and of high antiquity. Not only did *Ziu* or *Zio*, once a deity, become with the christians a name for the whirlwind, p. 203... but to this day such a wind is accounted for in Lower Saxony (about Celle) by the dancing *Herodias* whirling about in the air.' *Id. ib.* 1883 ii. 632: 'The OHG. *ziu*, turbines, we have traced to *Zio*, pp. 203. 285.'

Dr B. F. C. Atkinson kindly consulted on my behalf Dr A. Fäh, the librarian of Saint-Gall, who reports (Nov. 1, 1928): 'In Cod. Ms. 913 p. 193 lautet die Glosse ganz deutlich *zui* nicht ziu.'

out[1]—be connected with **Zîu* or **Zîo* the early Germanic sky-god[2], and presumably implies that Ziu in popular fancy took shape as the whirling wind-storm—a perfect parallel to the case of Zeus.

§ 8. *Zeus and the Dew.*

(a) The *Arrhephóroi.*

Like most atmospheric phaenomena, dew had for the Greeks a certain sanctity. The wide-spread belief that, if gathered on the first of May (May Day) or the twenty-fourth of June (Midsummer Day), it beautifies or cures the human body, makes the cattle yield more milk and butter, multiplies the hay, etc.[3], will serve to explain a somewhat mysterious Athenian rite known as the *Arrhephoría*[4]. The fullest account of this rite is given by Pausanias[5], who after discoursing on the Erechtheion at Athens continues:

'What surprised me very much, but is not generally known, I will describe as it takes place. Two maidens dwell not far from the temple of the Polias: the Athenians call them Arrephoroi. These are lodged for a time with the goddess; but when the festival comes round they perform the following ceremony by night. They put on their heads the things which the priestess of Athena gives them to carry, but what it is she gives is known neither to her who gives nor to them who carry. Now there is in the city an enclosure not far from the sanctuary of Aphrodite called Aphrodite in the Gardens, and there is a natural underground descent through it. Down this way the maidens go. Below they leave their burdens, and getting something else, which is wrapt up, they bring it back. These maidens are then discharged, and others are brought to the Acropolis in their stead.'

Now the *Arrhephoría* took place in the month Skirophorion[6], which corresponds roughly with our June-July. Moreover, there can be little doubt[7] that the name *Arrhephóroi* means the 'Dew-

[1] See the preceding note. [2] *Supra* ii. 50 ff.

[3] J. Brand—Sir H. Ellis *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* London 1849 i. 218 f., W. Henderson *Folk-lore of the Northern Counties* London 1879 pp. 85, 199 f., J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 786 (cp. *ib.* 1883 iii. 1073, 1888 iv. 1533, 1624), W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 384, 390, 1905 ii. 312, P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 94 f., 1906 iii. 84 f., 476 f., 479, 490, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 54 (Isle of Man), 67 (Northumberland), 127 (South Slavonia), *ib.*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 246 f. (Abruzzi), 248 (Spain, Normandy, Périgord), *ib.*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 208 n. 1 (Spain, Normandy, Périgord, Abruzzi), ii. 74 (South Slavonia).

For similar usages at the Parilia (April 21) and on St George's Day (April 23) see Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 327 (Ov. *fast.* 4. 778), 333 (White Russia, Little Russia, Bulgaria), 335 (Bukowina, Galicia), 339 (Bulgaria).

[4] A. E. Crawley in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 700 a—701 a.

[5] Paus. 1. 27. 3 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer.

[6] *Et mag.* p. 149, 13 f.

[7] Some have regarded 'Αρρηφορία as a clipped form of 'Αρρητοφορία (so schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 642, Hesych. and Souid. *s.v.* 'Αρρηφορία, *et. mag.* p. 149, 15, Bekker *anecd.* i. 446,

bearers.' Inscriptions show that the earlier form of the word was *Errhephóroi* or *Ersephóroi* rather than *Arrhephóroi*, and that the cognate verb was *errhephoreîn* far more often than *arrhephoreîn*[1]. This enables us to derive the terms in question from *érse* or *hérse*, 'dew.' And conformably with this derivation the ancient grammarians state, on the authority of Istros of Kyrene (*c.* 200 B.C.), that the *Ersephoría* was a procession for *Érse* or *Hérse*, the daughter of Kekrops[2], while Moiris the Atticist (*c.* 200 A.D.) expressly declares that the *Errhephóroi* are 'those who bear dew for *Érse*, one of Kekrops' daughters[3].'

But, if the business of the *Arrhephóroi* was only to carry dew, why did the Greeks make such a song about it? At Athens four girls of noble birth were elected by show of hands. Of these four two were chosen to start the weaving of Athena's *péplos*. Their own garments were white, and any gold worn by them *ipso facto* became the property of the goddess[4]. The final selection of the girls was made by the 'king[5],' who is known to have had special responsibilities in connexion with the mysteries[6]. Once appointed, these

28 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 287, 53 f., and even L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 266). But this is a piece of false etymology, perhaps occasioned by the fact that the Θεσμοφόρια in Pyanopsion were called also Σκιροφόρια (schol. Loukian. *dial. mer.* 2. 1 p. 275 f. Rabe) and Ἀρρητοφόρια (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 17. 1 p. 14, 4 ff. Stählin): see Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 510 n. 1, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 34 n. 2.

Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 872 f. held that ἀρρηφόροι meant 'basket-bearers,' the first part of their name being connected with the root of ἄρριχος, 'basket.' This view too has found defenders, *e.g.* F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 551. But it is altogether too hypothetical.

Miss J. E. Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. xxxiv derived the name from ἔρση, in the sense of a 'young animal,' and compared the use of δρόσοι in Aisch. *Ag.* 141. But later, in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[1] p. 122 n. 2, she abandoned this ingenious suggestion and *ib.*[2] p. 131 speaks of 'the Arrephoria or Arretophoria'...'The Arretophoria or Arrephoria.' See also her *Themis*[2] p. 266.

Personally, I see no sufficient reason for discrediting the explicit statements of Istros, Moiris, etc.

[1] K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*[3] Berlin 1900 p. 15 n. 67, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 34 n. 2, F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 550.

[2] Istr. *frag.* 17 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 420 Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 642. The same thing is said, without a mention of Istros, by Hesych. and Souid. *s.v.* Ἀρρηφορία, *et. mag.* p. 149, 15 ff., Favorin. *lex.* p. 287, 52 f.

[3] Moir. 141 p. 104 Pierson Ἐρρηφόροι, Ἀττικῶς, αἱ τὴν δρόσον φέρουσαι τῇ Ἕρσῃ· ἥτις ἦν μία τῶν Κεκροπίδων.

[4] Deinarch. κατὰ Πυθέου *frag.* 4 (*Orat. Attic.* ii. 328a Baiter—Sauppe) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* ἀρρηφορεῖν = Souid. *s.v.* ἀρρηνοφορεῖν (G. Bernhardy cj. ἀρρηφορεῖν) = Bekker *anecd.* i. 446, 18 ff. = *et. mag.* p. 149, 18 ff.

[5] Souid. *s.v.* ἐπιώψατο· κατέλεξεν, ἐξελέξατο. ἔστι δ' Ἀττικόν. ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιώψατο ἀρρηφορους. οἷον, κατέλεξεν, ἐξελέξατο. Πλάτων ἐν Νόμοις (Plat. *legg.* 947 c. J. Pierson wrongly supposed an allusion to Platon the comedian ἐν Νήσοις) = *et. mag.* p. 362, 38 f.

[6] Aristot. Ἀθ. πολ. 57. 1, Harpokr. *s.v.* ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν μυστηρίων (Dem. *in Mid.* 171).

little maids, who were mere children from seven to eleven years of age[1], enjoyed sundry peculiar privileges. They were housed near the Erechtheion[2]. They had a tennis-court (*sphairístra*) on the Akropolis, which could boast a bronze figure of Isokrates as a boy on horseback[3]. And they were fed on cakes that were specially 'risen' (*anástatoi*)[4]—possibly[5] in view of the *Arrhephoría*, that great ritual for the proper performance of which they had been set apart. Again, an Athenian inscription of Hellenistic date (*c.* 137/6 B.C.) tells how a certain priest of Asklepios and Hygieia gave his own daughter to serve as *Arrhephóros* at the Epidauria[6], which had by that time become a recognised part of the Eleusinian mysteries[7]. Finally, an Aeolic inscription from Mytilene, referred to *s.* iii A.D., commemorates Aurelia Artemisia as 'priestess of the goddesses Etephilai (that is; Demeter and Persephone[8]) and Karissai[9] and *Ersóphoros* of the most holy mysteries[10].'

[1] *Et. mag.* p. 149, 19 f. *τέσσαρες δὲ παῖδες ἐχειροτονοῦντο κατ' εὐγένειαν ἀρρηφόροι ἀπὸ ἑπτῶν ἑπτὰ μέχρις ἔνδεκα*, cp. Aristoph. *Lys.* 641 f. *ἑπτὰ μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθὺς ἠρρηφόρουν· | εἶτ' ἀλετρὶς ἦ δεκέτις οὖσα τἀρχηγέτι.*

[2] Paus. 1. 27. 3 *παρθένοι δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἀρρηφόρους· αὗται χρόνον μέν τινα δίαιταν ἔχουσι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, κ.τ.λ.* (*supra* p. 165).

[3] Plout. *v. dec. orat.* 4 Isocr. 839 c.

[4] Athen. 114 A—B *τὸν ἀνάστατον* (so J. Pierson for *ναστὸν* cod. P. ed. V. *νάστον* edd. Basil. L.) *καλούμενον, ὃς ταῖς ἀρρηφόροις γίνεται*, cp. Souid. *s.v. ἀνάστατοι*, Hesych. *s.v. ἀνάστατοι*, l'aus. Gramm. *frag.* 94 Schwabe *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1165, 10 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 384, 33 f.

[5] Leaven is symbolic of rapid growth in Matthew 13. 33 = Luke 13. 20 f. More often it is regarded as a type of corruption and therefore forbidden in ritual (*e.g.* Gell. 10. 15. 19 farinam fermento inbutam adtingere ei (*sc.* flamini Diali) fas non est). See C. F. Kent in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1914 vii. 889 a—890 a. But O. Broneer in *Hesperia* 1935 iv. 128 cp. Poll. 6. 73 *ὁ γὰρ ὀρθοστάτης ἱεροῦ ἄρτου τι εἶδος* and perhaps rightly assumes that such cakes were of phallic shape.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 Add. no. 453 *b*, 13 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 974, 18 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 687, 18 f. *ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατ[έρα ------- εἰς τὰ] | Ἐπιδαύρια ἀρρηφοροῦσαν κ.τ.λ.*

[7] O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 45 f.

[8] Hesych. *Ἑταιφίλη·* (so W. R. Paton for *Ἑται..· φίλη.* cod.) *ἡ Περσεφόνη.* F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 712: 'Die *Ἑτηφίλαι* wären also Demeter und Kore. Sicherlich bezeichnet sie der Name als freundliche Göttinnen, wie *Εὐμενίδες* u. a. wohlbekannte. Dies wird auch in dem ersten Namenselement enthalten sein, das zu *ἕται* Angehörige (vgl. J. Schmidt bei L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etymol. 1 374 oben) zu stellen ist; sie beschützen also die Sippschaft. Wenn die Form *Ἑταιφίλη* bei Hesych. neben dem inschriftlichen *Ἑτηφίλα* richtig ist, haben wir eine Parallele zu den gleichzeitig auf Thera vorkommenden Personennamen *Πραται-* und *Πρατη-μένης*.'

[9] C. H. Oldfather in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1950.

[10] F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 92 no. 232, 3 f. = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 255, 3 f. *ἱέρεα(ν) τᾶν θέαν Ἑτ(η)φίλαν καὶ Κα|ρίσσαν καὶ ἐρ(σ)όφορον τ(ῶ)ν ἁγιωτάτων μυ(στ)αρίων.* The inscription, which is throughout ill-spelt, actually reads ΕΤΙΦΙΛΑΝ and ΕΡΓΟΦΟΡΟΝ.

To understand these honours and prerogatives we must, I think, bear in mind the general similarity subsisting between the Thesmophoria and the Arrhephoria. The latter, like the former, appears to have been a ceremony intended to promote fertility[1]. In the Thesmophoria we have the worship of Demeter and Kore, the two *Thesmophóro*[2]. The *Arrhephóros* at Eleusis[3] and the *Ersóphoros* at Mytilene[4] were at least connected with the cult of the same pair of deities. An Athenian inscription of Roman date commemorates 'Aristokles' daughter, who served as *Errhephóros* for Demeter and Kore[5].' Seats in the theatre at Athens were in imperial times reserved for two *Hersephóroi* of Ge Themis (fig. 72)[6] and, immediately behind them,

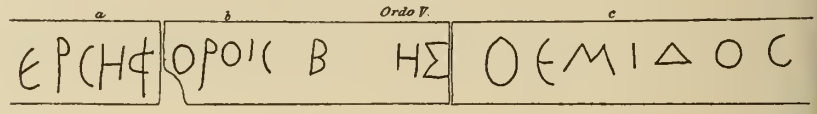


Fig. 72.

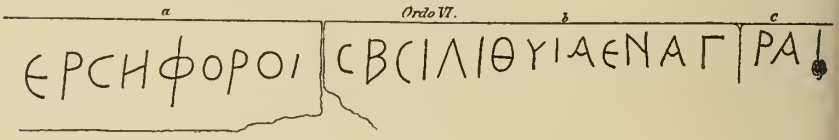


Fig. 73.

for two *Hersephóroi* of Eilithyia at Agrai (fig. 73)[7]. It would seem, therefore, that Dew-bearers stood in some relation to Mother Earth; and it is probable that they were regarded as fertilising agents. This squares with the fact that their rite took place near the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens[8]. The Thesmophoria too

[1] Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. xxxiv ff., *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 131 ff., *ead. Themis* pp. 266, 275, Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 510.

[2] Aristoph. *thesm.* 83, 282, 295 f., 1156, 1230.

[3] *Supra* p. 167, n. 6 f.

[4] *Supra* p. 167, n. 10.

[5] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 919 [τὴν δεῖνα] Ἀριστοκλέου ἐρρηφορήσασαν Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι. W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 304 says: 'in Form einer W[eihung] an Demeter und Kore.' But, for the dative, cp. Moir. 141 p. 104 Pierson (*supra* p. 166, n. 3).

[6] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 318 (with facsimile on pl. 1 = my fig. 72) ἑρσηφόροις β' [Γ]ῆς Θέμιδος in late careless script, W. Larfeld *op. cit.* ii. 1. 266 pl. 1.

[7] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 319 (with facsimile on pl. 1 = my fig. 73) ἑρσηφόροις β' Εἰλιθυία[ς] ἐν Ἀγραι[ς] in late careless script, W. Larfeld *op. cit.* ii. 1. 266 pl. 1.

[8] *Supra* p. 165. The precise route followed by the *Arrhephóroi* is a matter for conjecture. If they lived 'not far from the temple of the Polias' and 'lodged for a time with the goddess' (Paus. 1. 27. 3), we may assume that their official quarters were in or near the Pandroseion. On the occasion of the *Arrhephoría* they may, no doubt, have quitted

the Akropolis by way of the Propylaia and the western slope (A. Mommsen *Heortologie* Leipzig 1864 p. 447—an idea tacitly dropped by the same writer in his *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 509). But, in view of the close connexion between Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse (*infra* § 8 (b)), it is highly probable that the *Arrhephóroi* went *viâ* the Aglaurion. If so, their most direct and also most secluded exit would have been, not the *pôros*-walled stairway in an angle of the north wall 200 ft west of the north porch of the Erechtheion (J. H. Middleton *Plans and Drawings of Athenian Buildings* London 1900 pl. 1 no. 38), as has been maintained by various critics (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1887 xii. 59 pl. 1, H. G. Lolling 'Hellenische Landeskunde und Topographie' in I. Müller's *Geographie und politische Geschichte des klassischen Altertums* Nördlingen 1889 p. 351, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 163), but the stairway of later construction which led (by means of a hanging ladder?) right down into the cave at a point some 50 ft east of the *pôros*-stairway (J. H. Middleton *op. cit.* pl. 1 no. 42), as is urged by P. Kabbadias in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897 p. 26 ff., M. L. D'Ooge (*The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 pp. 10, 297 with plan 7), and O. Broneer in *Hesperia* 1932 i. 51 f., 1935 iv. 129 with figs. 14 and 15. C. Belger 'Der Abstiegsweg der Arrhephoren, der Aufstieg der Perser' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 25, 1897 pp. 1212—1214 (followed by W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 170 n. 4) is non-committal: 'Wir können also mit unseren Mitteln nicht konstatieren, welchen Weg die Arrhephoren wirklich gingen.'

Equally beset with uncertainties is the other end of their journey. Their destination, according to Paus. 1. 27. 3, was *περίβολος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς καλουμένης ἐν Κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω*. But Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 16 (probably copying Varro, [? who copied Pasiteles (born *c.* 108 B.C.),] who copied Antigonos of Karystos (born *c.* 295 B.C.), who copied Douris of Samos (born *c.* 340 B.C.): see E. Sellers *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* London 1896 p. xlii f.) describes the same Aphrodite as being outside the city-wall: he speaks of Alkamenes 'cuius sunt opera Athenis complura in aedibus sacris praeclarumque Veneris extra muros, quae appellatur Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Κήποις. huic summam manum ipse Phidias inposuisse dicitur.' The discrepancy between *ἐν τῇ πόλει* and *extra muros* was explained by C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1874 i. 228 f., who pointed out that in the time of Pausanias the brick wall of Athens (Vitr. 2. 8. 9) had been cleared away to make room for the Hadrianic town (the *novae Athenae* of *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 549 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 511 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 337, cp. Ael. Spart. *v. Hadrian.* 20. 4 multas civitates Hadrianopolis appellavit, ut ipsam Karthaginem et Athenarum partem, Phlegon *frag.* 21 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 607 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ὀλυμπίειον· *τόπος ἐν Δήλῳ, ὃν κτίσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι χρήμασιν Ἀδριανοῦ νέας Ἀθήνας Ἀδριανὰς ἐκάλεσαν, ὡς Φλέγων ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδων πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ*). The precinct, on this showing, adjoined the garden-quarter on the right bank of the Ilissos (H. Hitzig and H. Blümner on Paus. 1. 19. 2), and somewhere in that neighbourhood must have been the natural underground descent, through which the girls went to leave their burdens and bring back something wrapt up (Paus. 1. 27. 3 *καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ* (*sc. τοῦ περιβόλου*) *κάθοδος ὑπόγαιος αὐτομάτη· ταύτῃ κατίασιν αἱ παρθένοι. κάτω μὲν δὴ τὰ φερόμενα λείπουσιν, λαβοῦσαι δὲ ἄλλο τι κομίζουσιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον*). The actual chasm or fissure has not yet been located. But E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 251 n. 1 throws out an interesting suggestion: 'It seems probable that the shrine in question may have been that of earth (Ge Olympia), and the cleft may be the same one by which the waters of Deucalion's deluge were said to have disappeared' (Paus. 1. 18. 7 *ἔστι δὲ ἀρχαῖα ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ ναὸς Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας καὶ τέμενος Γῆς* (so J. A. Letronne for *τῆν* codd. É. Clavier cj. *γῆς τὴν*, W. M. Leake cj. *τῆς Γῆς*) *ἐπίκλησιν Ὀλυμπίας. ἐνταῦθα ὅσον ἐς πῆχυν τὸ ἔδαφος διέστηκε, καὶ λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος συμβᾶσαν ὑποῤῥυῆναι ταύτῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐσβάλλουσί τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἄλφιτα πυρῶν μέλιτι μίξαντες* (I. Bekker, followed by H. C. Schubart and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner, cj. *μάξαντες* cp. 5. 15. 10, 9. 39. 11)).

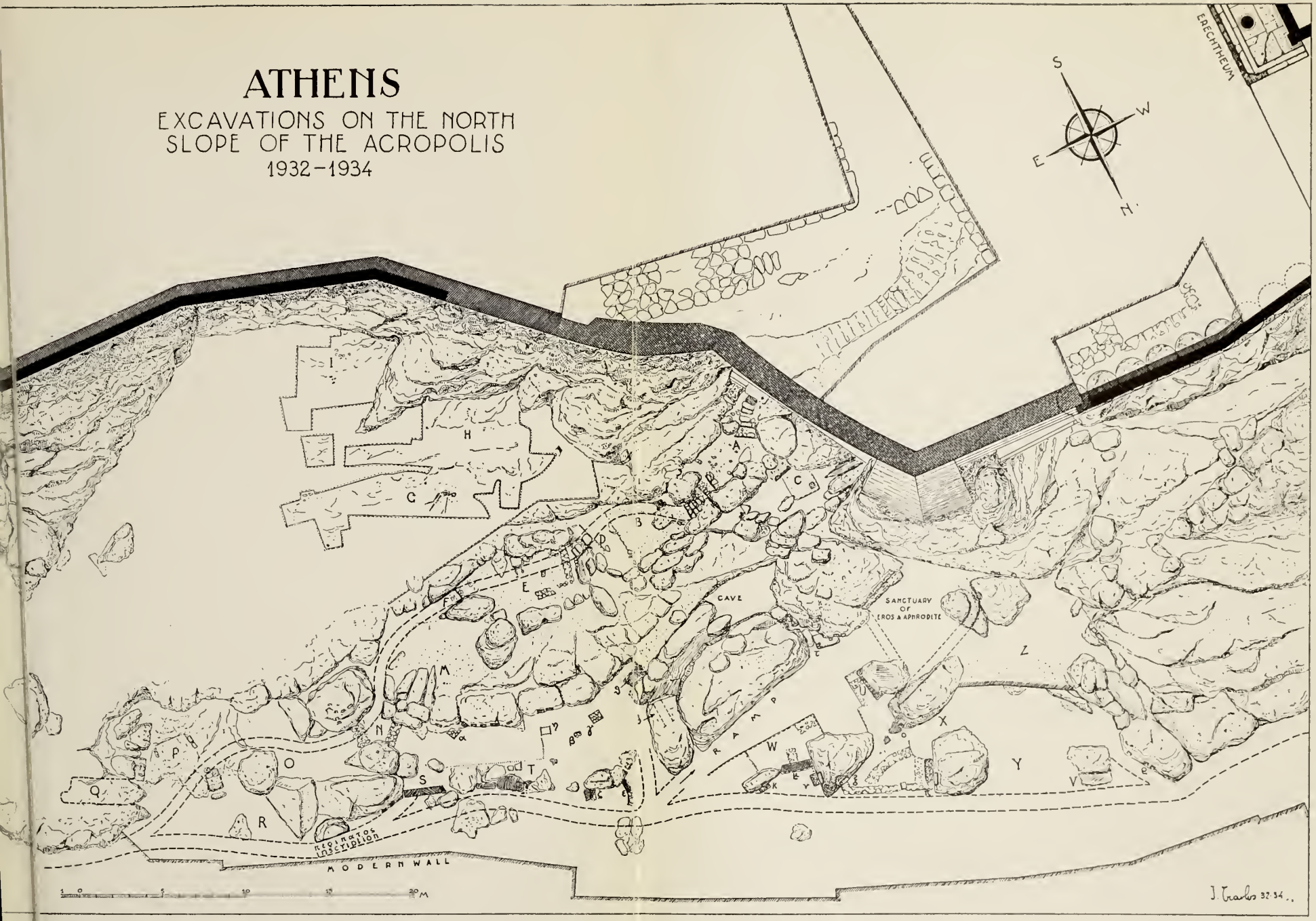
Recently O. Broneer of the American School at Athens has found on the N. slope of the *Akrópolis*, E. of the Erechtheion; 'directly below the point where the Acropolis wall makes the obtuse angle at which are the traces of the Mycenaean postern gate,' a small

sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite attested by numerous niches in the rock and two rock-cut inscriptions dating from the middle of *s.* V B.C. (*Hesperia* 1932 i. 31—55 with figs. 1—17, of which fig. 2 gives a ground-plan and figs. 10 and 11 facsimiles of the inscriptions on rock B: (1) *τôι Ἔροτι hε εορτὲ | [τ]ετράδι hισταμέν[ο] | Μονιχιôν[ο]ς μεν[ός]* and (2) *Ἀφροδ[ί]τ[ει]*). Adjoining the sanctuary, on the west was a small area (Z) which yielded a Hellenistic relief of Eros; on the east, a cave in which were found a small votive shield of painted stone and fragments of undecorated shields in terra cotta, also the figurine of a sleeping babe. North-east of the cave was a space dotted with small stuccoed altars(?) of various shapes (*α*—*π*), oval, rectangular, triangular, or like a low wall, poorly built and resting on loose earth. These had carried small stones (*phailoí*?) set upright in mortar—one was still *in situ*—and, further east, close to another group of niches (N) was a *phallós* of island marble (*id. ib.* 1933 ii. 329—417 with pl. xi (extended plan) and figs. 1—91, of which figs. 9, 14, 18=my fig. 74 *a*, *b*, *c*, *id. ib.* 1935 iv. 109—188 with pl. i (=my pl. xxi) and figs. 1—77, of which figs. 8 and 9 show the 'altars.' See further *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*)

Fig. 74.

sub fin.). It is highly probable that the relief-frieze with a procession of Erotes, *c.* 350—300 B.C. (Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 453 ff. nos. 1451, 1452 pl. 102), and the relief of a draped woman, with a child, sitting on a rock with a cave in it (National Museum no. 3257) came from the same sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite (O. Broneer *loc. cit.* 1935 iv. 143 ff. no. 17 figs. 33—35 and 36).

As to the bearing of these finds on the *Arrhephoria*, Broneer *loc. cit.* i. 52 (cp. iv. 126) writes: 'The whole action of the ceremony becomes clear if we admit that the sanctuary just discovered is the peribolos mentioned by Pausanias. Below the underground stairs to the Aglaurion a modern path leads eastward to the new sanctuary, and it is reasonable to suppose that the same path may have existed in ancient times, connecting with the rock-cut *περίπατος* below. The immense chasm, through which the descent from the Acropolis began, might well have lent color to Pausanias' weird description of the place. The only inaccuracy which remains is the impression which the Greek text gives that the subterranean passage and the sanctuary are immediately contiguous, while actually one must first pass through the one and thence by a short path reach the other[3] ([3]Doubtless the passage in the sanctuary itself was somehow used in the ceremony; but until we know how it connected with the cave to the east it is unsafe to make any definite statement about it). It can hardly be a coincidence that a sanctuary of Aphrodite which fits so well the account



Plan of the American excavations on the north slope of the Akropolis (from *Hesperia* 1935 iv pl. i).

See page 169 ff. *n.* 0.

in Pausanias should be found close to the place where we would naturally expect the Arrephoroi to have descended. We can only conclude that there were two sanctuaries of Aphrodite ἐν Κήποις, a more ancient one, which we have just discovered on the Acropolis slope, and a later one, with a temple containing the famous statue of Alkamenes, near the Ilissus.' Broneer *ib.* p. 53 f. adds: 'The objection will naturally be raised that the text of Pausanias does not admit of such an interpretation.' He replies that most probably 'Pausanias himself confused the two sanctuaries.' *Vix liquet.*

Aphrodite ἐν Κήποις is seldom mentioned by the classical authors. But an inscription of *c.* 420—417 B.C. informs us that during the years 426/5—423/2 the expenses of the Peloponnesian War were in part met by money borrowed from her temple-treasury at a nominal rate of interest—$\frac{1}{36}$th of a *drachmé per mnâ per* day (*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 273 *f*, 12 f. = Michel *Recueil d' Inscr. gr.* no. 561, 78 = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 299 ff. no. 109, 78 [Ἀφροδί]της ἐν Κήποις ΤΤ⋈Η⋈ΔΔΠ. τόκος τούτου Π⊦|[⊦⊦⊦ |||||C], cp. W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 44). Near her temple stood a square herm of Aphrodite, which bore an inscription stating that Aphrodite Οὐρανία was the eldest of the Moirai (Paus. 1. 19. 2, cp. Loukian. *dial. mer.* 7. 1 τῇ Οὐρανίᾳ δὲ τῇ ἐν Κήποις δάμαλιν): some notion of this herm may be had from the Dareios-*kratér* (*supra* ii. 854 pl. xxxviii).

Of Alkamenes' masterpiece we know practically nothing (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 16, Paus. 1. 19. 2, Loukian. *imagg.* 4, 6). Sundry critics have somewhat carelessly assumed that it was none other than the herm just mentioned (J. Sillig *Catalogus Artificum* Dresdae et Lipsiae 1827 p. 31, H. Brunn *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* Stuttgart 1857 i. 235, H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 1. 19. 2). The ablest defence of this view is that put up by A. Trendelenburg in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1908 xxiii Arch. Anz. pp. 514—520 (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1909 xiii. 494, A. de Ridder in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1910 xxiii. 192, A. J. Reinach *ib.* p. 321), who cp. the herm from Pergamon inscribed in lettering of *s.* ii A.D. εἰδήσεις Ἀλκαμένεος | περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα | Ἑρμᾶν τὸν πρὸ πυλῶν· | εἵσατο Περγάμιος. || γνῶθι σαυτόν (bibliography in Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 234 ff. no. 527 fig. and in C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 57). But a half-length herm of Aphrodite (Loukian. *imagg.* 6 implies arms and hands) dating from the fifth century would be hard to parallel (? cp. Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 634 B fig. 1386 C = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 347 no. 4 a herm in the Villa Albani on which see J. J. Bernoulli *Aphrodite* Leipzig 1873 p. 7). Others have sought to recover the aspect of the lost statue from the Aphrodite of Melos (Sir C. Walston (Waldstein) *Alcamenes and the establishment of the classical type in Greek art* Cambridge 1926 p. 211 'I am inclined to think it not improbable that the sculptor of the Aphrodite of Melos was inspired by the Aphrodite in the Gardens of Alcamenes'), or with more probability from the type of Aphrodite leaning, sometimes on an archaistic effigy of herself (A. Milchhöfer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii. 208 n. 9, E. Reisch in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 77 f.: *e.g. Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 226 f. no. 586 fig.), sometimes on a pillar with a tree in the background (H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 pp. 205—210 with fig. 189 = Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 1601 pl. 165, S. Wide in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1910 p. 52 no. 13, an inscribed votive relief from *Daphni* on the road between Athens and Eleusis), or again—and this is the most frequent contention—from the type best represented by the Aphrodite of Fréjus (?) (Mrs L. M. Mitchell *A History of Ancient Sculpture* London 1883 p. 320, S. Reinach *Manuel de philologie classique* Paris 1884 ii. 94, *id.* in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1896 ii. 326—328 = *id. Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique* Paris 1924 i. 258—260 ('Je pense que ce motif a été créé par Alcamène, rajeuni par Praxitèle et repris de nouveau par Arcésilas'), A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 412 f., *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 212, *id. Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* pp. 19 f., 82, 275 n. 10, E. von Mach *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Sculpture* Boston 1905 p. 121 f. pl. 108, H. Bulle *Der schöne Mensch im Altertum*[2] München und Leipzig 1912 pp. 263 ff., 682 f. pl. 124. Other examples of the type are collected and discussed by J. J. Bernoulli *Aphrodite* Leipzig 1873 pp. 86—98 ('Der Typus der ungegürteten, ihren

probably included a visit to the goddesses of Cape Kolias, that is, to Aphrodite and the Genetyllides[1]. Aphrodite in particular was the maker of morning dew[2]; and her altar (figs. 84, 85)[3] on Mount

Mantel lüftenden Aphrodite'), S. Reinach 'La Vénus drapée au Musée du Louvre' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 250—262, 271—285 pl. 30, A. Conze 'Zur sogenannten Venus Genetrix' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 xiv. 199—204 pl. 4, Miss C. G. Harcum 'A statue of the type called the Venus Genetrix in the Royal Ontario Museum' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 141—152 pl. 7 figs. 1—4).

Equally persistent, and hardly more encouraging, have been the attempts made to discover representations of the *Arrhephóroi*. Many have identified them with the two stool-bearing girls on the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (*supra* ii. 1135 f. pl. xliv. So J. Stuart—N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1787 ii. 12 f. with ch. 1 pl. 24 ('The young figures are the two Arrephorœ, or Canephorœ,' etc.), C. O. Müller *Minervae Poliadis sacra et aedem in arce Athenarum*...Gottingae 1820 p. 14 ('Puellae sunt *ersephoroe*..., matrona sacerdos Poliadis'), E. Beulé *L'Acropole d'Athènes* Paris 1854 ii. 142 ('la grande prêtresse reçoit des deux vierges Errhéphores les objets mystérieux' etc.), E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 304 f. ('Wo finden wir denn im athenischen Cultus überhaupt und speciell in demjenigen Athenas, an welchen hier jeder zu denken gehalten ist, halberwachsene Mädchen, wie die beiden Stuhlträgerinnen offenbar sind, die bei hohem Feste eine so bevorzugte Rolle spielen könnten? Es giebt keine ausser den Arrephoren. Auf diese aber passt alles;' etc.), Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 211 n. 0 ('Die beiden Errhephoren sind vielleicht auf dem Ostfries des Parthenon dargestellt'). See further A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 264). Others have seen them in the processional figures of the olive-tree pediment (T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 197 ff. col. pl. 14, G. Dickins *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1912 i. 69 ff. fig., E. Buschor 'Der Oelbaumgiebel' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1922 xlvii. 81 ff. pl. 6. So J. E. Harrison *Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides* Cambridge 1906 p. 56 f. fig. 20 ('We think instinctively of the Arrephoroi'), E. Petersen *Die Burgtempel der Athenaia* Berlin 1907 p. 21 ff. fig. 2 (*ib.* p. 27 'die zwei gleich gekleideten, nicht gleich geschmückten Mädchen mögen wir Kanephoren nennen, oder aber wegen ihrer Kleinheit und unentwickelten Formen lieber Errephoren'), G. W. Elderkin *Problems in Periclean Buildings* Princeton 1912 p. 13 f. (agrees with Petersen)). Others again have recognised them in the Caryatids of the Erechtheion (E. Beulé *L'Acropole d'Athènes* Paris 1854 ii. 254 ('Sont-ce les vierges errhéphores...? Leurs têtes portent-elles le fardeau de l'architrave en réminiscence du fardeau mystérieux que leur confiait la grande prêtresse? Tout me le ferait croire,' etc.), G. W. Elderkin *Problems in Periclean Buildings* Princeton 1912 p. 14 ff. ('The interpretation of the Caryatids as Arrephoroi is confirmed by a scene (Fig. 5) on an archaic amphora' (*sc.* a Boeotian relief-vase from Thebes, now in a private English collection, published in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 458 ff. figs. 8—10 pls. 6 and 6 *bis* by A. de Ridder, who *ib.* p. 468 f. cp. 'les canéphores, et peut-être les arrhéphores')), H. N. Fowler in J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Cambridge, Massachusetts 1927 p. 235 n. 0 (non-committal)).

Personally, I suspect that the *Arrhephóroi* in attendance on Athena were an extremely ancient institution, dating back to 'Minoan' times and comparable with the two hand-maidens of the 'Minoan' goddess (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 11—14 figs. 11—15).

[1] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 319 f. On Genetyllis and the Genetyllides in relation to Aphrodite see W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1269—1273, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1150 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 377, 513, Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 394, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1356 n. 6.

[2] *Pervig. Ven.* 15 ff. ipsa roris lucidi, | noctis aura quem relinquit, spargit umentis aquas. | gutta praeceps orbe parvo sustinet casus suos, | et micant lacrimae trementes de

caduco pondere (so F. Bücheler, transposing lines 17 and 18, and retaining *et* codd., for which E. C. F. Schulze, followed by E. Bährens, cj. *en*, while O. Müller, followed by J. W. Mackail, cj. *emicant*). | ... umor ille, quem serenis astra rorant noctibus, | mane virgines (so J. Lipsius, followed by J. W. Mackail, for *virgineas* codd.) papillas solvit umenti peplo. Cp. what is said of the planet Venus in *Auson. append.* 2. 17 f. Evelyn White (p. 410 Peiper) ros unus, color unus, et unum mane duorum; | sideris et floris nam domina una Venus.

A late red-figured *hydría* from Euboia (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 589 no. 1852, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 635 fig. 170 (from a sketch by Mrs Hugh Stewart)) shows Eros watering slender flowers that spring from the ground. A female figure with bare breast (Aphrodite?) directs his efforts. On the left sits a young man with a *thýrsos*. On the right stands a young woman with a *týmpanon*. Apparently Aphrodite and Eros are gardening with a Dionysiac *entourage*.

Differently conceived but somewhat similar in effect is the design found on a bronze medallion of Faustina Iunior (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 16 no. 2 pl. 24, 1 ('Venus

Fig. 75.

Fig. 76.

Fig. 77.

Genetrix?...in a garden') = Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 40 no. 13 pl. 68, 1 ('Venere') = my fig. 75. The specimen has been retouched). Venus, half-draped, stands to the front, her right hand raised to hold a small tree, which rises from (behind?) a base. On the left of her two Cupids are playing, on the right four more, one of whom leans over the battlements of a wall or tower. Above it appear other trees. The scene recurs with some variations on a bronze medallion of Lucilla, daughter of Faustina Iunior (Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 95 f. fig. (= my fig. 76) ('*Vénus dans un jardin*'), Gnecchi *op. cit.* ii. 51 no. 11 pl. 76, 8 (= my fig. 77) Bologna ('Donna...in un giardino')). A girl is added, filling her pitcher from a stream in the foreground. These medallions are probably time-serving attempts to identify first Faustina and then her daughter with Venus. Faustina at least was actually worshipped along with her husband M. Aurelius in the temple of Venus and the Dea Roma (Dion Cass. 71. 31 *τῷ δὲ Μάρκῳ καὶ τῇ Φαυστίνῃ ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλὴ ἔν τε τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ τῷ τε Ῥωμαίῳ εἰκόνας ἀργυρᾶς ἀνατεθῆναι καὶ βωμὸν ἱδρυθῆναι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς κόρας τὰς ἐν τῷ ἄστει γαμουμένας μετὰ τῶν νυμφίων θύειν*), and had coins inscribed VENVS, VENVS FELIX, VENVS GENETRIX, VENVS VICTRIX or VENERI AVGVSTAE, VENERI FELICI, VENERI GENETRICI, VENERI VICTRICI (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 921, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 154 ff. nos. 226—283). Here are a few examples: fig. 78 from the *Vautier—Collignon Sale Catalogue* 1922 p. 52 no. 980 pl. 35, fig. 79 from the *Bement Sale Catalogue* 1924 iii. 59 no. 1066 pl. 39, fig. 80 from Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 39 no. 8 pl. 67, 6, fig. 81 from the *Levis Sale Catalogue* 1925 p. 40 no. 632 pl. 26, fig. 82 from the *Bement Sale Catalogue* 1924 iii. 59 no. 1068 pl. 39, fig. 83 from the *Hirsch Sale Catalogue* 1908 p. 10 no. 117 pl. 7. Since coins of this sort are apt to reproduce previous art-types (*e.g.* fig. 78 recalls the Aphrodite of Fréjus (?), fig. 83 is an adaptation from the Aphrodite of Capua, and fig. 80 owes something even to the Zeus of Olympia), I incline to think that the

Eryx (figs. 86, 87)[1] was 'covered with dew and fresh grass[2]'—

medallions representing Venus in the Garden presuppose a Greek fresco of Aphrodite *ἐν Κήποις*. The trees, the river, the wall or tower with battlements would all suit the famous sanctuary beside the Ilissos.

[3] Silver *lítrai* of Eryx, struck *c.* 480—413 B.C., have *obv.* EPVKINON (retrograde) or ERVKAIIB (partly retrograde) a female figure (? hierodule) sacrificing, with or

Fig. 78.

Fig. 79.

Fig. 80.

Fig. 81.

Fig. 82.

Fig. 83.

Fig. 84.

Fig. 85.

without a *phiále*, at a lighted altar; the space behind her is sometimes filled by a floral pattern: *rev.* a hound beneath a four-spoked wheel, or ivy-branch, or honeysuckle ornament, once with volutes in exergue (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 62 nos. 6, 7 with fig. (=my fig. 84), 8, 9, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 90 fig. 11, *Weber Cat. Coins* i. 274 no. 1305 pl. 50, *Naville Sale Catalogue* 1923 p. 36 no. 878 pl. 26 (=my fig. 85), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 138).

[1] A *denarius* struck by C. Considius Nonianus *c.* 60 B.C. shows *obv.* C · CONSIDI · NONIANI || S · C head of Venus *Erycina* to right, with ear-ring, *stephánē*, and wreath; *rev.* mountain with fortified gateway, inscribed ERVC, below and tetrastyle temple above

(T. L. Donaldson *Architectura numismatica* London 1859 p. 110 ff. fig. 32, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 375 f. fig., M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 87, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 473 nos. 3830 pl. 47, 21, 3831, 3832, H. Mattingly *Roman Coins* London 1928 p. 86 pl. 21, 17, *Bement Sale Catalogue* 1924 iii. 9 no. 126 pl. 5 (=my fig. 86)). Fig. 87 is from a specimen of mine. For the extant remains of ring-walls and temple-platform see C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi 604 and especially J. Kromayer 'Eryx' in *Klio* 1909 ix. 461—477 with map and figs. 1—4.

[2] This striking expression occurs in the remarkable account of Aphrodite's precinct included by Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 50 *ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ ἡμέραν πᾶσαν θύουσι τῇ θεῷ καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ οἱ ξένοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν βωμὸς ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρανῷ ὁ μέγιστός ἐστι, πολλῶν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καθαγιζομένων θυμάτων ὃ δὲ πανημέριος καὶ ἐς νύκτα ἐξάπτεται. ἕως δὲ ὑπολάμπει, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀνθρακιάν, οὐ σποδόν, οὐχ ἡμικαύτων τρύφη δαλῶν ὑποφαίνει, δρόσου δὲ ἀνάπλεώς ἐστι καὶ πόας νεαρᾶς, ἥπερ οὖν ἀναφύεται ὅσαι νύκτες. τά γε μὴν ἱερεῖα ἑκάστης ἀγέλης αὐτόματα φοιτᾷ καὶ τῷ βωμῷ παρέστηκεν, ἄγει δὲ ἄρα αὐτὰ πρώτη μὲν ἡ θεός, εἶτα ἡ δύναμίς τε καὶ ἡ τοῦ θύοντος βούλησις. κ.τ.λ.* We gather that every morning the open-air altar of the goddess, despite the numerous burnt-offerings of the previous day, was found—or was

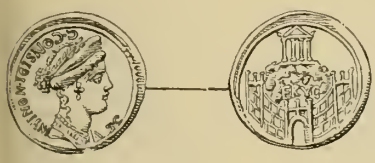


Fig. 86.

Fig. 87.

Fig. 88.

Fig. 89.

said to be found—overgrown with dewy verdure. Anent this miracle E. Ciaceri *Culti e miti nella storia dell' antica Sicilia* Catania 1911 p. 87 notes the beneficent influence of dew on Sicilian vegetation and adds: 'Nella divina rugiada si vedeva la protezione della dea; ed è forse degno di rilievo che sino ai nostri giorni nel popolo di Trapani si è serbata fede alla brezza notturna; onde si è creduto ch' essa scenda come benedizione del cielo sugli abiti e vestiti che si espongano all' aria aperta durante la notte[1] ([1] Pitrè Bibliot. delle trad. pop. sic. XII (Palermo 1881) p. 261).'

That Aphrodite Ἐρυκίνη (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 281 Eryx [Κάρ]πιμος Ἀρίστωνο[ς]| [Ἀ]φροδίται Ἐρ(υ)κίν[αι], Diod. 4. 83, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἔρυξ, cp. Paus. 8. 24. 6 and Strab. 272. For Venus *Erycina* see Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 939, 3163—3165, De Vit *Onomasticon* ii. 756, Carter *Epith. deor.* p. 101, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 562 ff.) was in some sense a goddess of vegetation appears also from the fact that on *lítrai* of *c.* 413—400 B.C. she is seated with a dove on her hand and a tree behind her (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 62 f. nos. 10 f. and 12, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 136 pl. 9, 10 (=my fig. 88), *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 181 pl. 13, 8, *Weber Cat. Coins* i. 275 nos. 1310 pl. 50, 1312 pl. 50, 1313 pl. 50 (= my fig. 89), *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 263 no. 2234 pl. 72, 7, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 138). Note too the frequency of floral ornaments, volutes, etc. on the various *lítrai* (*e.g.* figs. 85, 91). The plant λυχνίς, 'rose-campion,' which flourished on Mt Eryx, was said to have sprung from the bath of Aphrodite after sleeping with Hephaistos (Amerias *ῥιζοτομικὸν ap.* Athen. 681 F: on Amerias see O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 2 ff.).

The dove had a special significance in this cult and was in all probability viewed as an

embodiment of the goddess (F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2765)—witness Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 2 ἐν Ἔρυκι τῆς Σικελίας ἑορτή ἐστιν, ἣν καλοῦσιν Ἀναγώγια Ἐρυκῖνοί τε αὐτοὶ καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅσοι ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πάσῃ. ἡ δὲ αἰτία, τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγουσιν ἐντεῦθεν ἐς Λιβύην ἀπαίρειν ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἡμέραις. δοξάζουσι δὲ ἄρα ταῦτα ταύτῃ τεκμαιρόμενοι. περιστερῶν πλῆθός ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα πάμπλειστον. οὐκοῦν αἱ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶνται, λέγουσι δὲ Ἐρυκῖνοι τὴν θεὸν δορυφορούσας ἀπελθεῖν· ἀθύρματα γὰρ Ἀφροδίτης περιστερὰς εἶναι ᾄδουσί τε ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πεπιστεύκασι πάντες ἄνθρωποι. διελθουσῶν δὲ ἡμερῶν ἐννέα μίαν μὲν διαπρεπῆ τὴν ὥραν ἔκ γε τοῦ πελάγους τοῦ κομίζοντος ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης ὁρᾶσθαι ἐσπετομένην, οὐχ οἵαν κατὰ τὰς ἀγελαίας πελειάδας τὰς λοιπὰς εἶναι, πορφυρᾶν δέ, ὥσπερ οὖν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Τήιος ἡμῖν Ἀνακρέων ᾄδει, πορφυρέην που λέγων (*frag.* 2 Bergk[4], 2 Edmonds, 2 Diehl). καὶ χρυσῷ δὲ εἰκασμένη φανείη ἄν, καὶ τοῦτό γε κατὰ τὴν Ὁμήρου θεὸν τὴν αὐτήν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἀναμέλπει χρυσῆν (*Il.* 3. 64, 5. 427, 9. 389, 19. 282, 22. 470, 24. 699, *Od.* 4. 14, 8. 337, 342, 17. 37, 19. 54, *h. Aphr.* 93). ἕπεται δὲ αὐτῇ τῶν περιστερῶν τὰ νέφη τῶν λοιπῶν, καὶ ἑορτὴ πάλιν Ἐρυκίνοις καὶ πανήγυρις τὰ Καταγώγια, ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα.

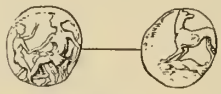


Fig. 90.

Fig. 91.

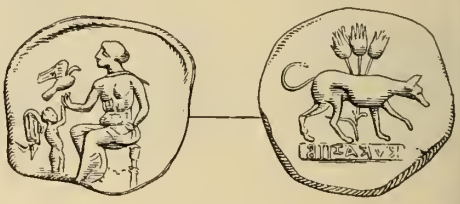


Fig. 92.

With Aphrodite was associated a youthful consort, presumably Eryx her son by the local king Boutas (Diod. 4. 23, 83, Hyg. *fab.* 260, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 570, 5. 24, 412, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἔρυξ, Myth. Vat. 1. 53, 2. 156, cp. schol. vet. Theokr. 15. 101) or by Poseidon (Apollod. 2. 5. 10, Dion Cass. *frag.* 4. 2 Bekker, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 5. 24, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 570, Myth. Vat. 1. 94, 1. 107, 2. 156, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 866, 958, 1232), rather than Aineias (Diod. 4. 83, Strab. 608, Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 4. 72, Verg. *Aen.* 5. 759 ff., Fest. p. 340 *b* 3 ff. Müller, p. 458, 31 ff. Lindsay, Hyg. *fab.* 260, cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 5. 760): see F. Dümmler *loc. cit.* A rare *litra* of *c.* 413—400 B.C. shows Aphrodite drawing towards herself a naked youth, whom I take to be Eryx (H. Riggauer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1881 viii. 72 f. pl. 1, 2 'Sollten wir hier vielleicht Eryx zu erblicken haben ... oder haben wir hier den Nachklang einer früheren mythologischen Entwicklungsphase des Eros ...?,' Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 17 pl. A, 19 '*figure virile*,' Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 138 'wingless Eros'. Fig. 90 is from a specimen in my collection). Another, of the same period, turns Eryx into Eros—an easy transformation (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 63 no. 13, *Weber Cat. Coins* i. 275 no. 1311 pl. 50, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 138. Fig. 91 is from a specimen of mine); and this type is comparable with that of a unique tetradrachm inscribed ΙRVkAΙΙB retrograde (G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 136 pl. 9, 11 (= my fig. 92), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 138).

A further point of interest in the cult was its ancient service of hierodules (Strab. 272 οἰκεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἔρυξ λόφος ὑψηλός, ἱερὸν ἔχων Ἀφροδίτης τιμώμενον διαφερόντως, ἱεροδούλων γυναικῶν πλῆρες τὸ παλαιόν, ἃς ἀνέθεσαν κατ' εὐχὴν οἵ τ' ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ ἔξωθεν πολλοί· νυνὶ δ' ὥσπερ αὐτὴ ἡ κατοικία λειπανδρεῖ καὶ τὸ ἱερόν (so the second hand in cod. B. ἢ τὸ ἱερόν codd. A. Koraës marked the whole phrase as suspicious. H. L. Jones simply omits ἢ), καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σωμάτων ἐκλέλοιπε τὸ πλῆθος) and their later equivalents (Diod. 4. 83, Cic. *in Q. Caecil. divin.* 55).

Lastly it should be observed that Eryx, who is described as king of the Elymoi (Apollod. 2. 5. 10, Dion Cass. *frag.* 4. 2 Bekker, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1232) or Sikanoi (cp. Paus. 8. 24. 2) or at least of some part of Sicily (Diod. 4. 23, 83, Paus. 4. 36. 4,

a phrase that reminds us of Demeter *Chlóe*, Demeter the 'Grass,' at Athens[1].

Myth. Vat. 1. 94, 1. 107), not only founded the town and temple of Eryx (Diod. 4. 83, Myth. Vat. 2. 156), but was also buried on the mountain (Hyg. *fab.* 260, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 570, Myth. Vat. 2. 156).

All these traits are consistent with the view (R. v. Scala in the *Historische Zeitschrift* 1912 cviii. 18, Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 344) that Aphrodite Ἐρυκίνη was a mountain-mother of the 'Minoan' kind, who as such would have her sacred tree and doves and *páredros*. In a long-established cult sundry features may well have been imported from alien sources. The service of hierodules is suggestive of oriental influence (H. Hepding in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1467, D. G. Hogarth in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 671 b—672 b), and many scholars have been content to regard this Aphrodite as a Hellenised form of the Phoenician Astarte (*e.g.* W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 396, T. G. Pinches in J. Hastings *op. cit.* 1908 i. 767 a, L. B. Paton *ib.* 1909 ii. 118 a, W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 18 f., 23 n. 1, 26, 38, 273); even Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 374 dismisses her as 'ganz semitisch.' But the hound on coins of Eryx should hardly be compared with the sacred dogs of Hephaistos (Hadran) on Mt Aitne (*supra* ii. 630): it is simply due to the dependence of Eryx on Segesta, whose city-badge was a similar hound (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 603).

The tradition that the eponymous Eryx was defeated by Herakles (Hdt. 5. 43) in a wrestling-match for the kingdom (Paus. 3. 16. 4 f., 4. 36. 4), or for possession of the bull which had broken away from the cattle of Geryones (Apollod. 2. 5. 10, cp. Lyk. *Al.* 866 f.: see further K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 604 ff.), appears later in a slightly different form. Eryx is a wrestler or pentathlete, who challenges strangers and slays them till he is himself slain by Herakles (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 866, 958). In any case this ranges him with Phorbas, Kyknos, Kerkyon, Antaios, Amykos, and other early kings (I have discussed the series in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 376 ff.), whose primitive rule of succession is the starting-point of Sir J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough*. It is not impossible that Eryx king of the Elymoi and Virbius the *rex Nemorensis* belonged to the same (? Ligurian: C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2467) stratum of the population of Italy.

[1] At the western end of the southern slope of the Akropolis at Athens there was in the time of Pausanias a joint-sanctuary of Ge Κουροτρόφος and Demeter Χλόη (Paus. 1. 22. 3 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς Κουροτρόφου καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔστιν αὐτῶν διδαχθῆναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐλθοντα ἐς λόγους). Originally, however, the two cults had been distinct. The enclosure of Ge Κουροτρόφος was called the Κουροτρόφιον, as we know from three boundary-stones, one early (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1 no. 555 *c* [Κ]ουροτ[ρ]όφ[ιον]), the others later (S. A. Koumanoudes in Ἀθήναιον 1877 vi. 147 f.). Adjoining it was the shrine of Blaute (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 411 εἴσοδος πρὸς ση|κὸν Βλαύτης καὶ | Κουροτρόφου ἀνει|[μέν]η τῶ δήμωι, cp. Hesych. Βλαύτη· τόπος Ἀθήνησι and perhaps Poll. 7. 87 ἡ δὲ βλαύτη σανδαλίου τι εἶδος, καὶ ἥρως Ἀθήνησιν ὁ ἐπὶ βλαύτῃ· ἀνέθηκε γάρ τις σκυτοτόμος βλαύτης λίθινον τύπον: see further O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 560 f. and Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 2565 p. 484 ff. pl. 60 with figs. 231—235, no. 969 p. 509 pl. 184).

Demeter Χλόη had a sacred table (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 631, 16 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 673, 16 ff. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 24, 16 ff. an inscription dating from the early part of *s.* iv B.C. and admitting of fairly certain restoration Δήμητρος Χλόης ἱερε[ίαι ἱερεώσυνα: Γ : δεισί]|ας κρεῶν, πυρῶν ἡμιέκτεω: ||| : μ[ίτος κοτύλης: ||| : ἐλαί]|ο τριῶν κοτυλῶν: |C : φρυγάνων: ||: ἐ[πὶ δὲ τὴν τράπεζαν κ]|ωλῆν, πλευρὸν ἰσχίο, ἡμίκραιρα[ν χορδῆς]. Cp. H. Mischkowski *Die heiligen Tische im Götter-kultus der Griechen und Römer* Königsgberg i. Pr. 1917 p. 29) and probably a small temple (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 375, 3 ff. an inscription from the end of *s.* iii B.C. [ἀ]ν[αγράψαι δὲ] | τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γ[ρ]αμμα[τέα τ][ὸ]ν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στή[ληι ἀ]|θίνει καὶ στῆσαι πα[ρὰ] τὸν ν[εὼν τῆς] | Δήμητρος. U. Köhler in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1877 i. 177 pointed out that this νεώς was probably that of Demeter Χλόη). A fragmentary

inventory of her property at the end of *s.* iv B.C. is extant (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 722, 18=*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1472 *B*, 39 [Δήμη]τρος τῆ[s] Χλόη[s]). Her priestess had a reserved seat in the theatre (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 349 (with facsimile on pl. 3) (*a*) Δήμητρο[s] Χλόης in part obliterated by (*b*) Διοφά[ν]του. So W. Dittenberger *loc. cit.* and W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 266 pl. 1).

Her festival in spring, when the fresh verdure began to appear, was an occasion of jesting and jubilation (Cornut. *theol.* 28 p. 55, 13 ff. Lang *περὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ τῇ* Χλόῃ Δήμητρι *θύουσι μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ χαρᾶς, ἰδόντες χλοάζοντα* (*sc. τὸν σπόρον*) *καὶ ἀφθονίας αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδα ὑποδεικνύντα*). She also received the sacrifice of a ram on Thargelion 6 in the early summer-time (Eupolis Μαρικᾶς *frag.* 7 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 502 f. Meineke) *ap.* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 1600 Εὐχλόου Δήμητρος *ἱερὸν ἐστι πρὸς τῇ ἀκροπόλει· καὶ* Εὔπολις Μαρικᾷ "ἀλλ' *εὐθὺ πόλεως εἶμι· θῦσαι γόρ με δεῖ | κριὸν* Χλόῃ Δήμητρι," *ἔνθα δηλοῦται ὅτι καὶ κριὸς* †*θήλεια τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ θύεται* (F. Stoecker's cj. *θηλείᾳ*, though accepted by Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 477 n. 4, does not cure the passage. R. F. P. Brunck prints *οὐ θήλεια μόνον* οἷς after *θύεται*), *οὕτω δὲ τιμᾶται <ἐκ* (*ins.* J. Lascaris)> *τῆς κατὰ τῶν κήπων χλόης· θύουσί τε Θαργηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ*, Philochoros (in a *frag.* omitted by Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 835 Χλόης Δήμητρος *ἱερὸν ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἐν ᾧ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι θύουσι μηνὸς Θαργηλιῶνος <*$\overline{\varsigma}$ (*ins.* U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff)>, *ὡς Φιλόχορός φησιν ἐν* $\overline{\varsigma}$ (Mommsen *loc. cit.* cj. *φησι, τῇ ἕκτῃ* construing Θαργηλιῶνος...*τῇ ἕκτῃ*). This sacrifice may have been purificatory (cp. Apollod. *χρονικά frag.* 82 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 446 Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 2. 44 *ἐγεννήθη δέ* (Sokrates), *καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς* Χρονικοῖς, *ἐπὶ Ἀψηφίωνος* (so C. Müller for Ἀψεφίωνος codd.) *ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς ἑβδόμης* Ὀλυμπιάδος, Θαργηλιῶνος *ἕκτῃ, ὅτε καθαίρουσι τὴν πόλιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν γενέσθαι Δήλιοι φασίν*). Whether Athens, like Mykonos (*infra*), made a winter-offering to Demeter Χλόη, is not known.

The cult lasted into Roman times (P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 167 f. no. 4, published more fully by H. G. Lolling in the Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 129 f. no. 4, a long slab of Pentelic marble with a dedication in red letters of Roman date Δήμητρι Χλόῃ *ἡ ἱέρεια* Χ[ι]κοβούλη *ἡ καὶ* Ἰλάρα Θεοτείμου *ἐξ* Ἑρμείου *ἀνέθηκε*, cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1030, 44 f. Ἑρμειοι | Θεότιμος Τρύφωνος | κ.τ.λ. a *prytanis* of 166/7—168/9 A.D.), when Kore was associated with Demeter (H. G. Lolling in the Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 130 no. 5 a small pillar of Hymettian marble, inscribed in red letters of Roman date and originally used as the base of a statuette Δήμητρι Χλόῃ | *καὶ* Κόρῃ | *τὴν* Κουροτρό|φον Εἰσίδοτος | *ἀνέθηκεν* | *κατ' ὄνειρον*). A Delphic oracle of *s.* ii A.D. speaks of their precinct as the spot where the forefathers of the Athenians first grew corn (O. Kern 'Demeter Chloe' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 192—198 two fragments of a small slab of Pentelic marble inscribed (*A*) Φοῖβος Ἀθηναίοις Δελφοὺς *ναίων τάδε* [*εἶπεν·*] | *ἔστιν σοι παρ' ἄκρας πόλεως παρα*[–⏑⏑–⏑–,] | *οὗ λαὸς σύμπας κλήιζει γλαυκώ*[*πιδα Ἀθήνην* or *κούρην*,] | Δήμητρος Χλοίης *ἱερὸν* Κού[*ρης τε μακαίρας*,] | *οὗ πρῶτον στάχυς εὐξή*[*θη ζειῶν ἱεράων* (*suppl.* H. Diels),] | *ἃς πρότεροι πατ*[*έρες*–––] | *ἰδρύσ*[*αντο*–––]. (*B*) [–––] *ἀπαρχάς* | [–––]*s ἀγνοῦ* | [–––*τ*]*έχναισιν* | [–––*ἀ*]*νιούσης* | [–––*δ*]*ρεπτά*] [–––*τόδε λώι*]*ον ἔσται*. 'Es handelt sich um *ἀπαρχαί* (V. 8), um die Erstlinge des Feldes, welche die Athener der Chloe schuldig sind'). This identifies it with the site of the Βουζύγιος ἄροτος (Plout. *praec. coniug.* 42 Ἀθηναῖοι *τρεῖς ἀρότους ἱεροὺς ἄγουσι· πρῶτον ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ, τοῦ παλαιοτάτου τῶν σπόρων ὑπόμνημα· δεύτερον ἐν τῇ* Ῥαρίᾳ· *τρίτον ὑπὸ πόλιν* (so K. O. Müller for *πέλιν* codd.), *τὸν καλούμενον* Βουζύγιον): see C. Wachsmuth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1097 and W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 256. Other references to Demeter Χλόη are Aristoph. *Lys.* 835 ΓΤ. Α. *ποῦ δ' ἐστὶν ὅστις ἐστί;* ΑΤ. *παρὰ τὸ τῆς* Χλόης, Semos of Delos (*c.* 230 B.C.) *frag.* 19 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 495 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 618 D *Σῆμος δ' ὁ Δήλιος ἐν τῷ περὶ παιάνων φησί· '...καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα ὁτὲ μὲν* Χλόην, *ὁτὲ δὲ* Ἰουλώ (*sc. προσηγόρευον*),' Eustath. *in Il.* p. 772, 62 f. *ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι οὐ μόνον χλόη ἡ γῆθεν φυομένη...ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ ἐπιθετικῶς·* Χλόης *γάρ, φασι, Δήμητρος ἱερὸν παρά που τὴν Ἀττικήν*.

There are one or two indications that the same cult was practised elsewhere in Attike. At Eleusis a festival Χλοῖα was observed in *s.* ii B.C. (D. Philios in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 125 ff. no. 60, 6 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 135, 6 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 661, 6 ff. *ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ Ἐλευσινίων ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσι|ῶν, ὧν ἔθυσεν τοῖς τε Ἀλῴοις καὶ τοῖς* Χλοίοις *τεῖ τε Δήμητρι καὶ τεῖ | Κόρει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, οἷς*

Perhaps we can go a step further. O. Gruppe[1] has conjectured with much probability that the Arrhephoria was performed on the night of the Diipolieia, that is, on the occasion of the last full moon in the Attic year. He recalls the Greek belief—a belief based upon accurate observation[2]—that the dew lies thickest on the night of a full moon[3], and Alkman's statement that Herse the 'Dew' was

πάτριον ἦν, συνετέλεσεν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν | Καλαμαίων θυσίαν κ.τ.λ.). This accounts for Hesych. Χλοιά (Meursius cj. Χλοεία, A. Meineke cj. Χλόεια)· ἑορτὴ ἀπὸ τῶν κάλπων (Meursius and Meineke cjj. καρπῶν). Again, the sacrificial calendar from *Koukounari* (*supra* p. 115) notes among the trieteric rites of Marathon that in Anthesterion a pregnant sow is sacrificed to Ἐλευσινία and another to Χλόη παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλου, *i.e.* Χλόη 'next door to Meidylos' (J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 46 ff. no. 26 B, 48 ff. Ἀνθεστηριῶνος· Ἐλευσινίαι ὗς κυοῦσα ΔΔ, | ἱερώσυνα ⊢|. Χλόηι παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλον ὗς κυὸ[σα] | ΔΔ, ἱερώσυνα ⊢, ἀλφίτων ἑκτεὺς ||||, οἴνο χ[ὸς..]). In Mykonos a calendar of *c.* 200 B.C. fixes Poseideon 12 as the mid-winter day when a fine white ram must be sacrificed to Poseidon Τεμενίτης, a white male lamb to Poseidon Φύκιος, and two fine sows, one of them pregnant, to Demeter Χλόη (J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 13 ff. no. 4, 11 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 714, 11 ff. = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 577 ff. no. 5416, 11 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1024, 11 ff. τῆι αὐτῆι ἡμέραι Δήμητρι Χλόηι ὗες | δύο καλλιστεύουσαι, ἡ ἑτέρα ἐγκύμ[ων·] νῶτογ κόπτετα[ι] | τῆς ἐγκύμονος. τὰς ὗς β[ουλ]ὴ κ[ρινέ]τ[ω·] μᾳ[γί]ρωι ἄρχοντες | διδόντων ὀσφὺν καὶ κωλῆν τῆς ὑὸς τῆς ἑτέρης, ἀλφίτω[ν] | δύο χοίνικας, οἴνου τρεῖς κοτύλ[α]ς).

But the real interest of Demeter Χλόη lies, not so much in the details of her cult, as in the fact that her very name identifies the goddess with the verdure. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 33 says of her worship: 'Its chief claim on our attention is that it seems to reveal a glimpse of the pre-anthropomorphic period when the natural object itself might be conceived as animate and divine, and the personal deity had not yet clearly emerged; thus such religious perceptions as "Demeter the Verdure" or "Zeus the Thunder" on the one hand, and Demeter the Verdure-giver or Zeus the Thunderer on the other, may be the products of widely different strata of religion.' The second stage is attested partly by the cult of Demeter Εὔχλοος at Kolonos (Soph. *O. C.* 1600 f. τὼ δ' Εὐχλόου Δήμητρος εἰς | προσόψιον πάγον μολοῦσαι with schol. *ad loc.* cited *supra*. On the topography of the site see Sir R. C. Jebb's ed. p. xxxi with map and Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pp. 389 f., 392, 402, 405 pls. 124 (photographs) and 125 (plan). The broken base of Pentelic marble believed by the uncritical K. S. Pittakis to record a dedication to Demeter Εὐχλόη (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 191) is now known to contain no such record (U. Köhler in *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1415). Her name should be struck out in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2347, vi. 884), partly by the poetic usage of such epithets as χλοόκαρπος (Orph. *h. Dem. Eleus.* 40. 5 χλοόκαρπε, cp. Orph. *h. Ge* 26. 7 ἡδυπνόοις χαίρουσα χλόαις).

[1] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 34.

[2] X. Landerer 'Zur Meteorologie Griechenlands' in the *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde* N. F. 1857 ii. 163 observes: 'Der Thau nach Sonnenuntergang ist so bedeutend, dass man sich nur einige Augenblicke im Freien aufzuhalten braucht, um die Kleider und andere hygroskopische Gegenstände durch und durch feucht oder nass zu sehen.' C. Neumann—J. Partsch *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Alterthum* Breslau 1885 p. 64 adds: 'In klaren, mondhellen Nächten, wo die Wärmeausstrahlung der Erdoberfläche besonders kräftig sich vollzieht, der Boden und seine Pflanzendecke recht stark erkalten, ist der Thaufall am reichlichsten.' Cp. Aisch. *Ag.* 12, 335 f., 560 f.

[3] Plout. *symp.* 3. 10. 3, *quaestt. nat.* 24, Macrob. *Sat.* 7. 16. 31. Cp. Theophr. *de caus. plant.* 4. 14. 3, Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 292, Macrob. 7. 16. 21 and 24. See further W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 49 n. 198, *Nachträge über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1895 p. 24 f., and in the *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3147 ff.

the daughter of Zeus by Selene the 'Moon[1].' Now Plutarch, commenting on the passage from Alkman, remarks that the meaning of the poet was as follows: Zeus, the air, under the influence of Selene, the moon, turned himself into dew[2]. Plutarch's comment is a physical speculation of the usual sort[3]; but it suggests a possibility. It may be that the dew was regarded as the actual means whereby the sky-father impregnated the earth-mother. Rain was certainly so regarded[4]; and dew was held to be a gentler form of rain[5]. Homer says that, when Zeus embraced Hera on the summit of Ide, 'glittering dew-drops' fell from the golden cloud that encompassed them and earth put forth 'the dewy lotus-bloom[6].' Pliny in plainer terms tells us that the planet Venus, called by others the star of Iuno or Isis or the Mother of the gods, makes the earth to conceive by means of generative dew and rouses the procreative powers of all living things[7]. Besides, it is a significant fact that *érsen*, *ársen*, *árrhen*, the Greek word for 'male,' is obviously related to *érse*, 'dew[8].' Perhaps, then, when the Dew-bearers brought dew down the underground descent, they were simply conveying the sacred seed of Father Sky into the womb of Mother Earth.

And, if so, it may well be that in the 'something wrapt up[9]',

[1] *Supra* i. 732 n. 5. Gruppe might have added Lucian's whimsical notion that the Moon-dwellers agreed to pay the Sun-dwellers by way of tribute 10,000 *amphorae* of dew (Loukian. *ver. hist.* 1. 20).

[2] Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 25 διὸ πρὸς σὲ τρέφομαι μᾶλλον, ὦ φίλε Θέων· λέγεις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐξηγούμενος ταῦτα τὰ Ἀλκμᾶνος 'Διὸς θυγάτηρ | ἔρσα τρέφει καὶ Σελάνας [δίας]' ὅτι νῦν τὸν ἀέρα καλεῖ καὶ Δία φησὶν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς Σελήνης καθυγραινόμενον εἰς δρόσους τρέπεσθαι.

[3] *Supra* i. 29 f.

[4] *Infra* § 9 (e) i and ii.

[5] Plout. *quaestt. nat.* 24 ἡ γὰρ δρόσος ἀσθενής τις καὶ ἀδρανὴς ὄμβρος.

[6] *Supra* i. 154, iii. 35.

[7] Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 36—38 ending with the words: 'itaque et in magno nominum ambitu est. alii enim Iunonis, alii Isidis, alii Matris Deum appellavere. huius natura cuncta generantur in terris. namque in alterutro exortu genitali rore conspergens non terrae modo conceptus inplet, verum animantium quoque omnium stimulat.' Cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 41 οἱ δὲ τοῖσδε τοῖς φυσικοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀπ' ἀστρολογίας μαθηματικῶν ἕνια μιγνύντες Τυφῶνα μὲν οἴονται τὸν ἡλιακὸν κόσμον, Ὄσιριν δὲ τὸν σεληνιακὸν λέγεσθαι· τὴν μὲν γὰρ σελήνην, γόνιμον τὸ φῶς καὶ ὑγροποιὸν ἔχουσαν, εὐμενῆ καὶ γοναῖς ζώων καὶ φυτῶν εἶναι βλαστήσεσι· τὸν δὲ ἥλιον ἀκράτῳ πυρὶ κεκληρωκότα θάλπειν τε καὶ καταναίνειν τὰ φυόμενα καὶ τεθηλότα, κ.τ.λ., Nonn. *Dion.* 44. 220 ff. Γαῖα φυτῶν ὠδῖνα πεπαίνει | μαρμαρυγὴν δροσόεσσαν ἀκοιμήτοιο Σελήνης | δεχνυμένη.

[8] L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 462, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 158, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 83. Cp. Apul. ἀνεχόμενος (printed as *Anth. Lat.* i. 2 no. 712 Riese: for date see De Vit *Lat. Lex.* Index p. cxxxi n. (10)) 21 eiaculent tepidum rorem niveis laticibus.

How are we to explain Souidas' ἀρρηνοφορεῖν (certified by the order of letters) in the sense of ἀρρηφορεῖν, ἐρρηφορεῖν? Two manuscripts of Harpokr. *s.v.* ἀρρηφορεῖν have the same reading.

[9] *Supra* p. 169 n. 0.

which they brought back, we should recognise a new-born babe, the fruit of that momentous union. Dare we call him *Erichthónios* 'very child of the Ground[1]'?

i. The birth of Erichthonios.

Where the texts are silent the monuments may be allowed to speak. A terra-cotta relief of the 'Melian' type, said to have been found in a grave beyond the Ilissos on the road to Halimous and now at Berlin[2] (fig. 93)[3], shows the head and shoulders of Ge emerging from the ground. She presents the infant Erichthonios to his foster-mother Athena, who, wearing a helmet but no *aigís*, approaches from the left. Kekrops, with snaky tail, faces her on the right: he raises the forefinger of one hand in token of respect[4] and with the other holds a spray of olive. Stylistic considerations would refer the relief to the first half of the fifth century, while the four olive-leaves in Athena's helmet suit some date after the fight at Marathon[5]. The

[1] Not 'gewaltiger Erdherr' (L. Malten *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 p. 83 n. 4), der 'gewaltige Chthonios' (*id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 351), or der 'gewaltige Herr der Chthon' (*id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix. 190): see Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 491 n. 1. Nor 'Genius des fruchtbaren Erdbodens' (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 200. *Id. ib.* n. 1 observes that Hermes too is *ἐριχθόνιος* in *et. Gud.* p. 208, 31 f. *ἐριούνιος* Ἑρμῆς *καὶ χθόνιος* Ἑρμῆς *καὶ ἐριχθόνιος*=*et. mag.* p. 371, 51 f. *ἐριούνιος* Ἑρμῆς *καὶ χθόνιος καὶ ἐριχθόνιος* Ἑρμῆς). Nor yet 'good earth'—an unhappy rendering of H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 129, apparently borrowed from G. Curtius *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*[5] Leipzig 1879 p. 144 'Gutland.' Still less, of course, etymologically akin to Erechtheus (J. B. Bury in the *Class. Rev.* 1899 xiii. 307 f. *Ἐρεχθόχθων>*Ἐρέχθων (short form Ἐρεχθεύς)>Ἐριχθόνιος (*ι* by false derivation from *ἐρι-*+*χθόνιος*)): see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1320 n. 8, *supra* ii. 793 n. 10. Confusion arose early and lasted late (*et. Gud.* p. 207, 26 Ἐρεχθεύς, ὁ Ἐριχθόνιος, *et. mag.* p. 371, 29 Ἐρεχθεύς, ὁ Ἐριχθόνιος (so F. G. Sturz for Ἐπιχθόνιος) καλούμενος, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ἐρεχθεύς· ὁ Ἐριχθόνιος λεγόμενος. Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. lix 'the double personality, Erechtheus—Erichthonios,' *ead. Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides* Cambridge 1906 p. 60 'The name of Erechtheus or Erechthonios' (*sic*), J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 406 'der Doppelgänger des E[rechtheus], Erichthonios,' 440 'Der attische E[richthonios] ist die sekundäre Nebenfigur zu Erechtheus').

Cp. Harpokr. *s.v. αὐτόχθονες*· *ὁ δὲ* Πίνδαρος (*frag.* 253 Bergk[4]) *καὶ ὁ τὴν Δαναΐδα πεποιηκώς* (*frag.* 2 Kinkel) *φασιν* Ἐριχθόνιον *καὶ* Ἥφαιστον *ἐκ γῆς φανῆναι.* In Nonn. *Dion.* 27. 322 Erichthonios is *κοῦρος*... Γαιήιος.

[2] No. 2537.

[3] E. Curtius 'Die Geburt des Erichthonios' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1872 xxx. 51—57 pl. 63 (= my fig. 93), A. Flasch in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877 xlix. 425 f., Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 65 f. no. 120, E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1578 fig. 2, O. Immisch *ib.* ii. 1019 fig., Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. xxix f. fig. 2, *ead. Themis*[2] p. 263 f. fig. 63.

[4] C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 162, 179. Cp. *supra* ii. 735 fig. 666, 736 fig. 667.

[5] C.T. Seltman *Athens: its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 103, G. F. Hill in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1926 iv. 130 with Plates i. 304, *q*, *r*.

design, if genuine[1], probably falls within the period 490—470 B.C. What purpose it served in the grave is more doubtful. Possibly the rising of the boy from the depths of the dark earth to light and life was felt to be of good omen for the future of the buried dead[2].

Fig. 93.

Be that as it may, vase-painters of the fifth century took this old art-type and amplified it by the addition of other interested spectators. A red-figured *hydría* from Chiusi (?), now in the British Museum (pl. xxii)[3], makes a full-breasted Ge emerge waist-high from

[1] P. Jacobsthal *Die melischen Reliefs* Berlin—Wilmersdorf 1931 p. 96 ff. pl. 75 a notes that the head, shoulder, and breast of the child, parts of Kekrops' fore-arm and of Athena's right hand, together with a bit of the base beneath the snaky tail, are due to a restorer (fig. 21 shows the relief unrestored). After frequent inspection R. Zahn and Jacobsthal decided 'es endgültig für eine Fälschung zu erklären, allerdings für eine sehr intelligente und für die siebenziger Jahre recht gelungene und gelehrte.' But could a forger over sixty years ago have been so successful?

[2] Cp. *supra* ii. 417.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 159 f. no. E 182, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 3 ff. pl. 151, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 287 f. pl. 85, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt.*

Hydria from Chiusi (?), now in the British Museum:
Ge hands Erichthonios to Athena in the presence of Zeus, Nike, and Hebe (?).

See page 182 ff.

the ground, while Athena, armed with helmet, *aigís*, and spear, receives the babe in a striped mantle[1]. She is confronted, not by Kekrops, but by Zeus, who, clad in a *himátion* of like pattern and wearing a wreath, stands with his right hand resting on his hip, his left holding the thunderbolt. Behind Athena, Nike hastens forward with a large fillet in her outstretched hands. Behind Zeus and leaning familiarly on his shoulder is a female figure in a long *chitón*, over whose head is inscribed the name Oinanthe. The presence of this Dionysiac name[2] led E. Braun[3], F. Wieseler[4], C. Robert[5], and Sir C. H. Smith[6] to interpret the whole scene as the birth of Dionysos. But in this they were certainly wrong. The vase cannot be isolated from others of closely similar design, which beyond all question represent the birth of Erichthonios. And the name *Oinánthe*, accompanied as it is by the word *kalé*, is better explained by W. Klein[7], W. Drexler[8], and H. B. Walters[9] as a *Lieblingsinschrift* of a not very unusual sort[10]. After all, Oinanthe was a name occasionally borne by Attic women[11]. This leaves the youthful

Kunst ii. 2. 17 pl. 34, 401, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 405 f. fig. 127, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 252 no. 4 ('Der Oinanthemaler,' one of 'Die Manieristen ... die Vertreter eines verschnörkelten, archaisierenden Stils, der gegen Ende der archaischen Periode einsetzt und bis tief in die klassische Periode sich erhält' (*ib.* p. 237)). Pl. xxii is from a photograph.

[1] Cp. the fragment of an *amphora* or *pelike* from Gela (F. Hauser in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 190 with fig. 33 a, B. Sauer *Das sogenannte Theseion* Leipzig 1899 p. 60 f. fig.), which appears to reverse the design—Zeus (?) on the right, Athena on the left, of Ge.

[2] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 750 f. records Oinanthe as a Bacchant on a red-figured *kratér* at Vienna (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* pp. 211, 222 n. 55 pl. 17 ΔΙΝΟΝΟΗ, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8381 Οἰνάνθη: see now C. Fränkel *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* Halle a. S. 1912 p. 51 f.), and as a Bassarid, nurse of Dionysos, in Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 225 Οἰνάνθη ῥοδόεσσα, together with other more doubtful examples.

[3] E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 92 ff.

[4] Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 2. 17 pl. 34, 401 ('den kleinen Dionysos, oder genauer: Iakchos').

[5] C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 190 ff. fig.

[6] Sir C. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 159 f. no. E 182 ('Type of birth of Erichthonios ... Dionysos?').

[7] W. Klein *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*[2] Leipzig 1889 p. 129.

[8] W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 750 f.

[9] H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 265 n. 5.

[10] *Id. ib.* ii. 265, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 34, iii. 978 (Καλλιστάνθη καλή), P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 79 (Γλυκὼ καλά).

[11] F. Bechtel *Die Attischen Frauennamen* Göttingen 1902 p. 103 cites *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 2124, 3 ΟΙΝΑΝΘΗ and no. 4044 = A. Conze *Die attischen Grabreliefs* Berlin 1893 i. 71 no. 313 pl. 77 ΟΙΝΑΝΘΗ. W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1041 cite also Dem. *c. Macart.* 36; Polyb. 14. 11. 1 (*ap.* Athen. 251 E), 15. 25. 12, 15. 29. 8 and 10, 15. 33. 8; Plout. *v. Cleom.* 33, *amat.* 9.

goddess on the left anonymous. From her position and attitude I should judge her to be Hebe[1], whose title *Día*[2] might be adduced as a further justification of her proximity to Zeus[3].

A red-figured *stámnos* from Vulci, now at Munich (pl. xxiii)[4], repeats the central group of Ge presenting the babe to Athena in the

[1] Cp. the pose of Hebe (inscribed) on two *kratêres* by 'Der Kadmosmaler' (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 451), *viz.* (1) a *kályx-kratér* at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 339 ff. no. 1807, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 33 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 1 and 2 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 7, 5 and 6, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 451 no. 5), figured *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*) *med.*, on which HBH standing furthest to the left rests her right hand on her hip and leans her left elbow on the shoulder of Hera; (2) a volute-*kratér* at Ruvo (Jatta collection no. 1093, F. Gargallo-Grimaldi in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 160 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 42 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 175, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* ii. 890 f. fig. 965, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 426 ff no. 6

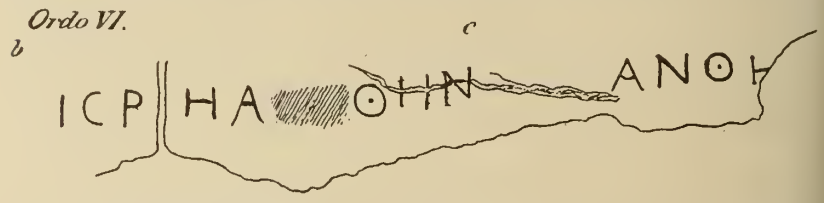


Fig. 94.

Atlas pl. 25, 5, O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2454 with fig. 5, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 451 no. 1) on which HBH, again on the extreme left, stands with her right hand resting on her hip and her left raised towards the shoulder of Hera (so Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 429: Reinach *loc. cit.* says 'une Ménade,' while Baumeister *loc. cit.* makes her the mother of Marsyas conversing with [Κυβ]ήβη!). Somewhat similar, but unnamed, is the goddess standing on the left of another *kratér* in the Jatta collection (*supra* i. 459 n. 5 fig. 318. To the bibliography add O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1890—1891 pl. 12, 2), who rests her left hand on the shoulder of a seated Zeus: I took her, perhaps wrongly, to be Aphrodite.

[2] Strab. 382 τιμᾶται δ' ἐν Φλιοῦντι καὶ Σικυῶνι τὸ τῆς Δίας ἱερόν· καλοῦσι δ' οὕτω τὴν Ἥβην. On Dia as consort of Zeus I have said my say in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 177 f., 1906 xx. 367, 377 f., 416, 419.

[3] Even if the name Oinanthe be interpreted as belonging to the personage above which it is placed, she need not be Dionysiac. Athena herself seems to have been worshipped at Athens as *Oinánthe*, the 'Vine-flower,'—an unremarked, but interesting, parallel to Demeter *Chlóe* (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 353 (with facsimile on pl. 3 = my fig. 94) ἱερήα[ς Ἀ]θην[ᾶς Οἰν]άνθη[ς], W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 266 pl. 1). The epithet, however, is at best uncertain.

[4] No. 2413 = Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 108 f. no. 345, T. Panofka in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 292—298, *Mon. d. Inst.* i pls. 10 and 11 (Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 66, 1 and 2), Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* i. 115 ff. pls. 73 and 74, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 267 ff. pl. 84, iii. 34 ff. pl. 11, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 38 f. pl. 46, 211*a* and 211*b*, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 95—98 pl. 137 (= my pl. xxiii), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 32 no. 14, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 300 no. 16.

J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 123 f., followed by Hoppin *loc. cit.*, identified this vase as the work of the late archaic painter Hermonax—indeed as that artist's masterpiece ('Sound and able as Hermonax's

Stámnos from Vulci, now at Munich:
Ge hands Erichthonios to Athena in the presence of Hephaistos.

See page 184 f.

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl. 137 (part) by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]

presence of an interested god, but substitutes Hephaistos[1] for Zeus. In lieu of *himátion*, wreath, and thunderbolt Hephaistos has but a *chlamýs* and a long knobbed staff. Zeus[2] himself is accommodated on the other side of the vase, where he sits on a handsome folding stool, clad in *chitón* and *himátion*. In his left hand he holds a lotiform sceptre; in his right, a metal *phiále*, which Nike standing before him has just filled. On the tendrils that spring from the handle-palmettes are poised four of the daintiest Erotes to be found in the whole range of Greek art. Their presence may be taken to indicate that obverse and reverse form a single scene and one which has the multiplication of young life for its ultimate meaning.

Hephaistos is definitely established in the room of Zeus on a red-figured *kýlix* from Corneto, preserved in Berlin[3]. This magnificent vase (fig. 95), which has been attributed to 'the Kodros-painter[4],' fortunately adds names to all the persons concerned. The external design shows again the familiar type of Ge presenting Erichthonios to Athena. Behind Athena stands a dignified, not to say Zeus-like, Hephaistos wearing a bay-wreath on his head and a *chlamýs* over his shoulder: he holds a long staff in his right hand and rests his

work generally is, he only once shows himself a remarkable artist, and that is not on any of his signed vases, but on the Munich stamnos with the Birth of Erichthonios'...).

[1] So most critics, including Panofka, Inghirami, Jahn, Müller—Wieseler, Hauser *locc. citt.* together with Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 422 n. 7, B. Sauer *Das sogenannte Theseion* Leipzig 1899 p. 58 f., etc. C. Lenormant *op. cit.* i. 276 sees 'Neptune frappant la terre avec son trident' (trident-head missing!). Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 3 n. 2 hesitates between Hephaistos and Poseidon, but *ib.* p. 5 decides for Poseidon. A. Flasch in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877 xlix. 427 ff. is for Kekrops or Hephaistos, preferably the latter; C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 192 n. 2, for Kekrops. E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 92 f., bent on recognising the birth of Dionysos (*supra* p. 183), is forced to interpret the standing god as Zeus.

[2] Almost all exponents from Inghirami *loc. cit.* onwards have identified the seated personage as Zeus. Yet Panofka *loc. cit.* says 'Neptune,' and C. Lenormant *op. cit.* i. 285, iii. 34 ff. '*Jupiter Polieus*' or '*Zeus Éleuthérius*' as a deity akin to '*Neptune Érechthée*.' Jahn *loc. cit.* is content with 'ein bärtiger Mann.' And Müller—Wieseler *loc. cit.* suggest 'Erichthonios als Herrscher und Richter des Landes, neben ihm die Göttin Dike' (!).

[3] Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 718 f. no. 2537, W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1876 p. 205 f., A. Flasch 'Tazza cornetana rappresentante la nascita di Erichthonios' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877 xlix. 418—446, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 39, 1—3 (=my fig. 95), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 208, R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1305 f. fig., M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 986 fig. 1278, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath* p. xxx f. with fig. 3.

[4] B. Graef 'Die Zeit der Kodrosschale' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 66, 73, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 153 no. 1 ('The artist belongs to the first period of the Free Style and may have been the teacher of Aristophanes'), J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 426 no. 6 ('Sehr feine Schalen mit Anklängen an Parthenonisches').

left hand on his side. Behind Ge is Kekrops with serpentine tail. Beyond Hephaistos we see Herse. Then—for the scene continues—, other figures likewise moving to the left, Aglauros followed by Erechtheus, Pandrosos full-front, next Aigeus, and lastly Pallas[1].

Fig. 95.

[1] Kekrops and his daughters Herse, Aglauros, Pandrosos supplement the theme of Erichthonios' birth by a suggestion of its sequel, the incident of the basket (*infra* p. 237 ff.). Erechtheus, Aigeus, and Pallas are later kings of Athens (Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* ii. 231 *stemma H*) 'here, by a pleasant anachronism, interested in the birth of their great ancestor' (Harrison *Myth. Mon Anc. Ath.* p. xxx).

Kratér from Chiusi, now at Palermo:
Ge hands Erichthonios to Athena in the presence of Hephaistos and Kekrops.

See page 187 f.

The central medallion has Heos as a winged goddess bearing off Kephalos.

Finally Hephaistos ceases to be reminiscent of Zeus and appears in his own right on a *kratér* from Chiusi, now at Palermo, to be dated *c.* 400 B.C. (pl. xxiv)[1]. Ge, who emerges more and more from the soil, as usual hands Erichthonios to Athena. This takes place beneath a conspicuous olive-tree, three young shoots of which spring from the earth in the foreground[2]. Behind Athena is Kekrops with coiled tail. Behind Ge Hephaistos, with supported foot[3], shoulders

[1] T. Panofka in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1837 p. 22, E. Braun *ib.* 1838 p. 82 f., *id.* 'Il nascimento d' Erittonio' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 91—98, *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 30 (= my pl. xxiv), Reinach *Rép. Vases*[2] i. 113, 4, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 272, 288—290 pl. 85 A.

The reverse design (inset on pl. xxiv) shows Heos in pursuit of Kephalos, one of whose brothers (Apollod. 1. 9. 4 *παῖδες δὲ Αἰνετός, Ἄκτωρ, Φύλακος, Κέφαλος*) escapes towards the left.

Fig. 96.

Fig. 97.

Fig. 98.

Fig. 99.

[2] Possibly the famous olive-tree on the Akropolis, called by the comedians the *ἀστὴ ἐλαία* (Poll. 9. 17, Hesych. *s.v. ἀστὴ ἐλαία*, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1383, 7 f.) or *πάγκυφος ἐλαία* (Aristoph. *fab. incert. frag.* 234 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1217 Meineke) *ap.* Poll. 6. 163, Hesych. *s.vv. ἀστὴ ἐλαία* and *πάγκυφος*), together with the *μορίαι*, which were believed to be offshoots from it (Aristoph. *nub.* 1005 with schol. *ad loc.*, Istros *frag.* 27 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 422 Müller) and Aristot. *frag.* 345 Rose *ap.* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 701, Apollod. *frag.* 34 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 434 Müller) = *frag.* 120 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 1076 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 705 cited *supra* ii. 20 n. 4, Poll. 1. 241, 5. 36, Bekker *anecd.* i. 280, 16, Hesych. *s.v. μορίαι*, Phot. *lex. s.v. μορίαι*, Souid. *s.v. μορίαι*, *et. Gud.* p. 398, 23 ff., *et. mag.* p. 590, 42 ff., Zonar. *lex. s.v. μορία*, Favorin. *lex.* pp. 85, 7 f., 611, 31, 1273, 53, 1643, 18 ff.). See further Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 107—111, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1872 p. 5 ff. with figs. 1—4 and Atlas pl. 1, Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 343 f., 393 f.

The sacred olive appears in various forms on the imperial bronze coinage of Athens (see *e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 96 ff. pls. 16, 7, 8, 11, 17, 1, 2, 4—6, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 365 pl. 211, 1, 4, 5, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 129 ff. pl. Z, 8, 11—19, pl. AA, 16, 21, and for longer series J. N. Svoronos *Les Monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pls. 84, 8, 36—40, 85, 32—37, 87, 15—43, 89, 1—25, 90, 1—34). Figs. 96—99 are from specimens in my collection.

[3] K. Lange *Das Motiv des aufgestützten Fusses in d. antiken Kunst und dessen statuarische Verwendung durch Lysippos* Leipzig 1879 pp. 1—64 with pl., E. Löwy *Lysipp und seine Stellung in der griechischen Plastik* Hamburg 1891 p. 9 ff. figs. 4 and 5, a—c, M. Collignon *Lysippe* Paris (1905) pp. 71, 116, W. Déonna in *L'archéologie, sa valeur, ses méthodes* Paris 1912 i. 278 ff., F. P. Johnson *Lysippos* Durham (North Carolina): Duke University Press 1927 pls. 6, 24, 30 f.

his tongs. A couple of little Victories, hovering in the air, offer wreaths to father and son; for it is as father of Erichthonios that Hephaistos has at length wholly dispossessed Zeus.

ii. Hephaistos and Athena.

So far we have seen reason to think that the Arrhephoria was an annual rite in which a couple of Dew-bearers conveyed the very seed of the sky-god down into the womb of the earth-goddess, and we have surmised that they brought up thence a new-born babe named Erichthonios. Moreover, a review of monuments known to represent the birth of Erichthonios[1] has made two points clear—that the group of Ge handing over the child to Athena was constant from first to last, and that Zeus as interested spectator was gradually ousted by Hephaistos. Vases distributed along the fifth century showed us in succession a Zeus of normal type, a Zeus-like personage probably to be called Hephaistos, a Zeus-like personage certainly called Hephaistos, and a Hephaistos of normal type.

How are these ritual and mythological *data* to be interpreted? I should infer (1) that the rite of the Arrhephoria as performed in the precinct (of Ge *Olympía*?[2]) near the Ilissos found apt expression in the Hellenic myth of Ge and Erichthonios, and (2) that in the course of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. the Hellenic myth was forced (by popular pressure?[3]) to find room for the long-established persons of pre-Hellenic cult. Thus Ge the original mother must hand over her babe to Athena as foster-mother, while Zeus *Olýmpios* the natural consort of Ge *Olympía* is displaced by Hephaistos the primitive partner of Athena.

This reading of the story is of course in part conjectural, but it fits well with certain important facts in the history of Attic religion and it deserves to be weighed in relation to them.

[1] I have excluded from my survey the parallel, but later, series of vases and reliefs, which represent an Eleusinian (not Athenian) myth—the birth of the infant Ploutos, handed over by Ge to Demeter. On these see S. Reinach 'La naissance de Ploutos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1900 i. 87—98 (= *id. Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 ii. 262—272), Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 524—526 fig. 151, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 487—489, C. Picard in the *Revue historique* 1931 pp. 1—76 (especially 33—42), *id.* in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 34—38 pl. 3.

[2] *Supra* p. 169 n. 0.

[3] The *régime* of Peisistratos and his successors did much to enhance the prestige of Athena (see *e.g.* C. T. Seltman *Athens: its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 pp. 40 ff., 46 f., 61, 68, 94 and F. E. Adcock in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1926 iv. 63, 66 f.), and pride in the city-goddess would tend to make men jealous for the credit of her partner Hephaistos (*infra* pp. 200, 223, 236). The 'Theseion,' if that be his temple (*infra* p. 223 n. 6), was no unworthy sequel to the Parthenon.

a

b

Stámnos from Knossos, now at Candia :

Painted terra-cotta *plaque* from Athens:
the Snake-goddess (Athena?) of late geometric art.

See page 189 *n.* 1.

The Athenian Akropolis had from time immemorial been the home of Athena, a goddess comparable with, if not actually descended from, the snake-goddess of the early Cretans[1]. Her

[1] This important fact was first firmly grasped and clearly enunciated by M. P. Nilsson *Die Anfänge der Göttin Athene* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.* Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser iv. 7) København 1921 pp. 1—20, *id. A History of Greek Religion* trans. F. J. Fielden Oxford 1925 pp. 26—28, *id. Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 417—431. I had already hinted at it in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 410 n. 2. See also O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 61 f., C. Clemen *Religionsgeschichte Europas* Heidelberg 1926 i. 76 n. 2, 103, 231, H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 pp. 107, 128.

Others have stressed the connexion between Athena and the 'Minoan' or Mycenaean shield-goddess. So C. Blinkenberg 'Kretisk Seglring fra ældre mykenisk Tid' in the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1920 pp. 308—322 fig. 1 f. and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Athena' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1921 pp. 950—965. See too O. Kern *Die Religion der Griechen* Berlin 1926 i. 24.

E. Kalinka in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 31 f. regards Athena as 'eine jener vorgriechischen Muttergottheiten, die sowohl in Kleinasien wie in vielen Landschaften Griechenlands verehrt wurden.'

In this context we cannot ignore the goddess twice figured on a *stámnos* from Knossos found by H. G. G. Payne and published by S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. p. 310 fig. 19. My pl. xxv is from fresh photographs of the jar kindly taken for me by J. D. S. Pendlebury. This personage has spirals like snakes starting from her hips, uplifted hands, and a *pólos* on her head—'offenbar eine Göttin, und zwar eine missverstandene Weiterbildung der spät- und submykenischen Schlangengöttinnen von Gurnià und Prinià.' She may be dated *c.* 700 B.C.

A kindred, but further developed, figure occurs on the remarkable terra-cotta *plaque* found by the American excavators of the *Agorá* at Athens and published by Dr T. L. Shear in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 3, 1932 p. 345 with a col. pl., Y. Béquignon in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 243 f. fig. 7. My pl. xxvi is from a photograph obtained for me from Dr Shear by E. J. P. Raven, who tells me (Jan. 30, 1934) that a full publication with a col. pl. is shortly to appear in *Hesperia*. The *plaque* ($9\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ ins., with two holes above for suspension) formed part of a dump near the base of the N. slope of the *Áreios Págos*, and was associated with other objects in terra-cotta—primitive figurines, gaily coloured horses with their riders, votive shields, etc.—also with 'late Geometric' vases and a 'Proto-Corinthian' *lékythos*. It has therefore been referred to the latter part of *s.* viii B.C. and regarded as a votive offering brought from the adjacent shrine of the Eumenides. It shows a goddess facing the spectator, with raised arms and spread hands (cp. *supra* ii. 536 fig. 406, *c*). Her head and neck are in relief; the rest of her is on the flat, painted in dull red and blue. She stands between two snakes, rendered in the same colours amid a vertical framework of lotos-flowers and rosettes. Dr Shear finds it hard to say whether this unique figure should be interpreted as a snake-goddess ('possibly a survival of the Minoan tradition into later times in Athens') or more definitely as 'one of the Furies.' Perhaps the spotted transverse garment worn across her chest is meant for an *aigís*. If so, she is a primitive pre-warlike Athena. After all, Athena Γοργῶπις (Zwicker in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1658) or Γοργώ (K. Zeigler *ib.* 1641 f.) is near akin to the original Γοργώ or Γοργών. Cp. Palaiph. 31 (32) καλοῦσι δὲ Κερναῖοι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν Γοργώ, ὥσπερ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Θρᾷκες μὲν Βένδιν, Κρῆτες δὲ Δίκτυναν (δίκτυνναν cod. *x*), Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Οὖπιν. Athena in due course was Christianised and appears on medieval leaden seals as $\overline{\text{ΜΡ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘΥ}}$ (*sc.* Μήτηρ Θεοῦ) Η ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ ΓΟΡΓΟΕΠΗΚΟΟC (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (*a*) *sub fin.*). The Panagia *Gorgoepékoos* of modern Athens has a long and interesting pedigree.

snakes, her owl[1], her olive-tree[2], her relations to the priestly king Erechtheus[3], in whose palace she had from the outset been housed[4], are indefeasible proofs of her ancient lineage. Even in the Periclean age Pheidias' great statue of the Parthenos, with a snake at her side, snakes round her waist, a snaky *aigís* over her shoulders, and a pillar beneath her hand[5], still perpetuated the esssential traits of a 'Minoan' prototype[6].

Another pre-Greek deity of the Akropolis was *Héphaistos*, whose name[7], equally unintelligible with that of Athena[8], presumably

[1] *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (λ). [2] *Supra* p. 187 n. 2. [3] *Supra* ii. 794.

[4] *Od.* 7. 80 f., cp. *Il.* 2. 546 ff. (of later origin? See now J. M. Paton in L. D. Caskey—H. N. Fowler—J. M. Paton—G. P. Stevens *The Erechtheum* Cambridge, Mass. 1927 pp. 431—433).

[5] *Supra* ii pl. xlv (in pocket at end).

[6] On coins of the Oxyrhynchite nome showing Athena with the double axe see *supra* ii. 625 f. figs. 529, 530. In fig. 100 I add another of these rare pieces from a specimen, struck by Antoninus Pius, now in my collection.

Fig. 100.

[7] The various forms of the name Ἥφαιστος and the various etymologies proposed for it by scholars ancient and modern are listed by Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 105 with n. 9, *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1304 n. 2, 1305 n. 1 and by L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 340—342. The latter concludes: 'Eine Deutung des Namens zu geben, ist zur Zeit noch nicht möglich; in welcher Richtung sie zu suchen ist, lehrt die oben dargestellte Entwicklungsgeschichte des Gottes. Sie ergab zunächst, dass der Gott vorgriechisch ist; für vorgriechisch wird der Name H. jetzt auch von Fick Vorgriech. Ortsn. 66 erklärt so wie der lemnische Mosychlos, an dem der Gott in früher Zeit festsitzt. Da H. bei den karisch-lykischen Völkern Kleinasiens seinen Ursprung hat, muss die Deutung im Kreise dieser Sprachidiome gesucht werden. ...Darf man von der Art des Kults aus einen vorläufigen Rückschluss wagen, so liegt es am nächsten, eine Hindeutung auf das Erdfeuer, die ursprüngliche Erscheinungsform des Gottes, auch in dem Namen zu suchen.' See further L. Malten 'Hephaistos' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 232—264 with 12 figs.

R. Pettazzoni 'Philoktetes—Hephaistos' in the *Rivista di filologia e d' istruzione classica* 1909 xxxvii. 170—189 (criticised by R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 576 f.) holds that Philoktetes and Hephaistos were originally different forms of the same *non*-Hellenic deity (their identity had been already asserted by F. Marx 'Philoktet—Hephaistos' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1904 xiii. 673—685) and that the name of the former throws some light on the nature of the latter. Philoktetes was healed by Pylios son of Hephaistos (Ptol. Hephaist. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 152 b 13 f. Bekker), and the priests of Hephaistos in Lemnos had curative powers (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 330, 12). Philoktetes, like Hephaistos, went limping. Philoktetes, like Hephaistos (*supra* i. 328 fig. 259), wore the *pîlos*. The pre-Hellenic god, who lies behind Philoktetes and Hephaistos, was equated by the Phoenicians with their Ešmun-Kadmilos. The name Kadm(il)os covers a Semitic word for 'gold'—Kadmos discovered the gold-mines of Mt Pangaion (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 197, Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 16 p. 49, 6 ff. Stählin, cp. Aristot. *frag.* 459 Rose; Strab. 680, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἰλλυρία)—and the names Φιλοκτήτης and Χρύση both point in the same direction. Thus Philoktetes = Hephaistos = Kadm(il)os, and we can understand the equivalence of Hephaistos and Chrysor (*supra* ii. 715, 1037). In fact, Kadmilos : Kabeiro

(*supra* ii. 314 n. 0) = Philoktetes : Chryse = Hephaistos (Chrysor) : Aphrodite (χρυσῆ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1367 n. 2).

A. Fick as a great philologist merits a more patient hearing. In his *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 66 he quotes with approval Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λῆμνος...ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης λεγομένης θεοῦ, ἣν Λῆμνόν φασι· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ παρθένους θύεσθαι and continues: 'Ganz fremdartig klingt auch Μόσυχλος...ob der Name des Gottes Ἄφαιστος griechisch ist, kann man stark bezweifeln, jedenfalls waren die grosse Göttin, der Feuergott und der Phallos (Hermes) die Hauptgottheiten der Tyrrhener.' In *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 46 he returns to the charge: 'Hephaistos gehört durchweg den vorgriechischen Pelagonen—Pelasgern—Tyrsenern an. Mittelpunkte seines Dienstes sind Lemnos und Attika. Andere Namen des Gottes sind Palamaon und Palamedes, in Attika und Phokis heisst er Prometheus, in Boeotien als Wildfeuer Typhaon, dessen Kampf mit Zeus um die Weltherrschaft [*supra* ii. 448 n. 2, 731, 826] religionsgeschichtlich als Versuch der Verehrer des Feuergottes, diesen zum Allgott zu erheben, zu denken ist. Auch der Name Hephaistos ist wohl pelasgisch; gleichgeformt ist Geraistos, vielleicht der pelasgische Name des Wassergottes, der als Buhle der Demeter d. i. der Allmutter entschieden den Pelasgern Arkadiens angehört. Die Gottheiten der Pelasger waren also: Allmutter und Phallos, und die zwei elementaren Feuer- und Wassergötter, denen sich vielleicht Hermes als Luftgottheit zugesellt.'

[8] Attempts to explain the name, which appears in Ionic as Ἀθήνη Ἀθηναίη, in Aeolic and Doric as Ἀθάνα Ἀθαναία, in Attic as Ἀθηναία Ἀθηνάα Ἀθηνᾶ, are collected by Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 185 f., F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2007 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1194 nn. 1—5.

The most interesting hypothesis so far advanced is that of another famous philologist P. Kretschmer. In *Glotta* 1921 xi. 282—284 he treats the name as Pelasgian or Tyrsenian and relates it on the one hand to the place-name Ἀθανασσός Ἀθανασός Ἀτανασός Ἀτταναασός (*Aidan*) in Phrygia with the characteristic suffix -ασσος (Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (*Royal Geographical Society*: Supplementary Papers iv) London 1890 p. 136 no. 26, *id. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 241 ff., 249 ('Bishops of...Attanassos...Philadelphius πόλεως Ἀθανασοῦ (Athanassi) *Conc. Chalced.* 451. Christophorus Ἀθανασσοῦ *Conc. Nicaen.* II 787. Philotheos Ἀθανασσοῦ *Conc.* 869 (?)'), ii. 355 ff., 395 ('Philadelphius Ἀτανασσοῦ...451'), W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2180), on the other hand to a group of Etruscan (?) words denoting a ritual vessel of terra cotta (Paul. ex Fest. p. 18, 11 Müller *Athanuvium* est poculi fictilis genus, quo in sacrificiis utebantur sacerdotes Romani (W. M. Lindsay p. 17, 9 prints *Atanuvium* with cod. *L.* Th. Mommsen in the *Ephem. epigr.* 1899 viii. 254 n. 2 gives *athanulum*), G. Goetz *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* Lipsiae 1888 ii. 22, 25 ff. = 1899 vi. 108 f. *Atena* εἶδος ποτηρίου ὀστράκου (ὀστρακίνου?) ᾧ οἱ πρυτάνεις ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις χρῶνται, ii. 47 f. = vi. 108 *Atanulus* (*atnanulus* cod. A. Swoboda in his ed. of P. Nigidius Figulus (Vindobonae 1889) p. 16 n. 0 cj. *athanulus*, which is accepted by P. Kretschmer) ἅγιον (ἀγγεῖον cod. *d*, Vulcanius cj. σφάγιον) ἱερέως σκεῦος, κειμήλιον, 1889 iv. 406, 33 = vi. 108 *atanulu* genus vasis, 1894 v. 591, 18 = vi. 108 *atanulum* genus vasis, v. 591, 46 = vi. 108 *attanabo* genus vasis, Nigid. *frag.* 9 Swoboda *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 58, 15 f. Lindsay itaque ex re (aere Scaligeri marg. J. H. Onions cj. aereum) in Saliaribus adtanus (A. Swoboda cj. *attanus*) tintinat, id est sonat, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5050 (the *acta* of Augustus' *ludi saeculares*, 17 B.C.), 107 and 132 ad atallam fuerunt (followed by a list of the *quindecimviri* present. F. Bücheler and K. Zangemeister in the *Ephem. epigr.* 1899 viii. 254 took *atalla* to be the diminutive of *atana*, *attana*, *attanus*)) and perhaps to ἄτταναν an Asia Minor (?) word for 'pan' or 'pot' (Hesych. *s.vv.* ἄττανα, ἀττανίδες, ἀττανίτας from Hipponax *frag.* 36. 3 Bergk⁴, *frag.* 39. 9 Diehl). Kretschmer suggests that the pre-Greek *Ἄθανον = ἄττανον gave rise to Ἀθάνα Ἀθαναία as 'eine Töpfergöttin,' the later Athena Ἐργάνη (Paus. 1. 24. 3 πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπωνόμασαν Ἐργάνην *sc.* οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι). Further, he hints that the clay vessel from which the goddess got her name may well have been regarded 'als Fetisch und Symbol...Die Glosse *athanulus* ἅγιον ἱερέως σκεῦος, κειμήλιον lässt doch fast an ein gralartiges heiliges Gefäss denken.'

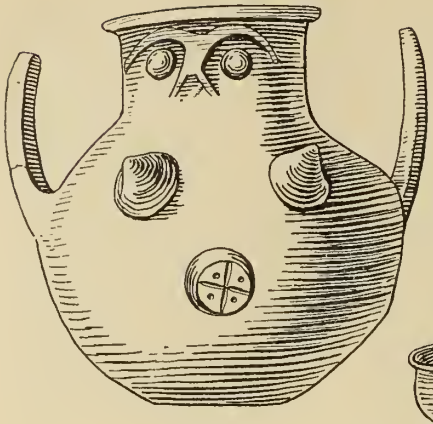


Fig. 101.

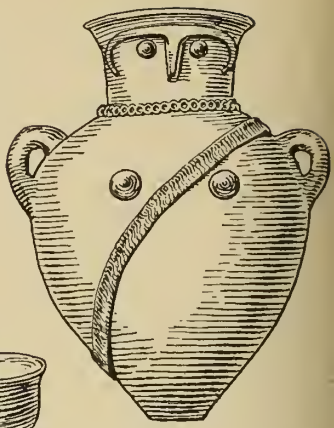


Fig. 102.

Fig. 103.

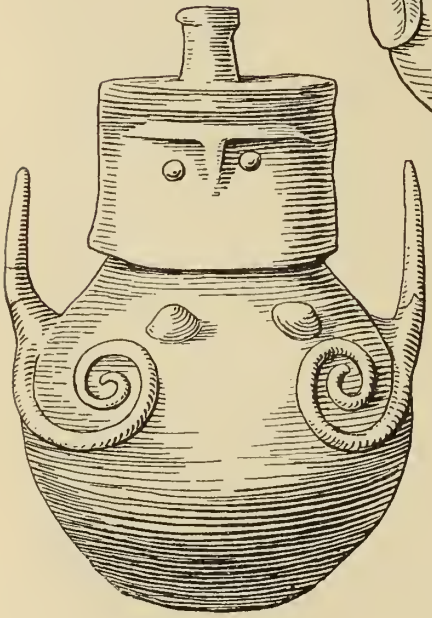


Fig. 104.

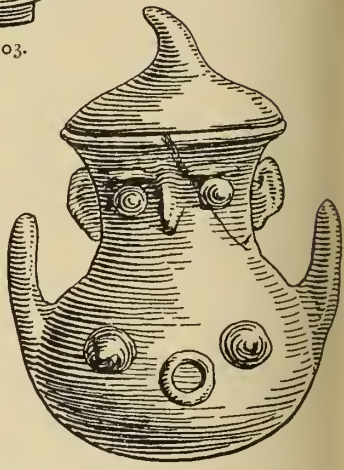


Fig. 105.

Kretschmer's ingenious speculation could, I think, fairly claim the support of certain extant types of sacred or ritual vases: (*a*) *Gesichtsurnen* or 'face-urns' from the second city at Troy, *c.* 2500—2300 B.C. (H. Schliemann *Troy and its remains* London 1875 p. 34 f. nos. 10—13, *id. Ilios* London 1880 pp. 290—292 nos. 157—159, 339—345 nos. 227—229, 231—241 (of which 235 = my fig. 102), C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 68 figs. 66—68 (= my figs. 103, 105, 101), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 561 fig. 247, 807 fig. 376, 903 ff. figs. 454, 455, W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athen 1902 i. 255—257 pl. 33, 1—7 (of which 4 = my fig. 104), M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*[3] Wien 1925 pp. 358—362 figs. 5—8, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 1. 12 no. A 68 pl. 2, E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* Paris 1897 p. 4 no. A 4 (1) pl. 5). These urns begin by being distinctly human in appearance. The upper part, or the lid, has a projecting nose, arched eyebrows, and round prominent eyes. Mouth, ears, and a peaked cap may also be added. Some specimens have the ears bored for metal earrings. Others indicate in relief a necklace and a transverse band across the chest, or make the head support a bowl and the hands a two-handled cup. The body is rounded and, as a rule, equipped with rudimentary arms, conical breasts, and a flat disk (navel? womb?) occasionally marked with a cross or swastika. Later the jars become less truly anthropomorphic: the peaked cap turns into a handle, the brow sinks to a straight line, the eyes dwindle into dots, the arms may be duplicated as a pair of spirals. Now H. Schliemann was certainly wrong, when in *Troy and its remains* p. 113 and *Ilios* p. 281 ff. he took such vases to represent Athena in the shape of an owl (*θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, infra* § 9 (h) ii (λ)). Similar face-urns, of the Early Iron Age, found in Pomerania, East and West Prussia, Posnania, Silesia, Poland (J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 173—176 figs. a—i, H. Seger in M. Ebert *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1926 iv. 1. 295—304 pls. 110—122, A. Götze *ib.* 1926 vi. 384 f. pl. 96 f.), Etruria (J. Martha *L'art étrusque* Paris 1889 p. 468 fig. 305, E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* Paris 1897 p. 33 no. 709 pl. 28, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 250 f. nos. H 213 pl. 17, H 214 pl. 17, H 215, H 216 pl. 17), and Kypros (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 695 f. figs. 503, 504, and col. pl. 4, J. L. Myres *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 104 no. 793 fig., p. 113 no. 931 fig.) are purely human in design. Their significance is probably apotropaeic. The figure shown is the guardian, who protects the contents of the urn. At Troy this figure is always female. It is, then, very possibly to be identified with the city-goddess Athena, but not as γλαυκῶπις (M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*[1] Wien 1898 p. 175, *ib.*[2] Wien 1915 p. 362). A custom of this sort does not easily die out. A thousand years later those who dug the first shaft-grave at Mykenai put in a globular vase still decorated with a pair of outstanding breasts (A. Furtwängler—G. Löschcke *Mykenische Thongefässe* Berlin 1879 p. 3 pl. 1, 1, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 912 fig. 464).

(*b*) A vase from tomb xiii at Mochlos, which Sir A. J. Evans refers to the 'Early Minoan iii' period, *c.* 2400—2100 B.C. (R. B. Seager *Explorations in the Island of Mochlos* Boston—New York 1912 p. 64 figs. 32, 34, G. Karo—G. Maraghiannis *Antiquités Crétoises* Deuxième série Candie 1911 p. viii pl. 10, 6, Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 115 fig. 84, O. Montelius *La Grèce préclassique* Stockholm 1924 i. 27 fig. 116 a, 116 b = my fig. 106). This remarkable vessel, painted with yellowish white on a dark ground, represents a female figure wearing a kind of turban and holding her breasts, which are pierced to serve as spouts. Both Seager and Evans infer that she is a primitive mother-goddess. It is but a step from this *Alma Mater* to some of the Cypriote vases noted above (*e.g.* Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii col. pl. 4 = my fig. 107), which being furnished with a single spout probably did duty as feeding-bottles for infants. A mother-goddess would be a wholly suitable type. A late Egyptian (?) specimen in my collection is no less appropriately topped by the head of young Horos (fig. 108. Height 4 inches).

(*c*) Tubular vessels from various cult-centres in Palestine, Crete, and Rhodes. At Beth-Shan (*Beisân*), the Hellenistic Nysa Skythopolis (*supra* p. 88 fig. 31), the excavations of the University of Pennsylvania Museum brought to light an earthenware cylinder, from one side of which projects a crudely modelled head wearing a crown of feathers. This

Fig. 106.

Fig. 107.

Fig. 108.

object, found in the Amenophis iii level (1411—1375 B.C.), seems to have been connected with the cult of the serpent-goddess Astoreth or Anaïtis, who at Beth-Shan bore the Egyptianised name Antit: the head presumably represents the goddess herself (L. B. Holland in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 198 f. fig. 10=my fig. 109). Somewhat later are the bottomless tubular stands from the same site published by A. Rowe in the *Museum Journal. University of Pennsylvania* 1926 pp. 296, 297, 299. I figure one which has two handles surmounted by birds in the round and windows in its sides penetrated by snakes in relief (G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 1049 f. fig. 729 after S. A. Cook in the *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1926* p. 30,

Fig. 109.

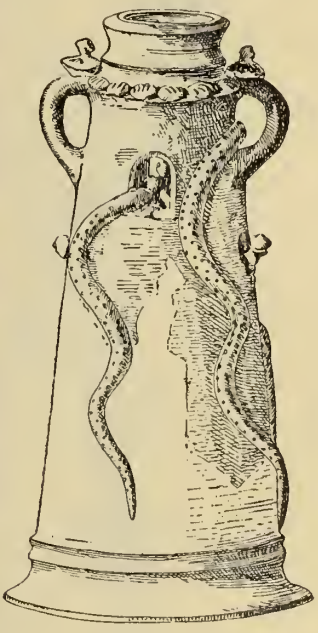


Fig. 110.

A. Rowe *ib.* 1927 p. 74, A. T. Olmstead *History of Palestine and Syria* New York—London 1931 p. 154 fig. 74). Professor S. A. Cook *The Religion of ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 98 comments: 'The name *Shān* (or *Shē'ān*) may be directly connected with Shaḥan or Sakhan, the Semitic name of an old Sumerian serpent deity. Upon a bowl is depicted an undulating serpent; and a pottery model of a serpent has female breasts, and a cup below for collecting the milk.' Etc. The burial *píthoi* from Beth-Shan (*c.* 1200 B.C.), which have their upper part adorned with the mask of the dead man or woman and a pair of rudimentary arms (C. L. Fisher in the *Revue biblique internationale* 1923 xxxii. 435 ff. fig. 9, P. Thomsen in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 5 pl. 1, a, b), are hardly *ad rem.* A shrine of 'Middle Minoan' date (*c.* 2100—1580 B.C.) on one summit of Mt Korakies, a two-peaked hill at Koumasa in southern Crete, yielded four cylindrical clay vessels open at the bottom. Two of these have snaky handles formed of four loops vertically arranged on either side (S. Xanthoudides *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesará* trans. J. P. Droop Liverpool

1924 p. 50 pl. 33, of which nos. 5002 and 5005 = my figs. 111 and 112, G. Karo in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1925 vii p. viii fig. 52, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 90 f. fig. 6, 271 f.). At Prinia in central Crete F. Halbherr in 1900 found two very similar vessels, one of which has an additional snake coiling upwards and encircling its mouth, together with a terra-cotta goddess emergent from a

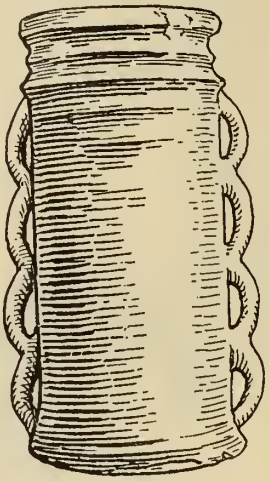


Fig. 111.

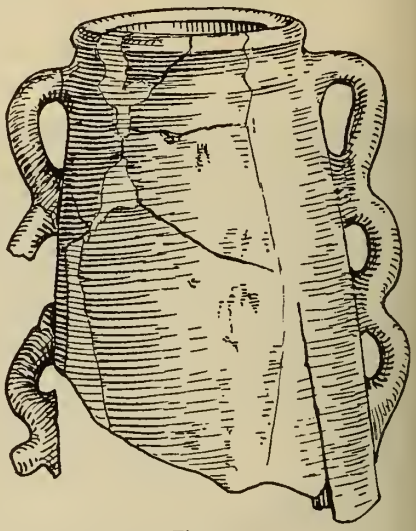


Fig. 112.

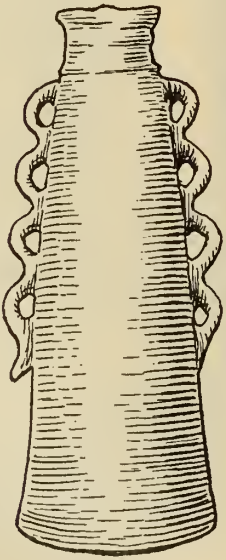


Fig. 113.

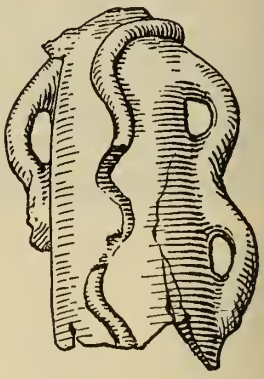


Fig. 114.

cylindrical base and the fragmentary arms of another entwined with snakes—clearly the contents of a small 'Minoan' shrine (S. Wide in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 247—257 figs. 1—5 (of which 4 and 5 = my figs. 113 and 114) and pl. 12, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 269 f., 271, 275, 385). Renewed excavations of the site by the Italians in 1906 led

to further finds—the head of a terra-cotta figure and another tube-shaped vessel with vertical loops or handles, a ridge resembling a snake, and oval holes or apertures in the sides. But the objects associated with the new finds belong to the archaic Greek period and point to a local survival of the 'Minoan' cult (L. Pernier in the *Bollettino d'arte* 1908 ii. 455 ff. fig. 11 cited by R. Zahn in K. F. Kinch *Fouilles de Vroulia* (*Rhodes*) Berlin 1914 p. 28 and by Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 386). The shrine of the snake-goddess at Gournia in eastern Crete (*supra* ii. 538), believed to be of the 'Late Minoan i' period, *c.* 1580—1475 B.C., had five tubular vessels still *in situ*. One, of which the base only remained, stood on the low plastered tripod. Round it were ranged four others. Three of these, practically complete, supplement the snaky loops by an extra handle surmounted by ritual horns; one adds a disk above the horns, another a pair of snakes crossing under the handle, the third a symbol now missing—possibly a bird (Mrs B. E. Williams in H. Boyd Hawes, B. E. Williams, R. B. Seager, and E. H. Hall *Gournia, Vasiliki and other prehistoric sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete* Philadelphia 1908 p. 47 f. pl. 11,

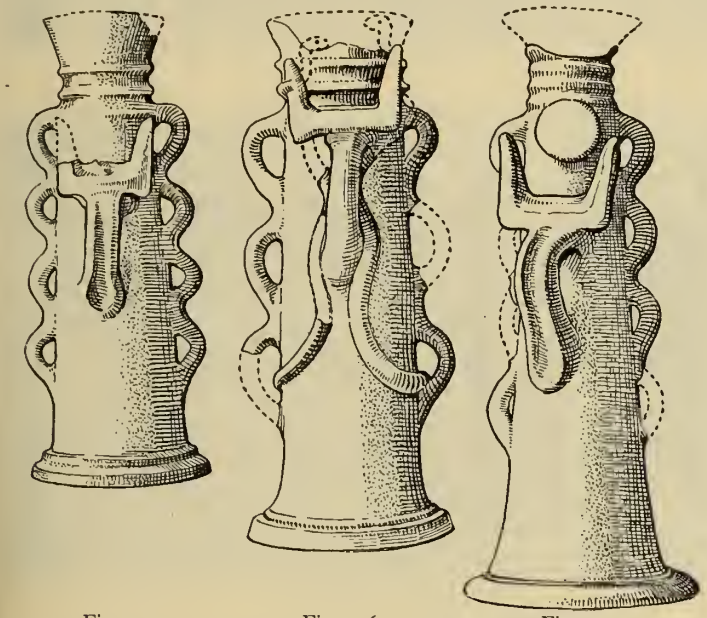
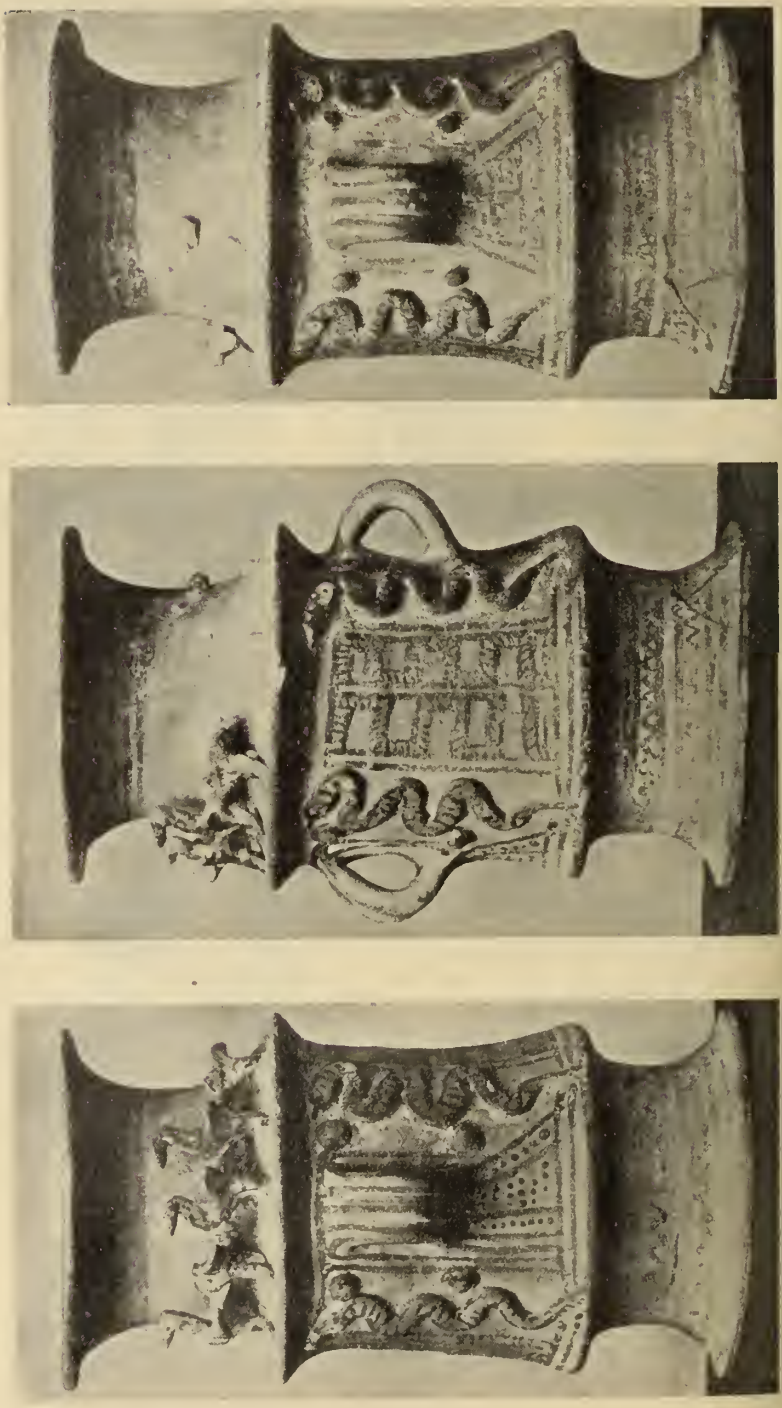


Fig. 115. Fig. 116. Fig. 117.

1—13 = my figs. 115—117, L. Pernier in G. Maraghiannis *Antiquités Crétoises* Vienne 1907) i p. vii pl. 36, 1, 2, and 4, R. Dussaud *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le assin de la Mer Égée* Paris 1910 p. 200 with fig. 142, G. Karo in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas ur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1925 vii p. viii fig. 51, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 74 ff. fig. 3 B, 267, 271). Lastly, a tubular vessel, found in Rhodes, probably at ameiros, and now in the Antiquarium at Berlin (inv. no. 4563), is of roughly similar ape. It is 0.285^{m} high, and again has no bottom. A ribbed handle on either side is anked by four bosses and two snakes in relief. Three of these snakes have tongues rrated like an oak-leaf; the fourth has a tongue small and pointed. The neck of the ssel is decorated with a number of birds, separately modelled and attached, several of hich are missing. The light brown clay is painted rather carelessly with maeanders, g-zags, etc. of dark brown glaze in the geometric style—an indication that here too we ve a 'Minoan' usage surviving into *post*-'Minoan' times (R. Zahn 'Kultgerät aus hodos' in K. F. Kinch *Fouilles de Vroulia* (*Rhodes*) Berlin 1914 pp. 26—34 fig. 13 b, and c (= my fig. 118 *a*, *b*, and *c*), E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und*



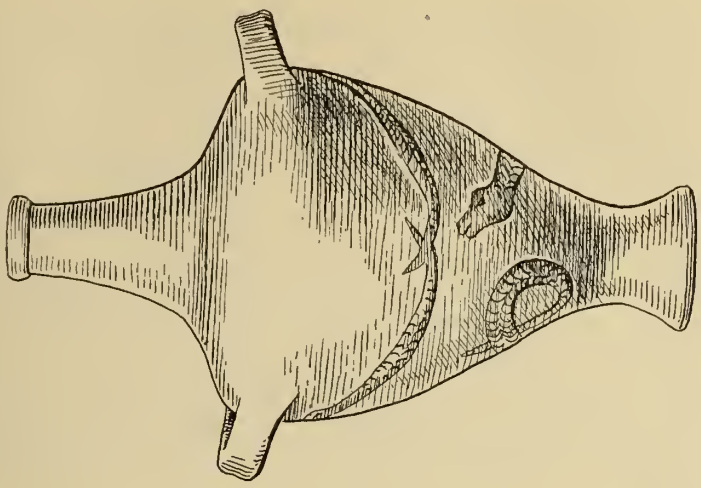


Fig. 121.

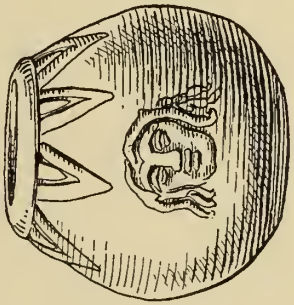


Fig. 120.

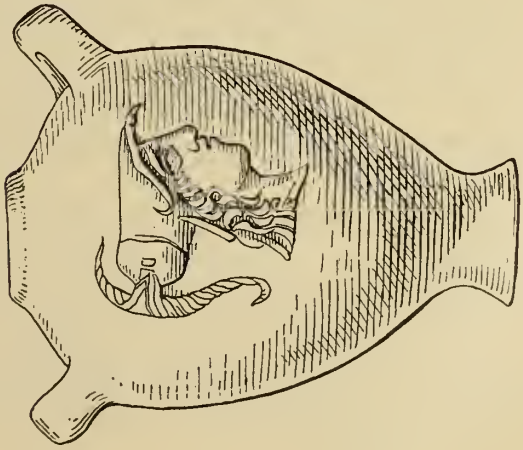


Fig. 119.

belongs to the same language as the place-name *Phaistós*[1]. Now if—as we have argued[2]—the 'Minoan' earth-goddess (Rhea) had for consort a 'Minoan' sky-god (Kronos) armed with a double axe, it is tempting to guess that Hephaistos, whose double axe of bronze is mentioned by Pindar as a 'holy axe[3]' and is often figured on sixth-century vases[4], was in the remote prehistoric past the veritable husband of Athena. On which showing Hephaistos and Athena

Religion Giessen 1913 p. 41 f. fig. 31 (inexact), Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 273, 386 f.). Bottomless vases are in the nature of funnels, and sometimes certainly, as in the Dipylon cemetery at Athens, conveyed liquid offerings through the earth to the dead below (*supra* ii. 1056). It is therefore reasonable to think that the tubular vessels used in the cult of the 'Minoan' snake-goddess served a similar purpose and prove her to have been *ab origine* an earth-mother (R. Zahn *loc. cit.* p. 34, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 271 ff., 386 f.). However, Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 1 pp. xii, 138 ff., having found in a 'Minoan' house at Knossos three clay tubes with cups attached to their sides, thinks that these were receptacles for domestic snakes, derived from common drain-pipes. He offers the same explanation of all the 'snake tubes' mentioned above, comparing their loops with the looped variety of water-pipe. Ingenious, but far from convincing.

(*d*) Hellenistic relief-ware of Graeco-Egyptian style has sometimes by way of prophylactic (?) decoration an emblem or emblems of Athena. I figure three small vases in my collection, which are made of salmon-coloured unglazed (?) clay and were found at Ephesos. They exhibit the following designs: (1) on the one side a helmeted head of Athena, on the other a *Gorgóneion* of beautiful type (fig. 119. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches); (2) a *Gorgóneion* with dishevelled hair and a large six-rayed star beneath an inverted lotos-pattern round the rim (fig. 120. Height $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch); (3) two snakes with crossed tails above a single larger snake encircling the lower part of the vase (fig. 121. Height $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches).

It is perhaps not too hazardous to conjecture that Trojan *Gesichtsurnen* and the like point backwards to a primitive belief that earthen vessels should take the form of the earth-mother of whose very substance they were made. Be that as it may, in view of the varied types of these sacred or semi-sacred vases it is quite conceivable that—as Kretschmer supposed—Athena drew her name from a clay vessel used in her service, though I should prefer to conclude that the vessel drew its name from the goddess.

[1] I do not propose to treat Ἥφαιστος and Φαιστός as etymologically connected, though many years ago I toyed with the notion (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 85 n. 1). I now agree with Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 390 n.[a]: 'There is no *vraisemblance* in the supposition.' Platon, who might be cited in its support, though a giant in philosophy, was but a dwarf in philology (Plat. *Crat.* 407 C EPM. *τί δὲ δὴ τὸν Ἥφαιστον; πῇ λέγεις;* ΣΩ. *ἢ τὸν γενναῖον τὸν φάεος ἵστορα ἐρωτᾷς;* EPM. *ἔοικα.* ΣΩ. *οὐκοῦν οὗτος μὲν παντὶ δῆλος Φαῖστος ὤν, τὸ ἧτα προσελκυσάμενος;*). Nevertheless it remains probable that the language which produced the word Φαιστός produced also the word Ἥφαιστος.

[2] *Supra* ii. 548 ff.

[3] Pind. *Ol.* 7. 35 ff. *ἀνίχ' Ἀφαίστου τέχναισιν | χαλκελάτῳ πελέκει πα|τέρος Ἀθαναία κορυφὰν κατ' ἄκραν | ἀνορούσαισ' ἀλάλα|ξεν ὑπερμάκει βοᾷ* and *frag.* 34 Bergk[4], 34 Schroeder *ap.* Hephaist. 15. 13 p. 51, 16 Consbruch *ὃς καὶ τυπεὶς ἀγνῷ πελέκει τέκετο ξανθὰν Ἀθάναν* (quoted also, less exactly, by Marius Plotius Sacerdos *de metris* in H. Keil *Grammatici Latini* vi. 545, 5). Later writers commonly use the term *πέλεκυς* (Apollod. 1. 3. 6, Loukian. *dial. deor.* 8, Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 2. 27. 1, Nonn. *Dion.* 27. 324, 42. 250, schol. Plat. *Tim.* 23 D—E p. 948 a 12), sometimes *βουπλήξ* in the sense of 'an axe for felling an ox' (Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 83, 27. 325, *et. mag.* p. 371, 41). Cp. the *πέλεκυς* presented by Hephaistos to Polytechnos of Kolophon (*supra* ii. 693).

[4] *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*).

Kylix from Nola, now in the British Museum :
Anesidora fashioned by Hephaistos and adorned by Athena.

See page 201 *n.* 7.

would be but local equivalents of Kronos and Rhea[1]. Some such assumption at least accounts for their persistent juxtaposition in classical times. Homer's cunning craftsman, who overlays gold on silver, is 'the man that Hephaistos and Pallas Athene have taught all manner of art, and full of grace are the works of his hand[2].' The Homeric *Hymn to Hephaistos*[3] opens on the same note:

> Sing, tuneful Muse, Hephaistos and his craft,
> Who with bright-eyed Athena taught mankind
> All splendid work on earth, whereas of yore
> Men dwelt like brute beasts in their mountain-dens.

Solon's[4] description of the artificer owes something to these epic writers:

> Taught by Athena and Hephaistos' skill
> Another learns his trade and earns his meal.

Platon[5] too with curious frequency insists on the partnership of Hephaistos and Athena.

Their association is further attested by mythology, art, and actual cult. If Hephaistos fashioned woman, Athena adorned her—a story as old as Hesiod[6] and brilliantly illustrated by the Anesidora-cup (pl. xxvii)[7].

[1] This squares with the fact that in Crete, where Kronos and Rhea bulked big, Hephaistos (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 389 and L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 314 f., 341: both rightly attach little weight to Diod. 5. 74 and Paus. 8. 53. 5) and Athena (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the *Sitzungsb. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1921 p. 952. On Athena Κυδωνία see Prehn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2308) were nobodies.

[2] *Od.* 6. 233 f. δν Ἥφαιστος δέδαεν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη | τέχνην παντοίην, χαρίεντα δὲ ἔργα τελείει.

[3] *H. Heph.* 1 ff. Ἥφαιστον κλυτόμητιν ἀείδεο, Μοῦσα λίγεια, | ὃς μετ' Ἀθηναίης γλαυκώπιδος ἀγλαὰ ἔργα | ἀνθρώπους ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ χθονός, οἳ τὸ πάρος περ | ἄντροις ναιετάασκον ἐν οὔρεσιν, ἠύτε θῆρες.

[4] Sol. *frag.* 13. 49 f. Bergk[4], 1. 49 f. Diehl ἄλλος Ἀθηναίης τε καὶ Ἡφαίστου πολυτέχνεω | ἔργα δαεὶς χειροῖν ξυλλέγεται βίοτον.

[5] Plat. *Prot.* 321 D (Prometheus) κλέπτει Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν ἔντεχνον σοφίαν σὺν πυρί (*supra* i. 324), *polit.* 274 C πῦρ μὲν παρὰ Προμηθέως, τέχναι δὲ παρ' Ἡφαίστου καὶ τῆς συντέχνου, *Critias* 109 C—D Ἥφαιστος δὲ κοινὴν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ φύσιν ἔχοντες, ἅμα μὲν ἀδελφὴν ἐκ ταὐτοῦ πατρός, ἅμα δὲ φιλοσοφίᾳ φιλοτεχνίᾳ τε ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐλθόντες, οὕτω μίαν ἄμφω λῆξιν τήνδε τὴν χώραν εἰλήχατον ὡς οἰκείαν καὶ πρόσφορον ἀρετῇ καὶ φρονήσει πεφυκυῖαν, ἄνδρας δὲ ἀγαθοὺς ἐμποιήσαντες αὐτόχθονας ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔθεσαν τὴν τῆς πολιτείας τάξιν, *legg.* 920 D Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν γένος, οἳ τὸν βίον ἡμῖν ξυγκατεσκευάκασι τέχναις.

[6] Hes. *theog.* 571 ff., *o.d.* 60 ff., 70 ff.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 389 ff. no. D 4, A. S. Murray—A. H. Smith *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum* London 1896 p. 29 pl. 19, E. Gerhard in the *Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* i. 5—7 pl. 1 (in gold and colours), Lenormant—de Witte *El. mon. cér.* iii. 149 ff., 159 f. pl. 44, A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2057 f.

fig., Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* pp. 450—452 fig. 50. Pl. xxvii is from a fresh photograph.

Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 283, followed by Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 342 no. 22, attributes this *kýlix* to the '*Meister der Penthesileia-Schale*'; Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 530 f., to E. Buschor's 'Pferdemeister.' But J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 129 denies the attribution, and in his *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 261 no. 6 describes the vase as in the 'Art des Pistoxenosmalers.'

Found at Nola in 1828 or 1829, this great *kýlix* (height 5 inches: diameter 12¼ inches) passed through the Hope and the Bale collections before being purchased in 1881 for the British Museum. The exterior is red-figured and shows scenes in the *palaístra* (?). The interior has black outlines on a white ground, with inner markings in brown. Anesidora's *chitón* and Hephaistos' *himátion* are brown with details in purple and white. Athena has a *chitón* with a purple girdle, and a dark brown *aigís* with purple border and *Gorgóneion* in white. The head-dresses and the top of the hammer are moulded and gilt on a raised ground. Substantial parts of the design are missing. The heads of Anesidora and Athena together with the right arm of the latter have been added in pencil, while part of the former's *chitón* has been restored in water-colour. The names are ΑΘΕΝΑΑ, [Α]ΝΕΣΙΔΟΡΑ, ΗΕΦΑ[Ι]ΣΤΟΣ (P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 203 f. no. 187, correcting the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 7416).

The moment represented is that described by Hes. *theog.* 573 ff. *ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη | ἀργυφέῃ ἑσθῆτι·... | ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ στεφάνην χρυσέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε, | τὴν αὐτὸς ποίησε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις | ἀσκήσας παλάμῃσι, χαριζόμενος Διὶ πατρί.* And the composition as a whole is comparable with that of the Triptolemos-relief from Eleusis (Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 106 ff. pls. 24 and 25 with bibliography, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 7, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 140 ff. fig. 68, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 339 no. 3).

Ἀνησιδώρα, like Πανδώρα, was an epithet of the earth-mother (Hesych. Ἀνησιδώρα· *ἡ γῆ, διὰ τὸ τοὺς καρποὺς ἀνιέναι, id.* Πανδώρα· *ἡ γῆ, ὅτι τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν πάντα δωρεῖται. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ζείδωρος καὶ ἀνησιδώρα*=schol. Aristoph. *av.* 971 Πανδώρᾳ· *τῇ γῇ, ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν δωρεῖται. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ζείδωρος καὶ ἀνησιδώρα, et. mag.* p. 108, 31 Ἀνησιδώρα· *ἡ γῆ*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1057, 47 f. *ἕτεροι δὲ Δωδώνην ἀλληγοροῦντες ἐνταῦθα τὴν γῆν φασι <τιμᾶσθαι (ins.* A.B.C.*)> παρὰ τῷ δῶ δώσω, ὡς δότειραν καὶ ἀνησιδώραν καὶ ζείδωρον* (cp. the Dodonaean chant Γᾶ *καρποὺς ἀνίει κ.τ.λ.* cited *supra* i. 524 n. 8, ii. 350 n. 1). In Alkiphr. *epist.* 1. 3 *χρηστὸν ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ βῶλος ἀκίνδυνον. οὐ μάτην γοῦν ἀνεισιδώραν ταύτην ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνιεῖσαν δῶρα, δι' ὧν ἐστι ζῆν καὶ σώζεσθαι* R. Hercher omits the second sentence (as a gloss?)). From Ge it passed to her 'offshoot' (*supra* i. 396 f.) Demeter, who was likewise empowered *γῆς καρπὸν ἀνήσειν* (*h. Dem.* 332). Thus in the Attic deme Phlya the cult of Ge called Μεγάλη Θεός was supplemented by that of Demeter Ἀνησιδώρα and by that of Kore Πρωτογόνη (Paus. 1. 31. 4 cited *supra* ii. 251 n. 2 *plus* ii. 1066). Demeter Ἀνησιδώρα was perhaps worshipped in Melite, another deme of the tribe Kekropis (Plout. *symp.* 9. 14. 4 *καὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν* (*sc.* τοῖς Μελιτεῦσιν) *ἐστι Δημήτηρ Ἀνησιδώρα*), and her appellative figures in the lists drawn up by the grammarians (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 270 Ἐπίθετα Δημήτρας...3 *ἀνησιδώρας*, 277 Αἱ *τῆς Δήμητρος κλήσεις·...ἀνησιδώρα*, cp. 282 Κλήσεις Δήμητρος...*ὀνησιδώρα* (*sic*)).

Starting from this fact archaeologists, *in primis* C. Robert (*Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 194 ff. pls. 4 and 5, 'Pandora' in *Hermes* 1914 xlix. 17—38 with 2 figs.), J. E. Harrison (*Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 451 f., 'Delphika' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 232 ff. figs. 11, 12, *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 276 ff. figs. 67—71), and P. Gardner ('A New Pandora Vase' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 1 ff. pl. 1), have gone far towards explaining the origin of the Anesidora-type. The story shapes itself as follows. The ancients seem to have regarded the earliest agricultural operations of the year as a kind of *evocatio*, by means of which the earth-powers were wakened from their winter's sleep and summoned to help the farmer in his work. When

the *ager Tarquiniensis* was being ploughed and the furrow was driven deep, up came on a sudden Tages, a boy in appearance but an old man in wisdom, scared the ploughman and delivered his auguries to the Etruscans (Cic. *de div.* 2. 50, Ov. *met.* 15. 553 ff.: see

Fig. 122.

Fig. 123.

further C. Pauli and W. Schultz in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 3 ff.). Similarly in Greek belief, when the hard earth is broken up by men with mallets or mattocks,—and it must be remembered that the most primitive form of agriculture was *Hackbau* (E. Hahn in M. Ebert *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1926 v. 12 f. pl. 11)—up comes Mother Earth herself in answer to their summons. Her epiphany, though nowhere noted in literature, is given on a series of vases (C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen* pl. 5,

Fig. 124.

But the Anesidora-cup is not the only witness. The fact is that from the beginning of the fifth century[1] onwards classical art shows a well-marked tendency to bring together the craftsmen's god and the craftsmen's goddess. A fragmentary design from the outside of a red-figured *kýlix* painted in the style of Euphronios (fig. 125)[2] has Hephaistos seated with a *phiále* in his right hand and a double axe or hammer in his left. By his side stands Athena with helmet, *aigís*, and spear. Her hair and bracelet, like his *phiále*, are in gilded relief, and suggest that this is no trivial occasion. Equally impressive is the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (*supra* ii pl. xliv), which again shows Hephaistos seated, but this time with Athena seated too. He turns towards her, as Hera towards Zeus, the pre-Hellenic exactly balancing the Hellenic pair. A broken relief from Epidauros, carved in Pentelic marble *c.* 400 B.C. and now preserved in the National Museum at Athens (fig. 126)[3], has another masterly composition.

A, *B*, *C*). Of these I reproduce the earliest, a black-figured *lékythos* at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 197 f. no. 298, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 162 ff. pl. 52, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 201 ff. pl. 15, 1, W. Fröhner *Les Musées de France* Paris 1873 p. 72 (*L*) col. pl. 22 (= my fig. 122)), which shows the head and lifted hands of Ge rising from the ground in response to the hammerers, and the most elaborate, a red-figured *hydría* in the Louvre (W. Fröhner *Choix de vases grecs inédits de la collection du Prince Napoléon* Paris 1867 p. 24 ff. pl. 6, *id. Les Musées de France* Paris 1873 p. 68 ff. col. pl. 21 = my fig. 123), which transforms the men with mallets into Silenoi with mattocks and makes Ge emerge from the broken soil as a great white head in three-quarter position, welcomed by a pair of hovering Erotes and a sudden growth of leaf and tendril. Such a scene could be easily re-interpreted as the making of a large female figure, cp. the title of Sophokles' Satyr-play Πανδώρα ἢ σφυροκόποι (Soph. *frag.* 441—445 Nauck[2], 482—486 Jebb). It was in fact modified to express the making of Pandora out of earth (Hes. *theog.* 571 γαίης, *o.d.* 61 γαῖαν ὕδει φύρειν, 70 ἐκ γαίης) or clay (Soph. *frag.* 441 Nauck[2], 482 Jebb καὶ πρῶτον ἄρχου πηλὸν ὀργάζειν χεροῖν, cp. Apollod. 1. 7. 2 ἔπλασαν, Hyg. *fab.* 142 ex luto), as may be seen from a red-figured volute-*kratér* at Oxford (P. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 1 ff. pl. 1 (= my fig. 124), J. E. Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 280 f. fig. 71, C. Robert in *Hermes* 1914 xlix. 17 ff. fig.), on which Pandora emerges from the ground quite in the manner of Ge, and her maker Epimetheus—a somewhat cynical doublet of Prometheus (*supra* i. 329 n. 4)—still holds a large-sized mallet; the hovering Eros marks Pandora as Epimetheus' bride. All the figures named on this vase, Zeus, Hermes, Epimetheus, Pandora are Hellenic. The British Museum *kýlix* (pl. xxvii) is of interest because it transfers the Hellenic myth to the pre-Hellenic deities Athena and Hephaistos. In the process Pandora, re-named Anesidora, becomes less like the emergent Ge, while the gilded hammer of Hephaistos is less reminiscent of the countryman's rude tool.

[1] L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 348 cites in this connexion a black-figured sherd from the Akropolis at Athens noted by W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 109 f. But this is not *ad rem*: see Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* p. 67 no. 601 b pl. 28 ('wahrscheinlich von einer Athenageburt').

[2] P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 104 f. fig. (= my fig. 125. Scale ½), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 407 no. 18 *bis*, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 61 no. 13.

[3] A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe

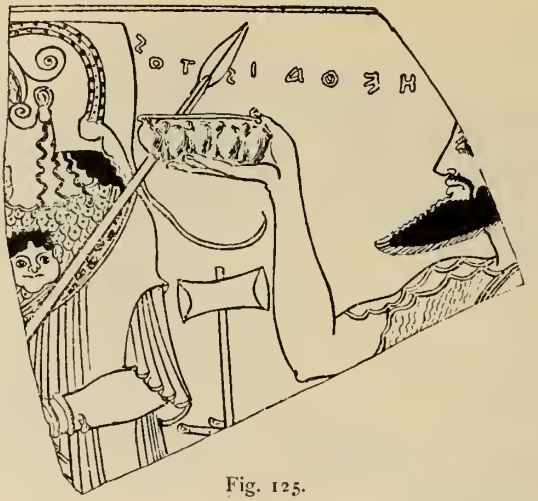


Fig. 125.

Fig. 126.

Hephaistos leaning on his staff presents a helmet to Athena, who stands before him in the pose of the Dresden 'Lemnia.' An archaistic relief from Greece now in the Jacobsen collection (fig. 127)[1] repeats the *motif* of Hephaistos presenting the helmet, but combines him awkwardly enough with an Athena in the '*Promachos*'-attitude. A fresh turn is given to the kaleidoscope by the artist who designed a well-known *sarcophagus* in the Villa Albani[2]. A procession of deities bringing gifts for the marriage of Peleus and Thetis is

1897 p. 289 ff. with fig., E. Reisch in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 79 ff. fig. 37 (= my fig. 126), B. Sauer *Das sogenannte Theseion* Leipzig 1899 p. 248 ff., E. Löwy in the text to *Einzelaufnahmen* v. 27 ff. no. 1256, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 369 ff. no. 1423 pl. 68 with bibliography.

Furtwängler took this relief to represent the Athena *Lemnía* of Pheidias receiving a helmet from Hephaistos the natural protector of Athenian *klerouchoi* in Lemnos. To account for the relief having been found at Epidauros, he suggested that it may have decorated the base of a *stéle* bearing some decree of the said *klerouchoi*.

Reisch and Sauer regard the subject as reflecting the Hephaistos and Athena *Hephaistía* made by Alkamenes for the Hephaisteion (the so-called 'Theseion') at Athens. See further E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 6 ff.

Löwy holds that the god is not Hephaistos at all, but a common type of Asklepios. He thinks that Athena, paying a friendly visit to Asklepios, here doffs her armour in token of the guest-friendship enjoyed by Athenians at Epidauros, while Asklepios extends his right hand towards her with a gesture of greeting (cp. an Attic relief of 398/7 B.C. published by P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878 ii. 37 ff. pl. 10, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 145 fig. 71, E. Löwy in the text to *Einzelaufnahmen* v. 2 f. no. 1212). But the absence of a snake (unless indeed it was added in paint, which is just conceivable) tells heavily against the identification of the god as Asklepios (contrast *e.g.* Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 2985 pl. 197, 1); and his right hand was certainly touching the helmet, not greeting the goddess.

Svoronos, ingenious as ever, agrees with Löwy in naming the god Asklepios, but argues that Athena is offering him her helmet and shield. In this we are to see a symbolic allusion to the events of the year 338 B.C., when Philip after the victory of Chaironeia marched against Sparta at the head of an irresistible force. In the nick of time Asklepios came to the rescue from Epidauros (Isyll. F 65 f. Powell, E 60 f. Diehl *τοῖς Ἀσκληπιὸς <ἦ>λθε βοαθόος ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου | τιμῶν Ἡρακλέος γενεάν· ἃς φείδετο ἄρα Ζεύς*) and appeared to the boy Isyllos clad in golden armour (Isyll. F 68 f. Powell, E 63 f. Diehl *τῶι τύγα ποστείχοντι συνάντησας σὺν ὅπλοισιν | λαμπόμενος χρυσέοισ', Ἀσκλαπιέ*). Svoronos surmises that Athens sent arms to Sparta through the agency of Epidauros, and that this relief was set up in Epidauros to commemorate the fact as soon as the death of Alexander made an anti-Macedonian dedication possible. Accordingly he would date the relief *c.* 322 B.C., comparing a very similar relief of that year (*Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 246 f. no. 1331 pl. 36, 1). The whole hypothesis is clever, but frail.

[1] P. Arndt *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* Munich 1896 p. 31 f. pl. 20, c (= my fig. 127), *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* i no. 35 pl. 3, E. Reisch in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 82.

[2] G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti* Roma 1767 p. 151 ff. pl. 111, G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 249 pls. 52, 53, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 201 f. Atlas pl. 8, 8, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 4. 65 ff. pl. 75, 961, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 700 f. fig. 759, A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2733, Robert *Sark.-Relfs* ii. 2 ff. pl. 1, 1, 1*a*, 1*b*, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 143 no. 1, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 436 f. no. 1887.

Fig. 127.

Fig. 128.

headed by Hephaistos and Athena, the former bearing sword[1] and shield, the latter helmet and spear[2]. Since the whole composition is ingeniously built up of pre-existing types[3], we must suppose that Hephaistos and Athena as armourers were already sufficiently familiar. In this capacity we can trace them further afield. Crude provincial reliefs from Heddernheim (figs. 128, 129)[4] show a group

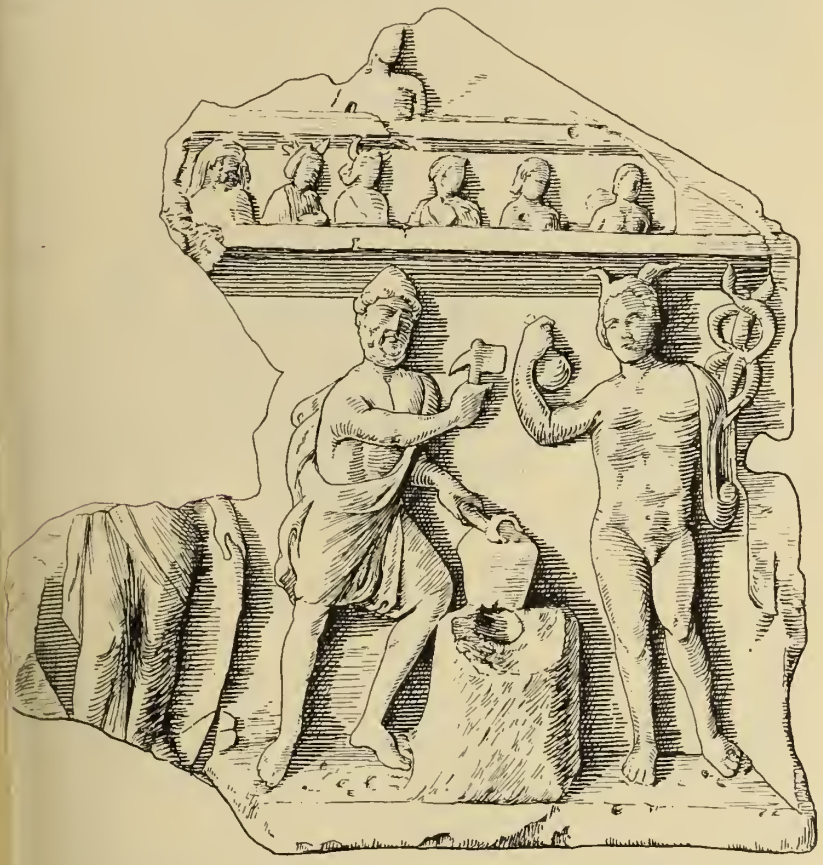


Fig. 129.

[1] On the famous μάχαιρα made by Hephaistos for Peleus (Hes. *frag.* 110 Flach, 79 Rzach *ap.* schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 95; schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 88; schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 1063; Zenob. 5. 20, Makar. 5. 86; Souid. *s.v.* μέγα φρονεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ Πηλεὺς ἐπὶ τῇ μαχαίρᾳ) see L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1832 f. Other Ἡφαιστότευκτα are listed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1309 f. and C. Picard in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 998.

[2] Cheiron presented Peleus with a spear made of ash-wood from Mt Pelion (*Il.* 16. 143 f. = *ib.* 19. 390 f., *Cypria frag.* 2 Kinkel *ap.* schol. A.D. *Il.* 16. 140, Apollod. 3. 13. 5. The schol. A.D. *Il.* 16. 140 adds φασὶ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν μὲν ξέσαι αὐτό, Ἥφαιστον δὲ κατασκευάσαι).

[3] W. Helbig *op. cit.* ii. 437.

[4] E. Maass *Die Tagesgötter in Rom und den Provinzen aus der Kultur des Niederganges*

of three standing deities—Volcanus with Minerva at his right hand and Mercurius at his left—surmounted by busts representing the days of the week[1]. Volcanus is here possibly a Roman substitute for Donar[2], Minerva for Holda[3], Mercurius for Wodan[4]. In any case Volcanus and Minerva patronise arts and crafts, while Mercurius encourages trade. A contrast to these poor efforts is provided by the handsome numismatic types of Rome and Romanised Greece. Magnificent medallions issued by Antoninus Pius in his own name

Fig. 130.

(fig. 13)[5] and in that of his wife Faustina the Elder[6] portray the ambitious scene of Hephaistos forging a thunderbolt for the Thunderer's daughter. She stands before him, her right hand outstretched to take the bolt, her left resting on her hip. Behind

der antiken Welt Berlin 1902 p. 233 f. with figs. 25 (= my fig. 128) and 26 (= my fig. 129), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 526 no. 4, 528 no. 8, *Germania Romana* Bamberg 1922 p. xvi pl. 53, 3.

[1] *Supra* ii. 69 f.

[2] *Supra* ii. 63 n. 1. But see on the other side G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 367.

[3] *Supra* ii. 65, 66 n. 0, 94 n. 1.

[4] *Supra* ii. 59, 63 n. 0, 69, 94 n. 1, 386 n. 6.

[5] Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 65 f. fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 388 no. 1156 fig., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 916, Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* p. 3 no. 24 pl. 2, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 18 nos. 77 and 78 (140—143 A.D.) pl. 52, 4, 18 no. 83 (155 A.D.) pl. 51, 3 (= my fig. 130).

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 12 no. 6 pl. 17, 3, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 2(no. 18 pl. 59, 1.

her we perceive shield, snake, and olive-tree—the *insignia* of the Athenian goddess. Another medallion of Antoninus Pius (fig. 131)[1], followed by imperial coins of Samos[2], Thyateira (fig. 132)[3], and Magnesia ad Maeandrum[4], harks back to older models by combining the pillar of the *Parthénos* with the helmet of the '*Lemnía*.' Yet another of Antoninus' numerous medallions (fig. 133)[5] shows Hephaistos holding a hammer and forging a shield on his anvil. Before him is a helmet set on a tall *cippus*, behind him a shield, and in the background uplifted on a pedestal the statue of Athena *Parthénos*. Finally, a white paste of the Graeco-Roman period (*s.* i B.C.—*s.* i A.D.) now at Berlin has the head of Hephaistos eclipsing that of Athena, both heads being in profile on disks resembling coins[6].

Fig. 131.

Fig. 132.

Fig. 133.

Of greater importance than these artistic variations of a common theme is the evidence supplied by definite religious usage. Hephaistos and Athena appear to have had a joint festival, the Chalkeia, on the last day of Pyanopsion[7] at the very beginning of

[1] Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 51 fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 384 f. no. 1144 fig. = my fig. 131).

[2] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 606.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 306 pl. 31, 5 (= my fig. 132) Commodus, *Hunter Mt. Coins* ii. 469 no. 14 Commodus, Rasche *Lex. Num.* xi. 946, 947.

[4] Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 292 no. 92 Maximinus, Rasche *Lex. Num.* xi. 947, ead *Hist. num.*[2] p. 583.

[5] Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 63 f. fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 387 f. no. 55 fig., Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 18 no. 82 (152 A.D.) pl. 52, 7 (= my fig. 133).

[6] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 196 no. 4875 pl. 35, G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti* Roma 1767 i. 208 ff. ('Ulisse e Telemaco'!) pl. 153.

[7] Harpokr. *s.v.* Χαλκεῖα '...τὰ Χαλκεῖα ἑορτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις < τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ (*ins.* Meurs.) > ἀγομένη Πυανεψιῶνος ἔνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, χειρώναξι κοινή, μάλιστα δὲ χαλκεῦσιν, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ἀχαρνεύς (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 313 Müller, Apollonios of Acharnai (*c.* 100 B.C. according to E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 134 no. 72) περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἑορτῶν *frag.* 3 (Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 99 f.)). Φανόδημος δὲ οὐκ Ἀθηνᾷ φησιν ἄγεσθαι τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀλλ' Ἡφαίστῳ (Phanodemos (on whom see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 110) *frag.* 22 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 369 Müller)).

winter[1]. Apollonios of Acharnai, a writer on Athenian festivals, states that the rite was observed by all the craftsmen, especially the coppersmiths, of Athens. Souidas remarks that some called it the Athenaia, while others described it as a festival of the whole folk[2]. It was, he adds, an ancient festival once celebrated by all the people, which had come to be viewed as an affair of the artisans only, since Hephaistos had wrought bronze in Attike. Phanodemos the Atticist even denied that Athena had any part or lot in it[3]. But here, as V. von Schoeffer[4] points out, he must have been mistaken, for this was the day on which the priestesses with the *Arrhephóroi* began to weave Athena's *péplos*[5]. Moreover, we have no sufficient

γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Μενάνδρῳ δρᾶμα Χαλκεῖα. Souid. *s.v.* Χαλκεῖα· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν, ἅ τινες Ἀθήναια καλοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ Πάνδημον διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ πάντων ἄγεσθαι, Χαλκεῖα *bis*· ἑορτὴ ἀρχαία καὶ δημώδης πάλαι, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ μόνων ἤγετο τῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὅτι ὁ Ἥφαιστος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ χαλκὸν εἰργάσατο. ἔστι δὲ ἕνη καὶ νέα τοῦ Πυανεψιῶνος· ἐν ᾗ καὶ < αἱ (*ins.* A.B.C.) > ἱέρειαι μετὰ τῶν ἀρρηφόρων τὸν πέπλον διάζονται, Χαλκεῖα *ter*· ἑορτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις κ.τ.λ. (from Harpokr. *loc. cit.*). Souid. Χαλκεῖα *bis* is repeated by the *et. mag.* p. 805, 43 ff. and in part by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 284, 36 f. Harpokr. Χαλκεῖα is transcribed *in extenso* by Favorin. *lex.* p. 1854, 27 ff.

[1] See the diagram *supra* i. 691 fig. 511.

[2] On the connotation of the word πάνδημος see W. Dittenberger 'ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΤΕΛΗΣ' in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 474 ff. citing Zeus Πάνδημος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 7, 17 f. [τοῦ Διὸς το]ῦ Ἐλευθερίου καὶ πρὸ|[τοῦ ἱεροῦ − − − τ]οῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πανδή[μου]. Cp. *quasi*-autonomous bronze coins of Synnada with *obv.* head of ΙЄVC ΠΑΝΔΗΜΟC, *rev.* CVNNAΔЄΩN ΙΩNΩN Mt Persis(?) (Imhoof-Blumer *Choix de*

Fig. 134.

Fig. 135.

monn. gr.[1] pl. 6, 194 (= my fig. 134), *id. Monn. gr.* p. 413 no. 157, *Weber Cat. Coins* iii. 2 no. 7181 pl. 256) or CVNNA ΔЄΩN Amaltheia holding infant Zeus with goat at her feet (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 413 no. 158) and imperial bronze coins of the same town with *rev.* Zeus enthroned with Nike in right hand and sceptre in left [I]ЄVCΠΑΝΔΗΜΟCCVNNAΔЄΩN (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 399 no. 39 Domitian (= my fig. 135 from a cast)), ZЄVCC ΠΑΝΔΗ[MOC] CVNNAΔЄΩ N (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 294 no. 14 Nerva, now at Berlin), or ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΔΗΜΟΝ CVNNACIC (*sic*) (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iv. 368 no. 987 Nerva) or CVNNAΔЄIC (*id. ibid.* and Suppl. vii. 622 no. 593 Nerva, after D. Sestini *Descrizione di altre medaglie greche del Museo del Signore Carlo d'Ottavio Fontana di Trieste* Firenze 1829 iii. 80. For the legend see *supra* ii. 950 f. fig. 842 ΔΙΑ ΙΔΑΙΟΝ ΙΛΙЄΙC), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 686).

[3] Cp. Poll. 7. 105 Χαλκεῖα ἑορτὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ Ἡφαίστου ἱερά.

[4] V. von Schoeffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2067.

[5] Souid. *s.v.* Χαλκεῖα *bis* (cited *supra* p. 212 n. o) = *et. mag.* p. 805, 46 f.

reason to doubt Souidas' statement that the festival itself was sometimes called the Athenaia[1]. Indeed, a fragmentary inscription found on the Akropolis might be held to connect the goddess with the Chalkeia[2]. On the whole we are justified in concluding that the festival was common to both deities, but that Hephaistos bulked bigger at it than Athena. *En revanche*, in the Erechtheion, where Athena *Poliás* had the whole of the eastern chamber, Hephaistos was content with a mere altar[3]. The two obtained full and equal recognition in the Hephaisteion on the Market Hill[4], at the foot of which the coppersmiths plied their trade[5]. A decree[6] of the year 421/0 B.C. concerning the celebration of the Hephaistia mentions the sanctuary (?)[7] 'of Hephaistos and Athenaia' and enacts 'that the Council' set up 'the altar for Hephaistos' and 'make his' statue (?)[8].

[1] Souid. *s.v.* Χαλκεῖα (cited *supra* p. 212 n. 0). Souidas' statement is accepted *e.g.* by E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1098, A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 280, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 314, v. 378 n.[b], C. Robert in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1899 clxi. 531, P. Stengel *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*[3] München 1920 p. 234. It is rejected by V. von Schoeffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2067.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 441 *e* [– – – *ὑπὲρ ὧ*]*ν ἀπαγγέλ*[*λουσι οἱ – – – περὶ τῆς θυσίας ἣ*]*ν ἔθυον τοῖς Χα*[*λκείοις – – –, –*]*αντο δὲ καὶ κ*[. .]*βυκ*[.]*ας τ*[*ὰς – – –, ἀγαθε*]*ῖ τύχει, δεδόχθαι τεῖ βο*[*υλεῖ, τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι, ἃ φασι*] *γεγονέν*[*αι*] *ἐν τοῖς ἰε*[*ροῖς οἷς ἔθυον ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρ*]*ίαι τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ* [*τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν*] *καὶ τῶν συμμάχω*[*ν· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ – – – –*]*ιν τῆς θεοῦ τοὺς ἐπ*[*ὶ – – – ἄρχοντος καὶ τὸν – – αὐ*]*τῶν Στρατ*[*ό*]*λα*[*ον – – – καὶ στεφανῶσαι*] *ἕκαστον α*[*ὐτῶν χρυσῶ*ῖ *στεφάνωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβεία*]*ς ἕνεκ*[*εν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βο*]*υλὴν* [*καὶ τὸν δῆμον κ.τ.λ.*]. See H. G. Lolling in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1888 p. 314 no. 6.

[3] Paus. i. 26. 5 *ἐσελθοῦσι δέ εἰσι βωμοί,* Ποσειδῶνος, *ἐφ' οὗ καὶ* Ἐρεχθεῖ *θύουσιν ἔκ του* (so É. Clavier and R. Porson for *ἐκ τοῦ* codd.) *μαντεύματος, καὶ ἥρωος Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ* Ἡφαίστου. The exact position of these altars, which have perished, is unknown. They are commonly thought to have stood in the western part of the building: see Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*, but also J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Cambridge, Massachusetts 1927 pp. 484, 491 (locating them 'in the central room or rooms').

Id. ib. p. 484 ff. fig. 206, A—C publishes two thrones for the priest of Boutes (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1656=iii no. 302 *ἱερέως* | *Βούτου*) and for the priest of Hephaistos (*ἱερέως* | *Ἡφαίστου*), which were originally carved from a single block of Pentelic marble and are inscribed in lettering of *s.* iv B.C. The former was found near the Erechtheion; the latter has been for some time on the terrace of the Hekatompedon. Whether they ever stood in the theatre of Dionysos is doubtful.

[4] Harpokr. *s.v.* Κολωνέτας.

[5] Andok. *or.* i. 40, Bekker *anecd.* i. 316, 23 f.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 46+iv. 1. 2 no. 35*b* = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 12 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 84. Vv. 17 [. . . . .]*τῶ ἡε*[*φα*]*ίστο καὶ τὲς* Ἀθεναίας [– – –], 38 f. *τὸν δὲ βομὸν τῶι ηεφαί*[*στοι . . . . . .*] | [. . . . .] *το ποιεσάτο ηε βολὲ καθότι ἂν αὐτ*[*ὲ*]*ι δοκεῖ . . . . . .*].

[7] L. Ziehen *op. cit.* ii. 54: 'nescio an sermo fuerit de loco certaminis scribendumque sit *ἐν τῶι ηιερῶι τῶι τῶ* Ηεφαίστο *καὶ τῆς* Ἀθεναίας.' E. Reisch in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 60 had inferred 'dass das Fest dem Hephaistos und der Athene gemeinsam galt.'

[8] L. Ziehen *op. cit.* ii. 55: 'v. 38 sq. Kirchhoff acute ita refinxit *τὸν δὲ βωμὸν τῶι* Ἡφαί[*στωι ἱδρυσάτω καὶ τἄγαλμα τὸ τοῦ* Ἡφαίσ]*του ποιησάτω ἡ βουλή κτλ.*, quae supple-

His statue must be taken to include the whole cult-monument; for another decree[1] has preserved the accounts of a state-commission appointed in the self-same year and charged with the duty of erecting two statues on a single base in the Hephaistion, which statues—it would seem—were completed four years later in 416. The accounts specify a great quantity of bronze as purchased for the

Fig. 136.

menta etsi universa ratio eorum valde probabilis est, tamen certa non sunt.' E. Reisch *loc. cit.* p. 61 argues well in support of them.

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 318+A. Wilhelm in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1922 p. 43 pl.+*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 319 (Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 316 ff. no. 116)=*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i nos. 370, 371. No. 370, 2 *ἐπιστάται ἀγαλμάτοιν ἑ[ς τὸ h]εφαίστιον* (list of names). No. 371, 2 ff. *χαλκὸς ἐονέθ[ε – – – τάλαντα – –] | καὶδεκα καὶ μναῖ δέκ[α]. τι[μ]ὲ [τῶ ταλάντο τρι]άκοντα πέντε δραχμαί. || καττίτερος ἐονέθε ἐς τὸ ἄνθεμο[ν, τάλαντον] | καὶ hεμιτάλαντον καὶ μναῖ εἴκοσι τ̣[ρῆς καὶ] | hεμιμναῖον, τὸ τάλαντον διακοσίον τρ[ιάκ]οντα δραχμῶν. τιμέ. vacat || μισθὸς τοῖς ἐργασαμένοις τὸ ἄν[θ]εμον hυπ̣[ὸ] | τὲν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸν πετάλον τὸν hύ[στ]ερον | προσμισθοθέντον. || μόλυβδος τῶι ἀνθέμοι καὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς τῶν | λίθον τῶ βάθρο, κρατευταὶ δόδεκα, τιμέ. || χσύλα καὶ ἄνθρακες τῶι μολ[ύ]βδο[ι]. || τράπεζαν ποιέσαντι. || μισθὸς ἐσαγαγόντ[ι] τὸ [ἀγ]άλματε καὶ | στέσαντι ἐν τῶι νεῶι. || κ.τ.λ.*

statues and note that tin was bought for 'the floral ornament (*ánthemon*) beneath the shield.' Hence E. Reisch[1] concludes that the statues in question were two bronze effigies of Hephaistos and Athena. Further, since a famous statue of Hephaistos, standing and so draped as to minimise his lameness, is known to have been made for Athens by Alkamenes[2], and since Athena with her shield supported on a floral ornament is a type existing in several replicas[3] which are held to reflect more or less closely the style of that great

Fig. 137.

sculptor, Reisch not unreasonably attributes the whole group to him[4]. B. Sauer[5], accepting these results, goes further and attempts a restoration on paper (fig. 136), which may at least give us some notion of Alkamenes' group. Athena thus linked with Hephaistos came

[1] E. Reisch *loc. cit.* p. 56 ff.

[2] Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 83, Val. Max. 8. 11. *ext.* 3.

[3] *E.g.* the Athena of the Musée Cherchel (Reisch *loc. cit.* p. 64 ff. fig. 33), the Athena from Crete in the Louvre (*id. ib.* p. 72 f. fig. 35), the Athena of the Villa Borghese (*id. ib.* p. 74 ff. fig. 36).

[4] E. Reisch in the *Eranos Vindobonensis* Wien 1893 p. 21, *id.* 'Athene Hephaistia' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 55—93 with pl. 3 and figs. 32—38.

[5] B. Sauer *Das sogenannte Theseion* Leipzig 1899 p. 246 ff. ('Rekonstruktion') with fig. on p. 250 (= my fig. 136).

to be called by the curious[1] appellation *Hephaistía*[2]. In 343/2 B.C. Phanodemos son of Diyllos, jealous as ever for the credit of Hephaistos[3], proposed a decree[4] which directed that a certain 'statue be dedicated to Hephaistos and to Athena *Hephaistía*.' After this we hear no more of the temple-deities for a good five hundred years. But they were still there in Pausanias'[5] time:

'Above the Kerameikos and the King's Portico as they term it is a temple of Hephaistos. Knowing the tale told about Erichthonios, I was not surprised to find that a statue of Athena stands beside the god; but observing that her statue has glaucous eyes I recognised the myth as Libyan. For the Libyans say that she is a daughter of Poseidon and the lake Tritonis and that therefore her eyes are glaucous like Poseidon's.'

A bronze statue might, as Reisch[6] suggests, have had eyes inlaid with silver; more probably they were of precious stone[7] or vitreous

[1] E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 8 n. 1: 'It has been suggested to me by Mr G. F. Hill that Athena Hephaestia is a title very difficult to parallel in Greek mythology, if the name be derived directly from Hephaestus; such epithets are more commonly local in origin, and this one suggests Hephaestia in Lemnos, where there was a prominent cult of the goddess, attested by coins, and where she was associated in worship with Hephaestus. He further suggests that the famous Athena Lemnia of Phidias, whose association with Athenian cleruchs is a mere conjecture, was but another form of this Athena Hephaestia. In both alike the goddess was represented in her more peaceful aspect, as patroness of art and handicraft. The suggestion of a Lemnian association is peculiarly appropriate in a work attributed to Alcamenes, who was himself a Lemnian.'

A parallel to Athena Ἡφαιστία is Herakles Ἥραιος (Hesych. Ἥραιον· Ἡρακλέα). Cp. perhaps Hera Εὐρωπία (*supra* i. 532).

[2] Hesych. Ἡφαιστία· Ἀθηνᾶ. καὶ πόλις τῆς Λήμνου. E. Reisch *loc. cit.* p. 89 ff. fig. 38 (= my fig. 137) recognised the appellative on the fragment of a painted terra-cotta *pínax* from Athens, now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 784 f. no. 2759, O. Benndorf *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder* Berlin (1868) p. 18 f. pl. 4, 2, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* iii pl. 2. 3), which dates from the latter part of *s.* v B.C. and is inscribed ΛΟΗΝΑΙΑ : ΗΦΑ[ΙΣΤΙΑ].

[3] *Supra* p. 211 n. 7.

[4] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 114, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 100, *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 223, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 227: *b*, 17 ff. [Φα]νό[δημος Δι]ύλλου Θυμαιτάδης εἶπεν· – – | – ανα – – ον ἐλέσθαι τὴν βουλὴν αὐτίκ[α μάλα – – –] Ạ Ḷ Ạ . . Ạ – – | – – στον καθότι ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ ἄριστ[τ – – –] ἀναθεῖναι τό τε ἄγα|[λμα – – τῶι Ἡφαίστωι κ]αὶ τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Ἡφαιστίαι· ἐπιγρ[άψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε καὶ τοὺς βουλ]ευτὰς πατρόθεν καὶ τοῦ δήμ[ου καὶ ὅτι ἔθυσαν] ἐφ' ὑγι[εί]αι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου [τοῦ Ἀθηναίων]. Dittenberger in line 20 restores ἀναθεῖναι τό τε ἄγα|[λμα τῶι τε Ἡφαίστωι τὴν βο]υλ[ὴν? κ]αὶ τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Ἡφαιστίαι.

[5] Paus. 1. 14. 6.

[6] E. Reisch *loc. cit.* p. 59. Cp. *supra* ii. 503 n. 0.

[7] Pheidias made the pupils of Athena *Parthénos* in precious stone (Plat. *Hipp. mai.* 290 C τοῦ οὖν ἕνεκα, φήσει, οὐ καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐλεφάντινα εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ λίθινα, ὡς οἷόν τ' ἦν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ λίθου τῷ ἐλέφαντι ἐξευρών;), and his pupil Alkamenes may well have followed suit. The bronze statuette of a *kóre* from Verona (height, without pedestal, 6 inches) in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 17 no. 192 pl. 1, A. S. Murray *Greek Bronzes* London 1898 p. 28 pl. 1 Frontispiece, H. B. Walters *British Museum:*

Select Bronzes London 1915 pl. 2 with text), archaistic rather than archaic (Miss G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale University Press 1929 p. 137 with fig. 523, Miss W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 223 pl. 88, *a*), has the pupils of her eyes inlaid with crystals of diamond, though the date of their insertion is

Fig. 138.

now regarded as doubtful. I take this opportunity of publishing another small bronze (height 6⅝ inches) in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 175 f. no. 960 'Poseidon Hippios'), formerly in the Blacas collection. It represents Poseidon, laureate, with a *chlamýs* over his left arm and a horse's head on his right hand. His left hand may have held a trident with the prongs downwards. The pupils of his eyes are garnets. My fig. 138 is from a photograph taken for me by Mr W. H. Hayles. See also Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 66 ferunt in ea insula (*sc.* Cypro) tumulo reguli Hermiae iuxta cetarias marmoreo

enamel[1]. One last allusion to Hephaistos and his partner is made two hundred and fifty years later by Saint Augustine[2]. After detailing the story of Erichthonios, the reputed child of Hephaistos and Athena, he continues:

'But it must be admitted that men of learning deny the charge and wholly exonerate their gods. They say this fanciful tale arose from the fact that in the temple at Athens, which is shared by Hephaistos and Athena, an exposed boy was found with a snake coiled about him. The snake signified that he would be famous. Accordingly, since the parents were unknown, his discovery in the joint temple led to him being called the son of Hephaistos and Athena. Yet,' adds Augustine with a sudden flash of shrewdness, 'it is the mythical fancy rather than the alleged fact that accounts for the child's name[3].'

There is little doubt that the myth of Erichthonios, whenever and wherever it originated, had as early as the fifth century B.C. become attached to the Hephaisteion. Variations on the type of Athena *Hephaistía* represent the goddess with a kindly maternal air, either bearing a basket from which a snake creeps over her bosom (fig. 139)[4], or dandling the infant on her arm (fig. 140)[5]. The myth itself—a crude, not to say ugly, narrative—is told as follows by Apollodoros[6]:

'Some state that he (*sc.* Erichthonios) was a son of Hephaistos and Atthis, daughter of Kranaos; others, that he was a son of Hephaistos and Athena on this wise. Athena came to Hephaistos, wanting him to make weapons. But he, being forsaken by Aphrodite, fell in love with Athena and began to pursue her. Thereupon she fled from him. And he, when he drew near to her with much

leoni fuisse inditos oculos e smaragdis ita radiantibus etiam in gurgitem, ut territi thynni refugerent, diu mirantibus novitatem piscatoribus, donec mutavere oculis gemmas, *ib.* 37. 186 Adadu...oculus (*supra* i. 569 n. 4).

[1] H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1884 iii. 209 f., 1887 iv. 330.

[2] Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 12.

[3] *Id. ib.* sed quoniam Minervam virginem volunt, in amborum contentione Vulcanum commotum effudisse aiunt semen in terram atque inde homini nato ob eam causam tale inditum nomen. Graeca enim lingua ἔρις contentio, χθὼν terra est, ex quibus duobus compositum vocabulum est Erichthonius.

[4] A statue from Crete in the Louvre (no. 847). Height 1·42m. The back, the left arm, etc. are unfinished. See further P. Jamot 'Minerve à la ciste' in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques en France* Nos. 21—22 1893—1894 pp. 17—39 with heliogravure pl. 12, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 275 no. 2, E. Reisch in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 55 fig. 32 (head in profile), 72 f. fig. 35 (after Jamot), E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 6 ff. fig. 2 (=my fig. 139).

[5] A statue from Frascati at Berlin (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 37 no. 72 fig. (= my fig. 140)). Height 1·82m. Italian marble. Restored: head, neck, right arm with shoulder, *Gorgóneion*; also the child's head and arms with the upper part of his body. See Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 186 pl. 462 C, fig. 888 E, J. J. Bernoulli *Ueber die Minerven-Statuen* Basel 1867 p. 21.

[6] Apollod. 3. 14. 6, paraphrased also by Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 111.

Fig. 139.

Fig. 140.

ado (for he was lame), attempted to consort with her. But she, being a chaste virgin, would not brook it, and he dropped his seed on the leg of the goddess. In disgust thereat she wiped off the seed with wool and flung it on the earth. So as she fled and the seed fell upon the earth Erichthonios was born.'

This narrative, as appears from a scholion on the *Iliad*[1], was drawn from the *Hekale* of Kallimachos[2]. Its far-fetched etymology is characteristic of the Alexandrine school. An older version, which involves a somewhat less fantastic *étymon*, is attributed by Eratosthenes[3] to Euripides[4], who certainly had leanings toward sophistic mythology[5]:

'With regard to the birth of Erichthonios, Euripides tells the following tale. Hephaistos being in love with Athena was minded to unite with her. But she turned her back upon him and, choosing rather to keep her virginity, hid herself in a certain spot of Attike[6], which they say was called after him *Hephaisteîon*. He, thinking to master her by assault, was struck by her spear and let drop his desire, the seed falling on the earth. Therefrom, they say, was born a child, who for this reason was called Erichthonios.'

The three derivations of the name *Eri*chthonios, which connected it successively with *éros* 'love,' *érion* 'wool,' and *éris* 'strife,' are of course all wrong[7]. But their very variety proves that they are not an essential element in the tale. It existed before them; for one of the scenes represented by Bathykles the Magnesian on the throne of Apollon at Amyklai is described by Pausanias as 'Athena fleeing from Hephaistos, who is pursuing her[8].' Bathykles made the throne

[1] Schol. A. D. *Il.* 2. 547.

[2] Kallim. *frag.* 61 Schneider. The sequel is preserved on a wooden tablet among the papyri of the Archduke Rainer in the Royal Library at Vienna (T. Gomperz in the *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* Wien 1897 vi. 9 f. col. 2, 2 ff. = Kallim. *Hekale frag.* 1. 2 Mair, cp. J. U. Powell—E. A. Barber *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Oxford 1921 p. 103).

[3] Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 13 λέγει δὲ καὶ Εὐριπίδης περὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· Ἥφαιστον ἐρασθέντα Ἀθηνᾶς βούλεσθαι αὐτῇ μιγῆναι, τῆς δὲ ἀποστρεφομένης καὶ τὴν παρθενίαν μᾶλλον αἱρουμένης ἔν τινι τόπῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κρύπτεσθαι, ὃν λέγουσι καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσαγορευθῆναι Ἡφαιστεῖον (so F. C. Matthiae, followed by A. Olivieri, for Ἥφαιστον codd. C. G. Heyne cj. Ηφαίστιον or Ἡφαίστου)· ὃς (C. Robert cj. ὅθεν A. Nauck cj. ὁ δὲ) δόξας αὐτὴν κρατήσειν καὶ ἐπιθέμενος πληγεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῷ δόρατι ἀφῆκε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, φερομένης εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς σπορᾶς· ἐξ ἧς γεγενῆσθαι λέγουσι παῖδα, ὃς ἐκ τούτου Ἐριχθόνιος ἐκλήθη, κ.τ.λ.

[4] Eur. *frag.* 925 Nauck[2] *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 13, cp. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 13, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 394, 20 ff. Eyssenhardt, Tertull. *de spectac.* 9.

[5] *Supra* p. 94 f.

[6] J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 441 would identify the spot as Marathon on the strength of Nonn. *Dion.* 27. 317 ff. καὶ σύ, τελεσσιγόνου φιλοπάρθενε νυμφίε Γαίης, | ἠρεμέεις, Ἥφαιστε, καὶ οὐκ ἀλέγεις Μαραθῶνος, | ἦχι θεᾶς ἀγάμου γάμιον σέλας;

[7] *Supra* p. 181 n. 1.

[8] Paus. 3. 18. 13 καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ διώκοντα ἀποφεύγουσά ἐστιν Ἥφαιστον.

perhaps in the middle of the sixth century B.C.[1], perhaps rather in its last quarter[2], and we have here either—as C. Robert[3] suggested —the record of an ancient Ionic myth concerning Hephaistos' love for Athena or—as L. Malten[4] contends—the first appearance of the Attic myth in which Erichthonios figured as the earthborn offspring of Hephaistos' frustrate desire. Bathykles' design certainly included Hephaistos and Athena; but it hardly justifies us in inferring the Erichthonios-sequel. Athena pursued by Hephaistos was a sixth-century *motif*, which seems for some time to have existed independently and later to have been supplemented by the episode of Erichthonios. Thus an early red-figured *amphora* from Bologna (fig. 141)[5] has on the one side Athena pursued by Hephaistos, on the other a bearded male with a long sceptre—presumably Zeus. But Lucian describes a picture in which 'Hephaistos in love is pursuing Athena, she is fleeing from him, and

Fig. 141.

[1] Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 351.

[2] C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 136, L. Malten in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 425, 446. D. S. Robertson in his admirably careful work *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 p. 105 says 'probably in the second half of the sixth century B.C.'

[3] C. Robert *loc. cit.* iii. 130 no. (20). So too E. Reisch in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 83, B. Sauer *Das sogenannte Theseion* Leipzig 1899 p. 57, J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 441, O. Gruppe in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Dez. 19, 1908 p. 1598.

[4] L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 349.

[5] A. Zannoni *Gli Scavi della Certosa di Bologna* Bologna 1876 p. 353 pl. 102, 5 (shape of 'anforetta'), 6 (obverse), 7 (reverse) (of which, 6 and 7 = my fig. 141). Obv.: Hephaistos, clad in a *chlamýs*, pursues Athena, who is wearing her *aigís* and holds her spear in the right hand, her helmet in the left. Rev.: a bearded male figure ('Giove?') standing to the right with a long staff or sceptre.

from his pursuit Erichthonios is born[1]. Elsewhere he insists that the pantomime must be familiar with the whole range of Attic mythology—'all that is told of Athena, all that is told of Hephaistos and Erichthonios[2],' etc. The attempt of Hephaistos on Athena might no doubt shock those who worshipped the Virgin goddess, and that sufficiently accounts for the evasive versions of Euripides[3] and Kallimachos[4]. But mythological apologists had facile answers to all questionings. Athena had been given to Hephaistos but had vanished at the critical moment[5]. Athena was Hephaistos' reward for freeing Hera from the magic throne that he had made[6]. Athena was the price paid by Zeus to Hephaistos for his manufacture of the thunderbolt[7], or for his services in cleaving the celestial head[8].

[1] Loukian. *de domo* 27 εἶτα μετὰ ταύτην ἄλλη Ἀθηνᾶ, οὐ λίθος αὕτη γε ἀλλὰ γραφὴ πάλιν· Ἥφαιστος αὐτὴν διώκει ἐρῶν, ἡ δὲ φεύγει, κἀκ τῆς διώξεως Ἐριχθόνιος γίγνεται.

[2] Loukian. *de salt.* 39 καὶ ὅσα περὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ὅσα περὶ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἐριχθονίου, κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Supra* p. 220.

[4] *Supra* p. 218 ff.

[5] Amelesagoras (on whom see *supra* p. 157 n. 9) *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 22 Müller) *ap.* Antig. *hist. mir.* 12 φησὶν γὰρ Ἡφαίστῳ δοθείσης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς συγκατακλιθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀφανισθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ἥφαιστον εἰς γῆν πεσόντα προϊέσθαι τὸ σπέρμα, τὴν δὲ γῆν ὕστερον αὐτῷ ἀναδοῦναι Ἐριχθόνιον, κ.τ.λ. (cited *infra* p. 237 n. 5).

[6] Hyg. *fab.* 166 Vulcanus Iovi c[a]eterisque diis solia aurea (so J. Scheffer for *soleas aureas* cod. F. T. Muncker cj. also *sellas aureas*) ex (J. Perizonius cj. *nexa*) adamante cum fecisset, Iuno cum sedisset subito in aëre pendere coepit. quod cum ad Vulcanum missum esset, ut matrem quam ligaverat solveret, iratus quod de coelo praecipitatus erat negat se matrem ullam habere. quem cum Liber pater ebrium in concilio (B. Bunte cj. *concilium*) deorum adduxisset, pietatī negare non potuit: tum optionem a Iove accepit, si quid ab iis petiisset, impetraret. tunc ergo Neptunus, quod Minervae erat infestus, instigavit Vulcanum Minervam petere in coniugium. qua re impetrata in thalamum cum venisset, Minerva monitu Iovis virginitatem suam armis defendit, interque luctandum ex semine eius quod in terram decidit natus est puer, qui inferiorem partem draconis habuit; quem Erichthonium ideo nominarunt, quod ἔρις Graece certatio dicitur, χθὼν autem terra dicitur. etc.

[7] Fulgent. *myth.* 2. 11 Vulcanus cum Iovi fulmen efficeret, ab Iove promissum accepit ut quidquid vellet praesumeret. ille Minervam in coniugium petivit; Iuppiter imperavit ut Minerva armis virginitatem defendisset. dumque cubiculum introirent, certando Vulcanus semen in pavimentum iecit; unde natus est Erictonius (*ericthonius* codd. R. D. G.) [cum draconteis pedibus (only in cod. Marc.)]; eris enim Grece certamen dicitur, ctonus vero terra nuncupatur. etc. Cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 4. 62 and *georg.* 3. 113, Myth. Vat. 1. 128, 2. 37, 2. 40, 3. 10. 3.

[8] *Et. mag.* p. 371, 35 ff. ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς βουλόμενος ἀποκυῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐδεῖτο συνεργοῦ τοῦ πλήξοντος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἵνα ἀποκυήσῃ (so F. Sylburg for ἀποκυηθῇ codd.)· καὶ δὴ λόγους προσφέρει τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ περὶ τούτου. ὁ δὲ Ἥφαιστος οὐκ ἄλλως εἵλετο σχίσαι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Διός, εἰ μὴ τὴν γεννωμένην διαπαρθενεύσει· καὶ ἠνέσχετο ὁ Ζεύς. καὶ λαβὼν τὴν βουπλῆγα τέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξέρχεται ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ἐπεδίωκεν αὐτὴν ὁ Ἥφαιστος ἵνα συγγένηται· καὶ ἐπιδιώκων ἀπεσπέρμηνεν εἰς τὸν μηρὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ λαβοῦσα ἔριον ἐξέμαξε τὸ σπέρμα καὶ ἔρριψεν ἐν τῇ γῇ· καὶ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ἐρίου ἄνθρωπος δρακοντόπους, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Ἐριχθόνιος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρίου καὶ τῆς χθονὸς λαβὼν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο = Nonnos Abbas *in* Greg. Naz. *c. Iulian.* 2. 27 (xxxvi. 1050 Migne) printed as *Append. narr.* 3 p. 359, 24 ff. Westermann = Eudok. *viol.* 1[e]. The theme is first handled by Loukian. *dial. deor.* 8 ὥστε, ὦ Ζεῦ, μαίωτρά μοι ἀπόδος ἐγγυήσας ἤδη αὐτήν. κ.τ.λ.

Such explanations are the expiring efforts of the mythopoeic mind; but at least they imply that there was something to be explained. And that something was the startlingly blasphemous, but ancient, orthodox, and wholly irrepressible, conviction that Hephaistos was the mate of Athena.

Now the pairing of Hephaistos with Athena has often been regarded as a mere juxtaposition of two deities drawn together by their common patronage of the arts and crafts[1]. And doubtless that community of interest did much to strengthen their union. But the root of the matter goes deeper. When we remember that the grouping together of these two occurs already in Homeric verse[2] and Hesiodic myth[3], that it is attested by the ancient pandemic festival of the Chalkeia[4], that it produced the Hephaisteion[5], one of the noblest fifth-century buildings of Athens[6], and finally that the cult-statues of Hephaistos and Athena *Hephaistía*, in all probability the work of Alkamenes[7], were there worshipped side by side for more than half a millennium[8], it becomes increasingly difficult to resist the impression that in the remote prehistoric past Hephaistos and Athena were simply husband and wife[9].

[1] See *e.g.* Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 119 f., F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1991, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 377 (a more cautious statement: 'his association in Attica with Athena, which may have been devised originally to connect some prominent tribe that worshipped him with the national religious polity, was regarded as the natural fellowship of the divinities of art').

[2] *Supra* p. 200 f. [3] *Supra* p. 201. [4] *Supra* p. 211 ff. [5] *Supra* p. 213 f.

[6] The identification of the 'Theseion' with the Hephaisteion, first mooted by D. Sourmeles Ἀττικά[2] Athens 1863 p. 165 ff. and P. Pervanoglu 'Das Hephaesteion in Athen' in *Philologus* 1868 xxvii. 660—672, was better founded by H. G. Lolling in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1874 p. 17 ff. and B. Sauer *Das sogenannte Theseion* Leipzig 1899 pp. 11 f., 255 ff., and is now the almost universally accepted opinion (W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 325 n. 4, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 507 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 378). H. Koch and E. v. Stockar, after a thorough examination of the 'Theseion' and its sculptures, would refer the extant building to the decade 450—440 B.C. (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii Arch. Anz. pp. 706—721 with 8 figs., summarised in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 174 f.). D. S. Robertson *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 pp. 118, 328 dates it *c.* 428 B.C.

[7] *Supra* p. 215. [8] *Supra* p. 218.

[9] This has been seen with varying degrees of clearness by many scholars, *e.g.* O. Jahn *Archäologische Aufsätze* Greifswald 1845 p. 60 ff., F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 208, *id. Indogermanische Volksglaube* Berlin 1885 p. 122 f., A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2064, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 27 f., A. R. van der Loeff *De ludis Eleusiniis* Lugduni-Batavorum 1903 p. 54, E. Petersen *Die Burgtempel der Athenaia* Berlin 1907 p. 89, E. Fehrle *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* Giessen 1910 p. 188 f.

Ancient systematisers declared that the first Apollon was the son of Hephaistos by Athena (Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 55 Vulcani item complures: primus Caelo natus, ex quo et

My own opinion—if I may be allowed to state it with dogmatic brevity—is this. The Akropolis at Athens was originally called *Athéne*, a place-name comparable with the pre-Greek *Mykéne*, *Palléne*, *Mityléne*, *Priéne*, etc[1]. The old singular *Athéne*, thanks to its locatival form **Athenai*, gave rise to the new plural *Athênai*, just as *Mykéne* came to be replaced by *Mykênai* or *Thébe* (*Thebaigenés*) by *Thêbai*[2]. The goddess was named *Athéne* like the rock, because at the outset she *was* the rock, a mountain-mother of the usual Anatolian sort. In classical times her motherhood, at first perhaps compatible with renewed virginity[3], had passed into perpetual maidenhood. But the Elean women, tenacious of archaic beliefs[4], when their land was bereft of men, prayed that they might conceive so soon as they met their husbands, and on their prayer being heard

Minerva Apollinem eum, cuius in tutela Athenas antiqui historici esse voluerunt, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 28. 3 p. 21, 5 f. Stählin *ναὶ μὴν Ἀπόλλωνα ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης πρῶτον Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς (ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὐκέτι παρθένος ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ)*, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14 sed et Minervae, inquiunt,...quinque sunt, ex quibus prima non virgo, sed ex Vulcano Apollinis procreatrix, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 86 p. 135, 8 f. Wünsch *Ἡφαιστοι τέσσαρες· πρῶτος Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Ἡμέρας, πατὴρ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχηγέτου*, 4. 142 p. 164, 7 f. Wünsch *Ἀσκληπιοὶ τρεῖς λέγονται γενέσθαι· πρῶτος Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, ὃς ἐξεῦρε μήλην*. There is confusion in Firm. Mat. 16. 1 quinque Minervas fuisse legentibus nobis tradit antiquitas. una est Vulcani filia, quae Athenas condidit, etc.). The passage from Clement is printed as Aristot. *frag.* 283 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 Müller. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 994 speaks of the author as 'Aristotelis nescio cujus.' V. Rose *Aristoteles pseudepigraphus* Lipsiae 1863 p. 617 suspects a mistake for Aristokles of Rhodes (second half of *s.* i B.C.: see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 935 f.). But see now R. Münzel *Quaestiones mythographicae* Berlin 1883 p. 20, W. Michaelis *De origine indicis deorum cognominum* Berlin 1898 p. 47 f., R. Hirzel in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1896 p. 309 n. 3.

[1] P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1921 xi. 277, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 419.

[2] So K. F. Johansson in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1888 xiii. 111 ff. followed by K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[2] München 1890 p. 122. Particular points are criticised by L. Grasberger *Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen* Würzburg 1888 p. 147 ff. and F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1893 xxxii. 521 n. 1, while A. Thumb in K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 267 pronounces the whole contention 'sehr unsicher.' But the principle seems sound and is of wide application. Examples near at hand are *Coton* (W. W. Skeat *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire* Cambridge 1901 p. 8: probably 'A. S. *cotum*, dative pl. of *cot*, a cottage...the prep. *æt* (at the) being understood') and *Newnham* (*id. ib.* p. 22 and J. B. Johnston *The Place-Names of England and Wales* London 1915 p. 380 f.: 'an O.E. dat., "at the new home"').

[3] Hera recovered her virginity every year by bathing in the spring Kanathos near Nauplia (Paus. 2. 38. 2 with Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*). It was perhaps with the same intention that the Argive women once a year took the image of Athena and the shield of Diomedes (*Palládion*) to the river Inachos and washed them there (Kallim. *lavacr. Pall.* 1 ff. with schol. on lines 1 and 37). On the Athenian Plynteria as implying a *ἱερὸς γάμος* of Athena see the important discussion by E. Fehrle *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* Giessen 1910 pp. 171—177. P. Saintyves *Les Vierges Mères et les Naissances Miraculeuses* Paris 1908 pp. 1—280 ignores the topic.

[4] Cp. *supra* ii. 823 n. 1 (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 36).

Votive relief in island marble, found on the Akropolis at Athens: a husband, with his wife and three children, brings a sow for sacrifice to Athena.

See page 225 *n.* 1.

founded a sanctuary of Athena *Méter*[1]. And at Athens, though Athena was *Parthénos*, yet even in the Parthenon her cult-image with its snakes and its pillar was, as we have seen[2], distinctly

[1] Paus. 5. 3. 2. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 303 comments: 'Athena Μήτηρ need mean little more than Athena the nurse or fosterer of children, just as the nurses who reared the infant Zeus in Crete were worshipped under the name of Μήτερες [b] ([b] Diod. Sic. 4. 79).' But see K. B. Stark in the *Mem. d. Inst.* 1865 ii. 243—275 and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1206 n. 2, who cite Nonn. *Dion.* 48. 951 ff. (Dionysos entrusts the babe Bakchos or Iakchos, one of the twins borne him by Aura, to Athena as nurse) λαβὼν δέ μιν ὑψόθι δίφρου | νήπιον εἰσέτι Βάκχον ἐπώνυμον ὑΐα τοκῆος | Ἀτθίδι μυστιπόλῳ παρακάτθετο Βάκχος Ἀθήνῃ, | Εὔια παππάζοντα· θεὰ δέ μιν ἔνδοθι νηοῦ | Παλλὰς ἀνυμφεύτῳ θεοδέγμονι δέξατο κόλπῳ· | παιδὶ δὲ μαζὸν ὄρεξε, τὸν ἔσπασε μοῦνος Ἐρεχθεύς, | αὐτοχύτῳ στάζοντα νόθον γλάγος ὄμφακι μαζῷ and Dion Cass. 59. 28 (Caligula named Caesonia's daughter Drusilla) ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Διὸς γόνατα ὡς καὶ παῖδα αὐτοῦ οὖσαν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τιθηνεῖσθαι παρηγγύησεν. An Etruscan statuette of a winged Athena carries a naked infant (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (λ)).

H. von Prott's *dictum* in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 87 'Die Akropolis-Athena ist Meter, ihr Opfertier eine trächtige Sau' is justified by an early (first quarter of *s.* v B.C.) votive relief of island marble, found to the east of the Parthenon (G. Dickins *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1912 i. 118 ff. no. 581 fig., B. Staes in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886 pp. 179—182 pl. 9, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 380 f. with fig. 196, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 618 ff. with fig. 314, E. Pfuhl in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1923 xlviii. 132—136 fig. 4), in which a family of husband, wife (pregnant), and three children (one holding a round object, perhaps a disk or ἀσπίδιον) bring a sow (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 290, P. Baur in *Philologus* 1899—1901 Suppl. viii. 484, 499, O. Walter *Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* Wien 1923 p. 34 f. no. 48, cp. p. 70 f. no. 120 (?)) for sacrifice to an archaistic Athena (helmet carved, crest painted). K. Lehmann-Hartleben 'Athena als Geburtsgöttin' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiv. 19—28 fig. 1 (=my pl. xxviii)—an interesting article to which my attention was drawn by Mr A. D. Nock—concludes: 'Es handelt sich also offenbar um einen Bittgang für eine bevorstehende Geburt.' O. Weinreich *ib.* p. 28 acutely suggests that the 'foolish stories' told by Euhemeros and Varro with regard to the proverb ὗς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, *sus Minervam* (Fest. p. 310 *b* 18 ff. Müller, p. 408, 14 ff. Lindsay) in reality gave the αἴτιον for a pig-sacrifice to Athena.

In this connexion it may be noticed that Niket. Chon. 359 B p. 739 Bekker says of a colossal statue in the Forum of Constantine at Constantinople—a statue almost certainly to be identified with the Bronze Athena of Pheidias (W. Gurlitt 'Die grosse eherne Athena des Pheidias' in *Analecta Graeciensia* Graz 1893 pp. 101—121. *E contra* S. Reinach in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1907 xx. 399—417)—εἶχε δὲ κἀπὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ὀρθότιτθον ὃν ποικίλον αἰγιδῶδες ἐπένδυμα. Athena is ὀρθότιτθος in many archaising reliefs and vase-paintings (*e.g. supra* pl. xxviii, E. Schmidt *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 pl. 8, 1—3, pl. 9, 3, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pls. 47a, 47c, 47e, 47f, 47g, 48, 48a), markedly so on certain large flat gems of the Augustan period—where however her full breast is a late Aphroditesque modification rather than an early maternal trait ((1) a sardonyx at Florence (Reinach *Pierres gravées* p. 61 no. 55, 1 pl. 61, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 39, 29 (=my fig. 144 from a cast), ii. 188 ('Der Kopf ist ohne Helm' is wrong; the helmet imitates *chevelure*), Lippold *Gemmen* p. 170 (same mistake) pl. 21, 9: (2) a brown sard formerly in the Marlborough collection (Reinach *Pierres gravées* p. 117 no. 6 pl. 113, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 65, 24 (=my fig. 145), ii. 300)).

[2] *Supra* p. 189. Note also the part played by the priestess, apparently impersonating the goddess, at Athens (Souid. *s.v.* αἰγίς·...ἡ δὲ ἱέρεια Ἀθήνησι τὴν ἱερὰν αἰγίδα φέρουσα πρὸς τὰς νεογάμους εἰσήρχετο=Zonar. *lex. s.v.* αἰγίς·...ἡ δὲ ἱέρεια Ἀθήνησι τὴν ἱερὰν αἰγίδα φέρουσα τοὺς νεογάμους εἰσήρχετο, cp. Plout. *cent.* 2. 21 *not. crit.* [ἡ γοῦν] ἱέρεια τὴν ἱερὰν

reminiscent of a 'Minoan' mother-goddess. Indeed, when Alexander the Great struck his magnificent gold coins (figs. 142, 143)[1] showing the head of Athena with a coiled snake on its helmet, we may detect a last unconscious echo of the Cretan goddess with a snake twined about her head-dress. What the name *Athéne* actually meant, we do not know and it is idle to guess. But if any reliance may be placed on Kretschmer's ingenious comparisons[2], the word was Pelasgian or Tyrsenian and probably hailed from Asia Minor.

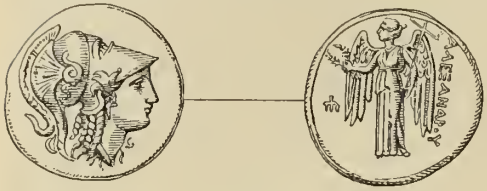


Fig. 142.

Fig. 143.

Fig. 144.

Fig. 145.

Hephaistos too appears to have been Pelasgian or Tyrsenian. The two chief centres of his worship on Greek soil were admittedly Lemnos and Athens, both at one time in Pelasgian occupation.

αἰγίδα Ἀθήνῃσι φέρουσα ἀγείρει [ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως] ἁρξαμένη πρὸς τὰ ἱερά (so cod. B; words in square brackets added from cod. A)): *supra* i. 14 n. 1.

[1] *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 296 ff. nos. 4—7 pl. 21, 2 *distátera*, nos. 8—22, 24—35 pl. 21, 3 f. *statêres*, no. 36 f. pl. 21, 5 quarter-*statêres*, *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 51 f. no. 3404 pl. 125, 1 *distáteron*, nos. 3405—3408 pl. 125, 2—5 *statêres*, no. 3410 f. pl. 125, 7 f. quarter-*statêres*, *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 57 ff. nos. 2073—2078, 2080 pl. 79 *statêres*, nos. 2072, 2079 pl. 79 quarter-*statêres*, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 103 ff. no. 58 pl. 7 *statér*. Figs. 142 and 143 are from specimens in my collection.

Hunter Cat. Coins i. 298 no. 23 and *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 52 no. 3409 pl. 125, 6 *statêres* have a griffin in place of the serpent. Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 226 says 'serpent, griffin, or sphinx.'

[2] *Supra* p. 191 n. 8.

Herodotos[1], quoting Hekataios[2], tells how the Pelasgians, who had built the wall round the Akropolis at Athens, on being driven out by the Athenians went and settled in Lemnos. And Thoukydides[3] in his description of the Chalcidian peninsula Akte says: 'Most of the inhabitants are Pelasgians, belonging to the Tyrsenians who once dwelt in Lemnos and Athens, together with Bisaltai, Krestones, and Edones.' I agree, therefore, with L. R. Farnell[4] who in 1909 expressed himself as follows: 'It is a reasonable hypothesis...that the presence and prominence of Hephaistos in Attica and Lemnos is due to the settlement of a Pelasgic population in those localities.' A. Fick[5] in the same year had independently reached the same conclusion: 'Hephaistos from first to last belongs to the pre-Greek Pelagonian-Pelasgian-Tyrsenians. Centres of his cult are Lemnos and Attike....His name *Héphaistos* too is certainly Pelasgian.' Further, I accept the common view that Hephaistos was essentially a fire-god. When Agamemnon and the Greek leaders sacrificed an ox to Zeus, Homer[6] relates how—

> Piercing the entrails with spits they held them over Hephaistos.

This is no late rhetorical trope[7] or academic allegory[8], but an early animistic usage[9]. It meets us again rather unexpectedly in Aris-

[1] Hdt. 6. 137 with the critical analysis of J. L. Myres in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1907 xxvii. 201 f.

[2] Hekat. *frag.* 362 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 29 Müller)=*frag.* 127 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 24 Jacoby).

[3] Thouk. 4. 109 with J. L. Myres in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1907 xxvii. 204 f.

[4] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 388 f.

[5] A. Fick *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 46 cited *supra* p. 191 n. 0.

[6] *Il.* 2. 426 σπλάγχνα δ' ἄρ' ἀμπείραντες ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστοιο.

[7] Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 85, 11 ff. Bekker Ἥφαιστος·...ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πυρός 'σπλάγχνα δ' ἂρ ἀμπείραντες ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστοιο'· ὁ δὲ τρόπος μετωνυμία, Hesych. *s.v.* Ἥφαιστος·... ὁτὲ δὲ μετωνυμικῶς τὸ πῦρ. Later examples (Archil. *frag.* 12 Bergk[4]=12 Hiller—Crusius =10 Diehl, Soph. *Ant.* 123, 1006 f., Kallim. (?) *frag. anon.* 84 Schneider *ap. et. mag.* p. 241, 55 ff., etc.) are collected by L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 329. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1931 i. 20 is inadequate: 'Wenn Hephaistos schon in der Ilias *B* 426 metonymisch für Feuer gesagt wird, so ist er kein hellenischer Gott, übrigens auch eigentlich nicht das Feuer, sondern der Schmied, der es zu seiner Kunst braucht.'

[8] Emped. *frag.* 98 Diels followed by Zenon *frag.* 111 Pearson=169 von Arnim *ap.* Min. Fel. *Oct.* 19. 10 cited *supra* i. 29 n. 4, Chrysippos *frag.* 1076 von Arnim *ap.* Philodem. περὶ εὐσεβείας 12 (H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 546 b 20 f.), Chrysippos *frag.* 1079 von Arnim *ap.* Philon. *de provid.* 2. 41 p. 76 Aucher, and many later writers: see L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 338 ff. ('Allegorische und natursymbolische Mythendeutung').

[9] P. Cauer *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*[3] Leipzig 1923 p. 351 'So ist φλὸξ Ἡφαίστοιο ...nicht die dem Hephästos heilige Flamme, sondern die Flamme, in der Hephästos selbst brennt' etc.

totle's[1] treatise on meteorology. The philosopher compares thunder to 'the crackle heard in the flame, which some call Hephaistos laughing, others Hestia, others again their threatening.' Hephaistos, then, was ordinary fire, the fire that burns and crackles on the hearth. He was also the jet of flaming gas that leaps like a fountain from the rocky vent. For not only did such jets give rise to the Lycian place-names Hephaistion, Hephaistia, or the Mountains of Hephaistos[2], but the lambent flame was worshipped as the very god. L. Malten[3] justly lays stress on the well-informed words of Maximus Tyrius[4]: 'For the Lycians Olympos sends up fire, not like that of Aitne, but peaceful and mild; and this fire is at once the place and the object of their cult.' It must not, however, be forgotten that earthly fire was commonly conceived as stolen or fallen from heaven[5]. Hesiod, Aischylos, and others speak of Prometheus' theft[6]. Homer tells how Hephaistos, flung from heaven by Zeus because he had dared to help Hera, fell on Lemnos and was there tended by the Sinties[7], or how after his fall (due to the unkindness of his mother who wanted to conceal her lame offspring) he was hidden for nine years in a hollow cave by Eurynome and Thetis[8]. The descent of Hephaistos on Lemnos gave curative

[1] Aristot. *meteor.* 2. 9 369 a 29 ff. *γίνεται δ' ἡ πληγὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς παρεικάσαι μείζονι μικρὸν πάθος, τῷ ἐν τῇ φλογὶ γινομένῳ ψόφῳ, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ μὲν τὸν Ἥφαιστον γελᾶν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἑστίαν, οἱ δ' ἀπειλὴν τούτων.*

[2] *Supra* ii. 972 n. 1.

[3] L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 319, 328, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 237.

[4] Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 8 Dübner *Λυκίοις ὁ Ὄλυμπος πῦρ ἐκδιδοῖ, οὐχ ὅμοιον τῷ Αἰτναίῳ, ἀλλ' εἰρηνικὸν καὶ σύμμετρον· καὶ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο καὶ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα.*

[5] See *e.g.* A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 *passim*, C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 pp. 16 f. (robin), 42 and 124 (wren), P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 156 f. (wren, robin, lark), 159 (swallow), O. Schrader in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 39 b, E. Hammarstedt in M. Ebert *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1925 iii. 279.

[6] *Supra* i. 323 f.

[7] *Il.* 1. 590 ff., cp. Val. Flacc. 2. 87 ff., Apollod. 1. 3. 6, Loukian. *de sacrif.* 6, Myth. Vat. 1. 128, 2. 37, 2. 40, 3. 10. 4, *alib. Anth. Pal.* 15. 26. 8 (Dosiadas) *ματρόρριπτος*! Perhaps *ματρόρριπνος* cod. points to a compound of *ματρο-* with *ῥικνός*, cp. *h. Ap.* 317 *παῖς ἐμὸς Ἥφαιστος, ῥικνὸς πόδας.*

[8] *Il.* 18. 394 ff. Cp. the refuge of Dionysos as described by Eumel. *frag.* 10 Kinkel *ap.* schol. A.D. *Il.* 6. 131 *παραγενόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Θρᾴκην Λυκοῦργος ὁ Δρύαντος λυπήσας Ἥρας μίσει, μύωπι ἀπελαύνει αὐτὸν τῆς γῆς καὶ καθάπτεται αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τιθηνῶν· ἐτύγχανον γὰρ αὐτῷ συνοργιάζουσαι. θεηλάτῳ δὲ ἐλαυνόμενος μάστιγι τὸν θεὸν ἔσπευδε τιμωρήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ δέους εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καταδύνει, καὶ ὑπὸ Θέτιδος ὑπολαμβάνεται καὶ Εὐρυνόμης. ὁ οὖν Λυκοῦργος οὐκ ἀμισθὶ δυσσεβήσας ἔδωκε τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δίκην· ἀφῃρέθη γὰρ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. τῆς ἱστορίας πολλοὶ ἐμνήσθησαν, προηγουμένως δὲ ὁ τὴν Εὐρωπίαν πεποιηκὼς Εὔμηλος.*

properties to the soil. Dioskorides[1] of Anazarbos, a contemporary of the elder Pliny, states that Lemnian earth was obtained from a tunnel in a marshy spot, mixed with goat's blood, moulded, stamped with the image of a goat, and hence called the goat's seal. It was drunk in wine as an antidote to poisons, and it countered the bites of poisonous creatures. Certain persons used it also in religious rites. And it was good for dysentery. Galen visited the island twice (162 and 166 A.D.[2]) to test the accuracy of Dioskorides' remarks[3]. On the second occasion he reached the hill near the town of Hephaistias and observes[4] that its burnt colour and barren nature[5] account for the myth of Hephaistos' fall. He found the priestess scattering wheat and barley on the ground, and performing

A Roman relief of blue-flecked Italian marble, formerly owned by G. Piranesi and now at Berlin (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 320 f. pl. 81, 6 (=my fig. 146), *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 369 f. no. 912 fig., Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 21 no. 1. Height 0·28^{m}, length 0·84^{m}), shows Hephaistos, in the garb and with the tools of a smith, falling through mid air. Above is heaven represented by Zeus with a thunderbolt and Hera with a sceptre (faces restored) appearing over clouds. Below is a sea-goddess (Thetis? Thalassa??) reclining with her left arm propped on a *pistrix*, beneath which are waves. Close by is the rocky island of Lemnos, on which stands Athena holding a branch of her olive tree—'als auf attischem Besitze' (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 370). The female figure on the left with a shield at her feet and a helmet (added by the restorer) in her hand belongs to a different scene, as does the canopy suspended on the right.

[1] Dioskor. 5. 113 p. 778 f. Sprengel ἡ δὲ Λημνία γεννωμένη γῆ ἔστιν ἔκ τινος ὑπονόμου ἀντρώδους (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 31), ἀναφερομένη ἀπὸ Λήμνου τῆς νήσου, ἐχούσης ἐλώδη τόπον, κἀκεῖθεν ἐκλέγεται καὶ μίγνυται αἵματι αἰγείῳ· ἣν οἱ ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωποι ἀναπλάσσοντες καὶ σφραγίζοντες εἰκόνι αἰγὸς σφραγῖδα καλοῦσιν αἰγός. δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει ἀντιδότου θανασίμων φαρμάκων ἔξοχον, πινομένη σὺν οἴνῳ καὶ προληφθεῖσα ἐξεμεῖσθαι ἀναγκάζει τὰ δηλητήρια· ἁρμόζει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν θανασίμων ἰοβόλων πληγὰς καὶ δήξεις· μίγνυται δὲ καὶ ἀντιδότοις· χρῶνται δέ τινες καὶ εἰς τελετὰς αὐτῇ· ἔστι δὲ καὶ δυσεντερίαις χρήσιμος.

[2] C. Fredrich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 73 n. 1.

[3] Galen. περὶ κράσεως καὶ δυνάμεως τῶν ἁπλῶν φαρμάκων 9. 1. 2 (xii. 171 Kühn), cp. περὶ ἀντιδότων 1. 2 (xiv. 8 Kühn).

[4] Galen. περὶ κράσεως καὶ δυνάμεως τῶν ἁπλῶν φαρμάκων 9. 1. 2 (xii. 173 f. Kühn) καὶ τό γε ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγόμενον (*Il.* 1. 593) ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, κάππεσεν ἐν Λήμνῳ, διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ λόφου δοκεῖ μοι τὸν μῦθον ἐπίστασθαι. φαίνεται γὰρ ὁμοιότατος κεκαυμένῳ κατά γε τὴν χρόαν καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἐν αὐτῷ φύεσθαι. εἰς τοῦτον οὖν τὸν λόφον ἥ τε ἱέρεια παραγενομένη, καθ' ὃν ἐγὼ καιρὸν ἐπέβην τῆς νήσου, καί τινα πυρῶν τε καὶ κριθῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐμβάλλουσα τῇ γῇ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ποιήσασα κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον σεβασμόν, ἐπλήρωσεν μὲν ὅλην ἄμαξαν τῆς γῆς, κομίσασα δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὡς εἶπον ἀρτίως ἐσκεύασε τὰς πολυθρυλήτους Λημνίας σφραγῖδας. ἔδοξεν οὖν μοι πυθέσθαι μή τι πρότερόν ποτε τράγειον ἢ αἴγειον αἷμα τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ μιγνύμενον ἐν ἱστορίᾳ παρειλήφασιν. ἐφ' ᾗ πεύσει πάντες οἱ ἀκούσαντες ἐγέλασαν, οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες ἄνδρες ὄντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πεπαιδευμένοι τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἐπιχώριον ἱστορίαν ἅπασαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ βιβλίον ἔλαβον παρά τινος αὐτῶν, γεγραμμένον ὑπό τινος τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀνδρῶν ἔμπροσθεν, ἐν ᾧ τὴν χρῆσιν ἅπασαν ἐδίδασκε τῆς Λημνίας γῆς, ὅθεν οὐκ ὤκνησα κἀγὼ πειραθῆναι τοῦ φαρμάκου, δισμυρίας λαβὼν σφραγῖδας. κ.τ.λ.

[5] Cp. Galen. *ib.* (xii. 170 Kühn) καὶ διὰ τὴν χρόαν ἔνιοι Λημνίαν μίλτον (*sc.* ὀνομάζουσιν). ἔχει μὲν οὖν τὴν χρόαν τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ μίλτῳ, διαφέρει δ' αὐτῆς τῷ μὴ μολύνειν ἁπτομένην καθάπερ ἐκείνην, καὶ κατά γε τὸν λόφον ἐν τῇ Λήμνῳ τὸν ὅλον ὄντα κιρρὸν τῇ χρόᾳ, καθ' ὃν οὔτε δένδρον ἔστιν οὔτε πέτρα οὔτε φυτόν, μόνη δ' ἡ τοιαύτη γῆ.

Fig. 146.

sundry other rites, after which she filled a whole waggon with the earth, took it to the town, and made it into the famous Lemnian seals[1]. He asked if there was anything in the tradition that the blood of he-goats or she-goats had been first mixed with the earth, but was laughed at by those who heard him. One of them, a prominent citizen of Hephaistias, furnished him with a treatise setting forth all the virtues of Lemnian earth, and said that he himself used it in cases of wounds, snake-bites, bites of savage beasts, poisonous drugs, etc. So Galen, much impressed, got 20,000 of the seals and did not scruple to try them[2]. Elsewhere[3] he complains that dangerous imitations of the real seals were put on the market. Philostratos[4] of Lemnos (*c.* 235 A.D.) informs us that Philoktetes, when left on the island, was promptly healed by means of Lemnian earth, a sovereign remedy for madness, hemorrhage, and the bite of the water-snake. F. W. Hasluck[5] has traced the further fortunes of this specific from the pharmacopœia of Paulos the Aeginetan[6] through medieval[7] to modern times. C. Fredrich[8] in his valuable

[1] *Id. ib.* (xii. 169 f. Kühn) describes in detail their manufacture: *ταύτην γάρ τοι τὴν γῆν ἡ ἱέρεια λαμβάνουσα μετά τινος ἐπιχωρίου τιμῆς, οὐ ζώων θυομένων, ἀλλὰ πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν ἀντιδιδομένων τῷ χωρίῳ, κομίζει μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναφυράσασα ὕδατι καὶ πηλὸν ὑγρὸν ἐργασαμένη καὶ τοῦτον ταράξασα σφοδρῶς, εἶτ' ἐάσασα καταστῆναι, πρῶτον μὲν ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ ἐπιπολῆς ὕδωρ, εἶθ' ὑπ' αὐτῷ τὸ λιπαρὸν τῆς γῆς λαβοῦσα καὶ μόνον ἀπολιποῦσα τὸ ὑφιζηκὸς λιθώδές τε καὶ ψαμμῶδες, ὅπερ καὶ ἄχρηστόν ἐστιν, ἄχρι τοσούτου ξηραίνει τὸν λιπαρὸν πηλὸν ἄχρις ἂν εἰς σύστασιν ἀφίκηται μαλακοῦ κηροῦ, καὶ τούτου λαμβάνουσα μόρια σμικρὰ τὴν ἱερὰν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπιβάλλει σφραγῖδα, κἄπειτα πάλιν ἐν σκιᾷ ξηραίνει, μέχρις ἂν ἀκριβῶς ἄνικμος ἀποτελεσθῇ καὶ γένηται τοῦτο δὴ τὸ γινωσκόμενον ἰατροῖς ἅπασι φάρμακον ἡ Λημνία σφραγίς.*

[2] In addition to the immediate sequel cp. Galen. *μέθοδος θεραπευτική* 4. 7 (x. 298 Kühn), 5. 5 (x. 329 Kühn), *περὶ ἀντεμβαλλομένων* (xix. 734 Kühn).

[3] Galen. *περὶ ἀντιδότων* 1. 2 (xiv. 8 Kühn).

[4] Philostr. *her.* 6. 2 *καταλειφθῆναι μὲν γὰρ ἐν Λήμνῳ τὸν Φιλοκτήτην, οὐ μὴν ἔρημον τῶν θεραπευσόντων, οὐδ' ἀπερριμμένον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ· ...ἰαθῆναι δ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τῆς βώλου τῆς Λημνίας, ἐς ἣν λέγεται πεσεῖν ὁ Ἥφαιστος· ἡ δ' ἐλαύνει μὲν τὰς μανικὰς νόσους, ἐκραγὲν δ' αἷμα ἴσχει, ὕδρου δ' ἰᾶται μόνου δῆγμα ἑρπετῶν.*

[5] F. W. Hasluck 'Terra Lemnia' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909—1910 xvi. 220—230 with 5 figs.

[6] Paul. Aigin. *de re med.* 7. 3 (ii. 203, 20 ff. Heiberg).

[7] H. F. Tozer *The Islands of the Aegean* Oxford 1890 p. 260 'In Western Europe it was known from an early period as *terra sigillata*; but the original Greek term *sphragis* also found its way into the pharmacopoeias of the West, where it appears in such corrupt forms as *lempnia frigdos*, and even *lima fragis*[4] ([4]*Alphita, a Medico-Botanical Glossary*, ed. Mowat, in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, pp. 96, 219. The compiler of the *Glossary* remarks, '*Lempnia frigdos terra est sigillata.*' 'Frigdos' is a corruption of *σφραγῖδος*, the genitive case being used, as Mr Mowat has pointed out to me, on account of the form employed in a doctor's prescription).' Bartholomaeus Anglicus (*s.* xiii A.D.) London 1535 Lib. 15. 139, 98 has more to say: 'A serten veyne of the erthe is called Terra Sigillata, and is singularly cold and drie. And Dioscorides calleth it Terra Saracenica and argentea, and is somedeale white, well smellynge and clere. The chief virtue thereof byndeth and staunceth.' Etc.

[8] C. Fredrich 'Lemnos' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 72 citing A. Conze *Reise auf*

monograph on Lemnos notes that Oriental apothecaries still sell packets of Lemnian earth, dug before sunrise on August 6 (the Transfiguration) in the presence of Greek and Turkish clergy, and guaranteed as genuine by the impress of a Turkish seal[1]. I may add that the well-stocked medical cabinet of J. F. Vigani[2], the first Professor of Chemistry at Cambridge, now preserved in the Library of Queens' College, contains various samples of earth (*c.* 1700 A.D.) distinguished on their labels as *Terra sigill. Lemnia*, *Terra sigill. alb.*, and *Terra sigill. rubr.* (fig. 147 *a*, *b*, *c*). Their colours are respectively light red, white, and dark red. The first and third have stamped in relief the Turkish crescent and star on a shield together with a bunch of grapes and the legend TERRA SIG(L)^{A}|LEH(H)IA. The

a *b* *c*

Fig. 147.

second shows a seven-headed dragon, with wings and a twisted tail, and reads TERRA ////// SIGILLATA (?). It may be a rival earth of alien manufacture. Fredrich holds[3] that this whole business of a Lemnian medicament points backwards to a marriage of the fire-god

den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres Hannover 1860 p. 121 and G. Pantelides Ἱστορία τῆς νήσου Λήμνου Alexandria 1876 p. 47 ff. The Turks think that drinking vessels made of Lemnian earth render any poison drunk out of them harmless (Conze *loc. cit.*): cp. Plout. *de rect. rat. aud.* 9 on pots made of clay from Cape Kolias.

[1] Other details are given by P. Belon du Mans *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez & choses memorables, trouvées en Grece, Asie, Iudée, Egypte, Arabie, & autres pays estranges* Paris 1555 p. 29 f. (Greek mass celebrated in small chapel of *Sotira*, after which the monks fill 'petits sacs de poil de bestes' with the earth, etc.). He figures a selection of the seals, which bear in Arabic letters the words *tin imachton*, 'sealed earth' (=*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909—1910 xvi. 222 fig. 1, cp. *ib.* p. 230 fig. 5).

[2] On which see E. S. Peck in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1934 xxxiv. 34—49.

[3] C. Fredrich *loc. cit.* p. 74: 'Dort oben auf dem Mosychlos loderte ja einst ein Erdfeuer; der Feuerdämon hauste dort mit der Erdgöttin. In der rötlichen Erde sind beide vermählt; sie ist Sacrament und daher wirkt sie Wunder: χρῶνται δέ τινες καὶ εἰς τελετὰς αὐτῇ (Dioskorides, *a. a. O.*). Wir kommen damit auf uralten Götterdienst auf jenem Hügel, auf eine Verehrung der allnährenden Erde, die nirgends wieder im aegaeischen Meere soviel Getreide spendet wie auf Lemnos, und des Feuerdämons, der ein Dämon der Zeugungskraft ist. ὦ Λημνία χθὼν καὶ τὸ παγκρατὲς σέλας Ἡφαιστότευκτον klagt Philoktet (v. 986).'

Hephaistos with the earth-goddess Lemnos[1] (fig. 152)[2], consummated

[1] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λῆμνος (cited *supra* p. 191 n. 0) asserts—perhaps on the authority of Hekataios (H. Diels in *Hermes* 1887 xxii. 442, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 225 n. 15)—that maidens used to be sacrificed to this μεγάλη θεός. Since Aristophanes in his *Lémniai frag.* 8 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1100 Meineke) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* μεγάλην θεόν, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* μεγάλη θεός, uses precisely the same phrase of the Thracian Bendis, who is often Hellenised as Artemis (*e.g. supra* ii. 115, 501), it seems highly probable that the Lemnian goddess was in historic times regarded as a form of Artemis and that goats had come to be substituted for her girl-victims. This at least would account for the persistent tradition of goat's blood mixed with Lemnian earth and for the goat as the sacred seal of the local Artemis.

Moreover, an exact parallel may be found in the story of Embaros who, after promising to sacrifice his daughter to Artemis *Mounychía*, substituted a she-goat clad in the daughter's garments (*supra* i. 711 n. 9). This is indeed more than a mere parallel. Since Embaros was the reputed founder of the sanctuary of Artemis *Mounychía* (Pausanias the lexicographer *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 331, 25 ff. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Παυσανίας ἱστορεῖ καί τινα Ἔμβαρον ἐπὶ εὐχῇ σοφίσασθαι. ἱδρύσατο γάρ, φησι, Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν· ἄρκτου δὲ γενομένης ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἀναιρεθείσης, λοιμὸς ἐπεγένετο, οὗ ἀπαλλαγὴν ὁ θεὸς ἐχρησμῴδησεν, εἴ τις τὴν θυγατέρα θύσει τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, Βάρος δὲ ἡ Ἔμβαρος ὑποσχόμενος οὕτω ποιήσειν ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ διὰ βίου ἔχειν, διακοσμήσας τὴν θυγατέρα, αὐτὴν μὲν ἀπέκρυψεν ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ, αἶγα δὲ ἐσθῆτι κοσμήσας ὡς τὴν θυγατέρα ἔθυσεν. ὅθεν εἰς παροιμίαν, φησί, περιέστη 'Ἔμβαρος εἶ,' τουτέστι νουνεχής, φρόνιμος), who stood in the closest relation

Fig. 148.

to the Thracian Bendis (*supra* ii. 115), it seems likely that he came from the Thracian area. And, if so, his name *Émbaros* may well be the would-be Greek form taken by a name really akin to *Ímbros*. A mountain in Kilikia Tracheia was called *Imbarus* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 93), and A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 55 *à propos* of Imbrasos writes: '"Ιμβρ- ist ein echt karisches Namenwort, wie schon G. M[eyer in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1886 x. 193, comparing however *imber*, ὄμβρος, etc.] erkannte, und [P.] Kr[etschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p.] 358 [f.] weiter belegt; wir entnehmen daher Ἴμβρος Gebirg und Kastell in Karien, die Insel Imbros, Ἰμβραμος der karische Hermes und die karischen Personennamen Ἰμβρασσις, Ἰμβαρσις und Ἰμβάρηλδος. Auch in lykischen Personen-, doch nicht Ortsnamen weist Kr. a. a. o. das Element Ἰμβρ- nach.'

The further parallel between the sacrifice of Embaros' daughter (bear killed, girl condemned, goat substituted) and that of Iphigeneia (girl condemned, deer or bear (schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 645, *et. mag.* p. 748, 2 f.) or bull (*et. mag.* p. 748, 3 f.) substituted) is of course obvious.

[2] I figure five imperial bronze coins of Hephaistia. Of these, the first two are from casts of unpublished specimens now in the British Museum. One has *obv.* ΗΦΑΙC ΤΙΕΩΝ bust of Hephaistos to right, with slight beard, *pîlos*, and *chitón* over one shoulder; *rev.* Athena, helmeted, standing to left with Nike in right hand, spear in left (fig. 148). The other has *obv.* bust of Hephaistos to right, with full beard, *pîlos*, and

in early days on Mosychlos, the mountain of volcanic vents[1]. Be that as it may, we have in Lemnos ample evidence of the belief that the fire which leaps up from the ground had erstwhile leapt down from the sky. Nor in Lemnos only. For what else but this popular conception underlay the fiery cycle of Herakleitos[2], in which 'the way up and down is one and the same[3]'? The Stoics, influenced as usual by Herakleitos[4], identified Zeus with a single great continuous fire, which transformed itself into all the vast variety of the visible world[5]. In a special sense Zeus was equated with fire in heaven[6], Hephaistos with fire on earth[7]; and the myth which told

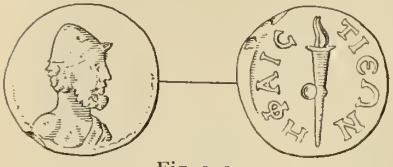


Fig. 149.

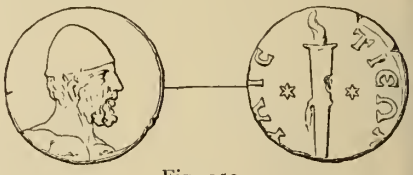


Fig. 150.

Fig. 151.

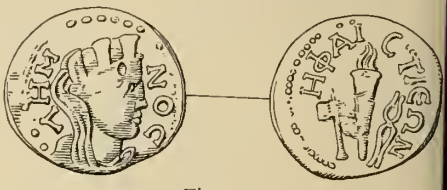


Fig. 152.

chitón over one shoulder; *rev.* ΗΦΑΙϹ ΤΙЄΩΝ a flaming torch (fig. 149). A third shows *obv.* bust of Hephaistos to right, with full beard, *pîlos*, and no *chitón*; *rev.* [Η]ΦΑΙϹ|ΤΙЄΩΝ a flaming torch between two stars (*sc.* Kabeiroi or Dioskouroi) (*Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 282 no. 22 fig. (=my fig. 150)). Another has *obv.* bust of Hephaistos to right, with slight beard, *pîlos*, and *chitón* over one shoulder; *rev.* ΗΦЄϹ|Τ|ΙЄΩΝ Athena, helmeted, standing to left with Nike in right hand, spear in left (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 5 no. 2 pl. 1, 2 (=my fig. 151)). The last gives *obv.* ΛΗΜ|ΝΟϹ bust of Lemnos to right as city-goddess, with turreted crown and veil; *rev.* ΗΦΑΙ|ϹΤΙЄΩΝ a flaming torch between hammer and tongs (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 6 no. 4 pl. 1, 3 (=my fig. 152), *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 141 no. 2489 pl. 95). See further Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 263.

[1] C. Neumann—J. Partsch *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Alterthum* Breslau 1885 p. 314 ff., C. Fredrich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 74, 253 ff., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 1928 f.

[2] We have more than once found Herakleitos refining upon popular beliefs (*supra* i. 28 ff., 358 n. 3, ii. 12, 13 n. 1, 130 n. 7, 805 n. 6).

[3] Herakl. *frag.* 69 Bywater, 60 Diels (cited *supra* ii. 130 n. 7).

[4] *Supra* i. 29 f., ii. 855 n. 2, 856 n. 9, 858 n. 6.

[5] Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 12 ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἡμῖν οὗτος οὐ τῇ μὲν αὐτοῦ φύσει χρώμενος ἔν ἐστι μέγα πῦρ καὶ συνεχές, νυνὶ δ' ὑφεῖται καὶ κέκαμπται καὶ διεσχημάτισται, πᾶν χρῆμα γεγονὼς καὶ γιγνόμενος ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς; = Chrysippos *frag.* 1045 von Arnim.

[6] Cornut. *theol.* 19 p. 33, 12 ff. Lang ὁ μὲν γὰρ αἰθὴρ καὶ τὸ διαυγὲς καὶ καθαρὸν πῦρ Ζεύς ἐστι, τὸ δ' ἐν χρήσει καὶ ἀερομιγὲς Ἥφαιστος, Herakleitos *quaest. Hom.* p. 40, 9 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ [ἡ] πυρὸς οὐσία διπλῆ, καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰθέριον...ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω τοῦ παντὸς

how Zeus had flung Hephaistos down to Lemnos was taken to mean that fire terrestrial was derived from fire celestial[1]. On which showing Hephaistos might be interpreted as the lightning-flash[2]—a fitting end for a god who began with a double axe[3]. In short, it would appear that the Stoics by pursuing the plaguy and quite illegitimate

αἰώρας οὐδὲν ὑστεροῦν ἔχει πρὸς τελειότητα, τοῦ δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν πυρὸς ἡ ὕλη, πρόσγειος οὖσα, φθαρτὴ καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑποτρεφούσης παρ' ἕκαστα ζωπυρουμένη, διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μὲν ὀξυτάτην φλόγα συνεχῶς Ἥλιόν τε καὶ Δία προσαγορεύει (*sc.* Ὅμηρος), τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γῆς πῦρ Ἥφαιστον, ἑτοίμως ἀπτόμενόν τε καὶ σβεννύμενον· κ.τ.λ., Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 47 physici Iovem aetherem id est ignem volunt intellegi, Iunonem vero aërem, et quoniam tenuitate haec elementa paria sunt, dixerunt esse germana. sed quoniam Iuno hoc est aër subiectus est igni id est Iovi, iure superposito elemento mariti traditum nomen est = Chrysippos *frag.* 1066 von Arnim.

[7] *Supra* n. 6. Cp. Lyd. *de mens.* 2. 8 p. 25, 9 ff. Wünsch ὅθεν οἱ μυθικοὶ ζευγνύουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ποτὲ μὲν Ἡφαίστῳ, τῷ χθονίῳ πυρί, ποτὲ δὲ Ἄρεϊ, τῷ ἀερίῳ, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 151, 29 ff. ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ Ἥφαιστον ἡ ἀλληγορία τὸ πῦρ αὐτὸ νοεῖ, τουτέστι τὴν καυστικὴν θερμότητα, καὶ τοῦτο ἢ τὸ διακονικὸν καὶ περὶ γῆν ἢ τὸ ἐκ πάθους ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις γινόμενον, οἷον τὸ ἐν κεραυνοῖς καὶ ἀστραπαῖς καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, κ.τ.λ., p. 152, 5 Ἥφαιστος, τὸ περὶ γῆν δηλονότι, ὡς ἐρρέθη, πῦρ.

[1] Herakleitos *quaest. Hom.* p. 42, 2 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn. Λῆμνον δὲ πρῶτον οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐμύθευσε (*sc.* Ὅμηρος) τὴν ὑποδεξαμένην τὸ θεοπρόβλητον πῦρ· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἀνίενται γηγενοῦς πυρὸς αὐτόματοι φλόγες. δηλοῖ δὲ σαφῶς, ὅτι τοῦτο θεόρρυτόν ἐστι τὸ πῦρ, ἐξ ὧν ἐπήνεγκεν· κ.τ.λ.

[2] Cornut. *theol.* 19 p. 34, 3 ff. Lang ῥιφῆναι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς εἰς γῆν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ λέγεται διὰ τὸ τοὺς πρώτους ἴσως ἀρξαμένους χρῆσθαι πυρὶ ἐκ κεραυνοβολίου καιομένῳ αὐτῷ περιτυχεῖν, μηδέπω ἐπινοίᾳ τῶν πυρίων ἐπιπεσεῖν δυναμένους, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 414. Vulcanus... ignis est, et dictus Vulcanus quasi Volicanus, quod per aerem volet; ignis enim e nubibus nascitur. unde etiam Homerus dicit eum de aere praecipitatum in terras, quod omne fulmen de aere cadit. quod quia crebro in Lemnum insulam iacitur, ideo in eam dicitur cecidisse Vulcanus (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 40, 3. 10. 4, Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 39 f.), *id. in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 454 'Lemnius' quia in Lemnum insulam, ut diximus, cecidit, [a Iove praecipitatus vel] a Iunone propter deformitatem deiectus, quam aerem esse constat, ex quo fulmina procreantur. ideo autem Vulcanus de femore Iunonis fingitur natus, quod fulmina de imo aere nascuntur: quod etiam Lucanus dicit (2. 269, 273) 'fulminibus terrae propior succenditur aer, pacem summa tenent' (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 40, 3. 10. 4, Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 40), Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 298 ff. (Dionysos speaks to Zeus) σεῖο δ' ἐγὼ πρηστῆρος ἀναίνομαι αἰθέριον πῦρ, | οὐ νέφος, οὐ βροντῆς ἐθέλω κτύπον· ἦν δ' ἐθελήσῃς, | Ἡφαίστῳ πυρόεντι δίδου σπινθῆρα κεραυνοῦ, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 151, 30 f. (cited *supra* n. 7), 40 ff. διὸ οὐ πολυωρεῖ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω, ἀλλὰ κάτω ῥίπτεται ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο, ὥς φησι μετ' ὀλίγα ὁ ποιητής (*Il.* 1. 591). οὐ γὰρ φίλος ἐκεῖνος τῷ Διί, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῇ μητρὶ Ἥρᾳ. πάθος γὰρ Ἥρας ὁ τοιοῦτος Ἥφαιστος, ἤτοι ἀέρος σύμπτωμα, ὅτε μὴ φιλίως ἔχει πρὸς τὸν αἰθέρα, μηδὲ κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γῆθεν ἀναθυμιάσεσιν ὥσπερ φραγνυμένη πρὸς τὸν Δία ἐκπεπολέμωται. τότε γὰρ οἱ κεραυνοὶ καὶ οἱ σκηπτοὶ γίνονται καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον τῷ αἰθέρι ἐπιπροσθοῦν, p. 152, 6 ff. ἐξ ἀέρος γὰρ ἀληθῶς καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος (*sc.* περὶ γῆν) Ἥφαιστος, οὐ μόνον διότι ἡ φλὸξ ἀήρ ἐστιν ἐξαφθείς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔοικεν εἰς γῆν ἄνωθέν ποθεν ἐλθεῖν, ἢ κεραυνοῦ ὡς εἰκὸς κατενεχθέντος καὶ ξύλῳ ἐνσκήψαντος καὶ οὕτως ἀρχήν τινα καὶ σπέρμα πυρὸς ἐνδόντος ἀνθρώποις ἢ καὶ διά τινος μηχανῆς, πυρὸς ἐξ ἀέρος κατενεχθέντος, κ.τ.λ., Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 227 'Λημναίῳ πυρὶ' ἀπὸ κεραυνοβόλου δένδρου (cp. Diod. 1. 13) ἐν Ἑλληνικαῖς χώραις ἐν Λήμνῳ πρώτως εὑρέθη τό τε πῦρ καὶ αἱ ὁπλουργίαι, κάθως ἐν τῷ περὶ Χίου κτίσεως Ἑλλανικὸς ἱστορεῖ ἵνα μὴ κατὰ πλάτος τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπεξεργαζώμεθα = Hellanikos *frag.* 112 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 60 Müller), *frag.* 71 b (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 125 Jacoby, who however starts the fragment with the words ἐν Λήμνῳ πρώτως κ.τ.λ.). W. Mannhardt *Die Korndämonen* Berlin 1868 likewise treats Hephaistos as a 'Blitzgott.'

[3] *Supra* p. 200.

method of allegorical conjecture had come curiously near to divining the original significance of Hephaistos.

Hephaistos and Athena—if I am right—were at first the sky-father and the mountain-mother of a Pelasgian or Tyrsenian race, which had its prehistoric home in Asia Minor. And in the rude tale of their attempted union I should detect a popular survival of their old Asiatic myth. The earliest allusion to it is *à propos* of a sixth-century craftsman from Magnesia on the Maiandros[1]. That may be accident. But it can hardly be accidental that the closest parallels to the myth are found on Mount Agdos in Galatia[2] and among the peasants of the Caucasus[3]. All the evidence, linguistic, religious, mythological, really points in one direction—towards Asia Minor as the cradle of both deities alike.

The worship of Hephaistos and Athena, proper to the Pelasgian or Tyrsenian population of Athens, was complicated by that of other gods and goddesses as soon as Hellenic settlers entered Attike. An influx of Aeolians, who had swarmed off from Thessaly and settled on the north bank of the Ilissos[4] (let us say, with Periphas as their king[5]), brought with them from Mount Olympos the cult of Zeus *Olýmpios* and Ge *Olympía*. With Ge *Olympía* was in all probability connected the rite of the *Arrhephoría* and the mythical birth of Erichthonios[6]. These purely Hellenic powers never quite dispossessed their Pelasgian predecessors, who in the sixth and fifth centuries recovered something of their former prestige thanks to the Panathenaic policy inaugurated by Peisistratos[7]. Hence the gradual intrusion of Athena and Hephaistos into representations of a myth, which was strictly concerned with Ge as fructified by the fertilising dew of Zeus[8]. Erichthonios, instead of being the child of Zeus by Ge, is the child of Hephaistos by Ge[9] or,

[1] *Supra* p. 220 f. [2] *Supra* ii. 969 n. 4.

[3] Miss E. M. Dance, in an unpublished treatise (*An Analysis of the Orphic Myths* 1933 p. 12 f.) which she kindly allowed me to read in type-script, compares the myths of Mithras born of a rock (F. Cumont in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1953), Agdistis, and Hephaistos with A. Dirr *Kaukasische Märchen* (*Märchen der Weltliteratur*) Jena 1922 p. 182: 'Eines Tages wusch Satána ihre Hosen und breitete sie auf einem Steine zum Trocknen aus. Da kam Uástyrdji und sagte: "Deine Hosen kommen mir nicht aus", näherte sich und liess seinen Samen auf sie ausströmen. Davon wurde der Stein, auf dem die Hosen lagen, schwanger.' After nine months Satána split the stone and a child, the hero of the Märchen, came forth.

[4] *Supra* ii. 1123, iii. 169 n. 0. [5] *Supra* ii. 1121 ff.

[6] *Supra* pp. 169 n. 0, 188. [7] *Supra* p. 188 n. 3. [8] *Supra* p. 188.

[9] Isokr. 12 *Panathenaicus* 126 Ἐριχθόνιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ φὺς ἐξ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Γῆς κ.τ.λ., Paus. 1. 2. 6 πατέρα δὲ Ἐριχθονίῳ λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα εἶναι, γονέας δὲ Ἥφαιστον καὶ Γῆν, cp. Kallim. *Hekale frag.* 1. 2, 7 Mair (*supra* p. 220 n. 2) ὡς δῆθεν ὑφ' Ἡφαίστῳ τέκεν Αἶα and Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 63 f. cited *infra* p. 237 n. 1.

more often, of Hephaistos by Athena. But to the last an occasional poet describes him as his father's 'dew[1].'

(b) The Daughters of Kekrops.

The three daughters of Kekrops were Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse. All of them alike bore names suggestive of the dew. *Áglauros* denotes 'the Sparkling One[2]'; *Pándrosos*, 'the All-bedewed'; *Hérse*, quite simply 'the Dew[3].'

The oldest accessible version of their myth is that given, perhaps as early as *s.* v B.C.[4], by Amelesagoras in his *Atthís*[5]:

[1] Kallim. *Hekale frag.* 1. 2, 2 f. Mair ἀλλά ἑ Παλλὰς | *τῆς μὲν ἔσω δηναι(ὸ)ν ἀφῆ δρ[ό]σον* Ἡφαίστοιο, | κ.τ.λ., Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 63 f. *οὐ τύπον ἄγριον εἶχον* Ἐρεχθέος (by confusion with Erichthonios: *supra* p. 181 n. 2), *ὃν τέκε Γαίης | αὔλακι νυμφεύσας γαμίην* Ἥφαιστος *ἐέρσην.*

[2] The simplest and most satisfactory derivation of Ἄγλαυρος is from ἀγλαός (*ἀγλαϝός for *ἀγα-γλαϝ-ός: see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 4) and the common suffix -ρος. Nik. *ther.* 62 uses ἄγλαυρος, 'sparkling,' as an epithet of rivers, and *ib.* 441 as an epithet of a snake.

H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 136 f. inferred from the masculine ending that Ἀγλαυρος was a compound of ἀγ(α)λ- (ἀγάλλειν, ἄγαλμα) and αὔρα: 'eine göttin heiterer luft, hellen himmels,' cp. Ἀγλαΐα. A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1901 xxvi. 112 similarly derives Ἄγλαυρος from ἀγλαός + αὔρα (taking *ἀγλαυρὸς πάνδροσος ἔρση* to have been a dactylic line or half-line, 'die bei heiterer luft ... alles beträufelnde ... bethauung'). E. Maass 'Aglaurion' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 337—341 does the same, but holds that αὔρα (connected with ἀήρ) was an old word for 'water' (hence ἄναυρος 'mountain-torrent,' Hesych. *ἐπαύρους· τοὺς χειμάρρους ποταμούς*, Hes. *theog.* 353 Πληξαύρη *τε* Γαλαξαύρη *τ'* as Nereids, and perhaps ἄγαυρος 'abundant, affluent'), which came to mean 'moist, cool air' and so 'breeze.' On this showing Ἄγλαυρος would be a water-nymph (cp. *Il.* 2. 307 *ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ*, Hom. *ep.* 4. 7 *ἀγλαὸν ... ὕδωρ*) and Ἀγλαύριον a *Nymphaeum.*

Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 7 n. 3 thinks that Ἄγλαυρος may refer to the dew ('blinkende Tauperlen'), but proposes no etymology.

In any case Ἄγλαυρος, not Ἄγραυλος, is the inscriptional form (K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*[3] Berlin 1900 p. 83 n. 712). Both are found in literary texts (J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 826). Ἄγραυλος seems to have been taken by popular etymology from an epithet of Pan, to whose flute the Dew-sisters danced (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1196 n. 3 *sub fin.*, 1394 n. 4).

[3] *Supra* pp. 166, 179 f.

[4] *Supra* p. 157 n. 9.

[5] Amelesagoras *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 22 Müller) *ap.* Antigon. *hist. mir.* 12 *Ἀμελησαγόρας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὁ τὴν Ἀτθίδα συγγεγραφὼς οὗ φησι κορώνην προσίπτασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὐδ' ἔχοι ἂν εἰπεῖν ἑωρακὼς οὐδείς. ἀποδίδωσιν δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν μυθικῶς. φησὶν γὰρ Ἡφαίστῳ δοθείσης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς συγκατακλιθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀφανισθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ἥφαιστον εἰς γῆν πεσόντα προΐεσθαι τὸ σπέρμα, τὴν δὲ γῆν ὕστερον αὐτῷ ἀναδοῦναι Ἐριχθόνιον, ὃν τρέφειν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ εἰς κίστην καθεῖρξαι καὶ παραθέσθαι ταῖς Κέκροπος παισίν, Ἀγραύλῳ καὶ Πανδρόσῳ καὶ Ἕρσῃ, καὶ ἐπιτάξαι μὴ ἀνοίγειν τὴν κίστην, ἕως ἂν αὐτὴ ἔλθῃ. ἀφικομένην δὲ εἰς Πελλήνην φέρειν ὄρος, ἵνα ἔρυμα πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ποιήσῃ, τὰς δὲ Κέκροπος θυγατέρας τὰς δύο, Ἄγραυλον καὶ Πάνδροσον, τὴν κίστην ἀνοῖξαι καὶ ἰδεῖν δράκοντας δύο περὶ τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον· τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ φερούσῃ τὸ ὄρος, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Λυκαβηττός, κορώνην φησὶν ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Ἐριχθόνιος ἐν φανερῷ, τὴν δὲ ἀκούσασαν ῥῖψαι τὸ ὄρος ὅπου νῦν ἐστι, τῇ δὲ κορώνῃ διὰ τὴν κακαγγελίαν εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν οὐ θέμις αὐτῇ ἔσται ἀφικέσθαι.*

'Amelesagoras of Athens, author of the *Atthis*, asserts that no crow flies to the Akropolis and that nobody can claim to have seen one so doing[1]. He adds a mythical explanation. He states that, when Athena was given to Hephaistos, she lay down with him and vanished[2]. Hephaistos fell to earth and spent his seed. The earth afterwards produced Erichthonios, whom Athena nurtured and shut up in a basket and entrusted to the daughters of Kekrops—Agraulos, Pandrosos, and Herse—charging them not to open the basket until she returned. She then went to Pellene[3] and fetched a mountain to serve as a bulwark in front of the Akropolis. The daughters of Kekrops, two of them, Agraulos and Pandrosos, opened the basket and saw two snakes coiled round Erichthonios. As Athena was carrying the mountain, which is now called Lykabettos, a crow—he states—met her and said "Erichthonios is exposed." She on hearing it threw down the mountain where it now is, and told the crow as bearer of evil tidings that never thereafter would it be lawful for it to go to the Akropolis.'

[1] Andron of Halikarnassos *frag.* 16 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 352 Müller) = *frag.* 1 (Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 67 f.) *ap.* Apollon. *hist. mir.* 8 Ἄνδρων ἐν τῇ δ' τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον θυσιῶν· κορώνη ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐδεμία ἑώραται εἰσερχομένη, καθάπερ οὐδὲ ἐν Πάφῳ περὶ τὰ θυρώματα τὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης μυῖα ἐφιπταμένη (*supra* ii. 783 n. 3), Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 30 ab arcturi sidere ad hirundinum adventum notatur eam (*sc.* cornicem) in Minervae lucis templisque raro, alicubi omnino non adspici, sicut Athenis, Ail. *de nat. an.* 5. 8 κορώνῃ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιβατά, cp. Ov. *am.* 2. 6. 35 armiferae cornix invisa Minervae, Hyg. *fab.* 166 hae cum cistulam aperuissent cornix indicavit (on the crow as a typical informer see O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 103 f.).

Some modern travellers accept as true the statement that crows avoid the top of the Akropolis (R. Chandler *Travels in Greece* Oxford 1776 p. 54 'Crows, as I have often observed, fly about the sides of the rock, without ascending to the height of the top'). But such avoidance cannot be 'due simply to the height of the hill' (D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 99). Rather, the site is too rocky to furnish the crows' accustomed food. Besides, it is still tenanted by plenty of owls (on the war of owls *v.* crows see Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 1. 609 a 8 ff., Antigon. *hist. mir.* 57 (62), Plout. *de invidia et odio* 4, Ail. *de nat. an.* 3. 9, 5. 48, Souid. *s.v.* ἄλλο γλαύξ, ἄλλο κορώνη φθέγγεται, Zenob. 1. 69, Diogenian. 2. 16, *eiusd. cod. Vindob.* 1. 31, Greg. Kypr. 1. 39, Makar. 1. 80, Apostol. 2. 32, Arsen. p. 44 Walz. Cp. A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 245 f. ('The Owls and the Crows'), D'Arcy W. Thompson *op. cit.* pp. 46, 98, H. T. Francis—E. J. Thomas *Jātaka Tales* Cambridge 1916 p. 213 ff. ('The Owl as King')).

[2] *Supra* p. 222.

[3] Pellene, an ancient city of Achaia, 'stands on a hill which rises at the summit into a sharp point. The top is precipitous and therefore uninhabited' (Paus. 7. 27. 1. But see Sir J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*). 'At the entrance into the city is a temple of Athena built of native stone. The image is of ivory and gold: they say that it was made by Pheidias before he made the images of Athena in the Akropolis of Athens and at Plataiai. The people of Pellene also say that there is an *ádyton* of Athena running down deep into the earth under the pedestal of the image, and that the air from this *ádyton* is damp, and therefore good for the ivory' (*id.* 7. 27. 2). The statue is shown on imperial bronze coins of Pellene (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 91 f. pl. S, 10, Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 183 f. fig. 25, H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 7. 27. 2 with Münztaf. 5, 4, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 36 ('not by Pheidias'), G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* New Haven, Yale University Press 1929 pp. 161, 173).

Amelesagoras' mention of Pellene is borne out by Kallim. *Hekale frag.* 1. 2, 11 Mair Πελλήνην ἐφίκανεν Ἀχαιΐδα. But Kallim. *frag.* 19 Schneider *ap. et. mag.* p. 160, 30 f.

Euripides, who likewise mentions the two snakes placed by Athena as guards over Erichthonios[1], further hints at the fate of the maidens: having opened the ark they must needs perish and stain the rocky cliff with their blood[2]. Apollodoros[3] is more explicit:

'Athena, wishing to make him (*sc.* Erichthonios) immortal, reared him in secret without the knowledge of the other gods. She laid him in a basket and entrusted it to Pandrosos, daughter of Kekrops, forbidding her to open the basket. But Pandrosos' sisters out of curiosity opened it and saw a snake coiled beside the babe. Then, as some say, they were destroyed by the snake itself, or, as others declare, by reason of Athena's anger they were driven mad and flung themselves down from the Akropolis.'

According to Hyginus[4], the sisters maddened by Athena hurled

ἡ μὲν ἀερτάζουσα μέγα τρύφος Ὑψιζώρου | ἄστυρον εἰσανέβαιν'—points rather to Pallene, the promontory of Chalkidike (Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 36 oppida Pallene, Phlegra. qua in regione montes Hypsizorus, etc.), and this suits better the position of Lykabettos (N.E. of the Akropolis). See further Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 498 n. 1. Pellene→Akte (?) →Akropolis and Pallene→Lykabettos→Akropolis were alternative versions of the myth.

[1] Eur. *Ion* 21 ff. *κείνῳ γὰρ ἡ Διὸς κόρη | φρουρὼ παραζεύξασα φύλακε σώματος | δισσὼ δράκοντε παρθένοις Ἀγλαυρίσι | δίδωσι σώζειν· ὅθεν Ἐρεχθείδαις ἔτι* (so J. Barnes for *ἐκεῖ* codd.) | *νόμος τίς ἐστιν ὄφεσιν ἐν χρυσηλάτοις | τρέφειν τέκν'* (on which custom see *ib.* 1427 ff. with the remarks of E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 113 n.: 'so haben diese Schlangen zweifellos eine apotropäische Bedeutung, die Kinder vor Unheil zu schützen; es scheint aber hinter dieser Sitte als tieferer Kern die sehr alte Vorstellung verborgen zu sein, wonach eigentlich zwischen Schlange und dämonischem Kind kein grosser Unterschied besteht,' cp. *Sosípolis* at Elis (Paus. 6. 20. 4 f., *supra* i. 58, ii. 1151), Zeus *Sosípolis* at Magnesia on the Maiandros (*supra* i. 58) *if* it be he who on a coin of the town is seated above a basket and snake (*supra* i. 153 fig. 128, O. Kern in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. Arch. Anz. p. 81), the snake born and suckled by Klytaimestra in her dream (Aisch. *cho.* 526 ff.), and the modern Greek custom of calling an unbaptised child *δρακος*, *δράκοντας* or *δράκαινα*, *δρακοῦλα*, *δρακόντισσα* according to sex (C. Wachsmuth *Das alte Griechenland im neuen* Bonn 1864 pp. 34, 62, W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1905 ii. 64, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 331 n. 2)).

[2] Eur. *Ion* 267 ff. ΙΩΝ *ἐκ γῆς πατρός σου πρόγονος ἔβλαστεν πατήρ;* | ΚΡ. *Ἐριχθόνιός γε· τὸ δὲ γένος μ' οὐκ ὠφελεῖ.* | ΙΩΝ *ἦ καί σφ' Ἀθάνα γῆθεν ἐξανείλετο;* | ΚΡ. *ἐς παρθένους γε χεῖρας, οὐ τεκοῦσά νιν.* | ΙΩΝ *δίδωσι δ', ὥσπερ* (A. Kirchhoff cj. *αἴσπερ*) *ἐν γραφῇ νομίζεται* | ΚΡ. *Κέκροπός γε σώζειν παισὶν οὐχ ὁρώμενον.* | ΙΩΝ *ἤκουσα λῦσαι παρθένους τεῦχος θεᾶς.* | ΚΡ. *τοιγὰρ θανοῦσαι σκόπελον ἥμαξαν πέτρας.*

[3] Apollod. 3. 14. 6 (continuing the passage cited *supra* p. 218 ff.) *τοῦτον Ἀθηνᾶ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἔτρεφεν ἀθάνατον θέλουσα ποιῆσαι, καὶ καταθεῖσα αὐτὸν εἰς κίστην Πανδρόσῳ τῇ Κέκροπος παρακατέθετο* (*ἐπικατέθετο* cod. P.), *ἀπειποῦσα τὴν κίστην ἀνοίγειν. αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ τῆς Πανδρόσου ἀνοίγουσιν ὑπὸ περιεργίας καὶ θεῶνται τῷ βρέφει παρεσπειραμένον* (C. G. Heyne cj. *περιεσπειραμένον*) *δράκοντα, καί, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διεφθάρησαν τοῦ δράκοντος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, δι' ὀργὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐμμανεῖς γενόμεναι κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως αὐτὰς ἔρριψαν.*

[4] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 13 eum dicitur Minerva in cistula quadam ut mysteria contectum ad Erechthei filias detulisse et his dedisse servandum; quibus interdixit, ne cistulam aperirent. sed ut hominum est natura cupida, ut eo magis appetant, quo interdicatur saepius, virgines cistam aperuerunt et anguem viderunt. quo facto, insania a Minerva iniecta, de arce Atheniensium se praecipitaverunt. anguis autem ad Minervae clipeum confugit et ab ea est educatus.

themselves from the citadel at Athens, while the snake fled for refuge to the shield of Athena and was reared by the goddess. But the same author elsewhere[1] informs us that the maidens, when maddened by Athena, hurled themselves into the sea. The tale was popular, and later writers repeat it with other unimportant variations[2]. Under the empire the versions degenerate till Fulgentius[3] (*c.* 500 A.D.) makes the fateful basket entrusted 'to two sisters, Aglauros and Pandora'! Even Ovid[4], following some Hellenistic source (Nikandros?)[5], and himself followed by a prose compiler misnamed Lactantius Placidus[6], rewrites the whole narrative in absurd romantic vein.

Miss J. E. Harrison[7] in an ingenious but hardly convincing passage claimed that the story of the Kekropides was invented to account for the ritual of the Arrhephoria. It may indeed have been an aetiological myth; for the Athenians are said to have performed mysterious rites for Agraulos and Pandrosos, who had sinned in opening the chest[8]. But it was the Kallynteria and the Plynteria

[1] Hyg. *fab.* 166 (continuing the passage cited *supra* p. 222 n. 6) quem Minerva cum clam nutriret, dedit in cistula servandum Aglauro Pandroso et Hersae Cecropis filiabus. hae cum cistulam aperuissent cornix indicavit (*supra* p. 238 n. 1); illae a Minerva insania obiecta ipsae se in mare praecipitaverunt.

The same alternative versions were given in the case of Aigeus' suicide (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 954, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 31 n. 13). The attempt to harmonise them was a failure (Nikokrates *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 466 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 831 Νικοκράτης δέ φησιν ὅτι ἀπὸ Αἰγέως κατακρημνίσαντος ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. οὐκ εὖ. πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέχει ἡ ἀκρόπολις τῆς θαλάσσης παραπλέοντι).

[2] The literary evidence was diligently collected and arranged by B. Powell *Erichthonius and the three Daughters of Cecrops* (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology* xvii) Ithaca, New York 1906 pp. 1—7, 56—63.

[3] Fulgent. *myth.* 2. 11 (continuing the passage cited *supra* p. 222 n. 7) quem Minerva in cistam abscondidit draconeque custode opposito duabus sororibus Aclauro et Pandorae commendavit.

[4] Ov. *met.* 2. 708—835.

[5] W. Vollgraff *Nikander und Ovid* Groningen 1909 i. 118.

[6] Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 2. 12 Athenis virgines per solemne sacrificium canistris Minervae ferunt pigmenta (B. Powell *op. cit.* pp. 5 n.[a], 40 n.[b] cj. *figmenta*): inter quas a Mercurio eminens specie conspecta est Herse Cecropis filia. itaque adgressus est sororem eius Aglauron, precatusque ut se Hersae sorori suae iungeret. at illa cum pro ministerio aurum eum poposcisset, Minerva graviter offensa est avaritia eius, ob quam cistulam etiam traditam sororibus eius custodiendam adversus suum praedictum aperuisset: Invidiae novissime imperavit eam sororis Herses exacerbare (so A. von Staveren, after Giselin, for *sorori Hersae exacerbavit* cod.) fortunio: diuque excruciatam saxo mutavit.

[7] Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. xxxii ff., cp. *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 133, *ead. Primitive Athens* Cambridge 1906 p. 50 f.

[8] Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 1 p. 1 Schwartz ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος Ἐρεχθεῖ Ποσειδῶνι θύει καὶ Ἀγραύλῳ Ἀθηνᾷ [καὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια Ἀθηναῖοι ἄγουσιν (*secl.* E. Schwartz)] καὶ Πανδρόσῳ, αἳ ἐνομίσθησαν ἀσεβεῖν ἀνοίξασαι τὴν λάρνακα. Athenagoras, like Amelesagoras (*supra* p. 237 f.), makes Agraulos and Pandrosos the guilty sisters. J. Toepffer in

rather than the Arrhephoria that were connected by the ancients with the life and death of Agraulos[1] or Aglauros[2]. And naturally so; for the Kallynteria fell on the nineteenth, the Plynteria probably on the twenty-fifth of Thargelion, and modern meteorological records taken in the Botanical Garden at Athens show that heavy dews begin to fail in May, are lacking throughout June, July, and August, and begin to return in September[3]. In mythological parlance, *Áglauros*, 'the Sparkling One,' dies. Her death was associated with the Plynteria, a very ill-omened day in Thargelion (May—June). Three weeks later, in the middle of Skirophorion (June—July), when the dew was rarer still, it became necessary to fertilise Mother Earth, not only with white clay (*skîros*) used as a manure, but also by means of a ceremonial dew-bearing. This was done in the Arrhephoria, as we have already seen.

Closer investigation[4] makes it probable that Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse were not originally a triad of sisters. Of the three, Aglauros appears to have been the eldest and most venerable. Euripides speaks of them all as 'the Aglaurid maidens[5]' or, again,

Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 828 identifies these τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια with the ὄργια... ἀπόρρητα performed by the Praxiergidai at the Plynteria (Plout. *v. Alk.* 34).

Bekker *anecd.* i. 239, 7 ff. Δειπνοφόρος· ἑορτῆς ὄνομα. Δειπνοφορία γάρ ἐστι τὸ φέρειν δεῖπνα ταῖς Κέκροπος θυγατράσιν Ἕρσῃ καὶ Πανδρόσῳ καὶ Ἀγραύλῳ. ἐφέρετο δὲ πολυτελῶς κατά τινα μυστικὸν λόγον. καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίουν οἱ πολλοί· φιλοτιμίας γὰρ εἵχετο is discredited by K. F. Hermann *Lehrbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten* Heidelberg 1832 i § 56, 12 and Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 284 n. 4 ('Herse und Aglauros mochte man als erste Ersephoren ansehen, und da die Ersephoren im Pyanopsion den Peplos zu beginnen hatten [*supra* pp. 166, 212], so ward die diesem Monat angehörige Speisung, welche den Oschophoren galt [Philochoros *ap.* Bekker *anecd.* i. 239, 11 ff.], für die Ersephoren in Anspruch genommen'). But see J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 829 and *infra* p. 242 n. 10.

[1] Phot. *lex. s.v.* Καλλυντήρια καὶ Πλυντήρια· ἑορτῶν ὀνόματα· γίνονται μὲν αὗται Θαργηλιῶνος μηνός, ἐνάτῃ μὲν ἐπὶ δέκα Καλλυντήρια, δευτέρᾳ δὲ φθίνοντος τὰ Πλυντήρια· τὰ μὲν Πλυντήριά φησι διὰ <τὸ μετὰ> τὸν θάνατον τῆς Ἀγραύλου ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὴ πλυθῆναι <τὰς ἱερὰς> ἐσθῆτας· εἶθ' οὕτω πλυθείσας τὴν ὀνομασίαν λαβεῖν ταύτην· τὰ δὲ Καλλυντήρια, ὅτι πρώτη δοκεῖ ἡ Ἄγραυλος γενομένη ἱέρεια τοὺς θεοὺς κοσμῆσαι· διὸ καὶ Καλλυντήρια αὐτῇ ἀπέδειξαν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ <καλλύνειν> κοσμεῖν καὶ λαμπρύνειν ἐστίν. The words inserted are due to S. A. Naber, who cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 270, 1 ff. ἀπὸ τοῦ καλλύνειν καὶ κοσμεῖν καὶ λαμπρύνειν. Ἄγραυλος γὰρ ἱέρεια πρώτη γενομένη τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκόσμησε. Πλυντήρια δὲ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τῆς Ἀγραύλου ἐνὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὴ πλυθῆναι τὰς ἱερὰς ἐσθῆτας.

[2] Hesych. *s.v.* Πλυντήρια· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν, ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀγλαύρου τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς τιμῇ ἄγουσιν.

[3] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 8 n. 2, cp. *infra* § 9 (h) ii (ε).

[4] Miss J. E. Harrison 'The Three Daughters of Cecrops' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 350—355 was, so far as I know, the first to attempt any general investigation of the subject. She was followed by H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 135 ff. And he, by B. Powell *Erichthonius and the three Daughters of Cecrops* (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology* xvii) Ithaca, New York 1906 pp. 1—86 figs. 1—12.

[5] Eur. *Ion* 23 παρθένοις Ἀγλαυρίσι (cod. P, *supra* p. 239 n. 1).

as 'the three daughters of Agraulos (Aglauros?)'[1], and later writers state that their mother Agraulos or Agraulis[2] had for sire Aktaios[3] or Aktaion[4]. But this duplication or distortion of her name is, of course, a mere genealogist's device. In unsophisticated times there was but one Aglauros, she whose precinct lay beneath the steep northern side of the Akropolis[5]. Here the Athenian youths assembled to swear that they would fight till death on behalf of their country[6]. This solemn oath took a curious and unexpected form. The young soldiers swore that they would regard wheat, barley, the vine, and the olive as the boundaries of Attike, deeming their own all the tamed and fruitful earth[7]. The emphasis thus placed on earth as 'fruitful' (*karpophóros*) recalls the rock-cut inscription of Ge *Karpophóros* still legible on the summit of the Akropolis[8]. It is, indeed, probable that Aglauros herself was, to begin with, none other than the earth-goddess 'Sparkling[9]' with the dew which enabled her to bring forth in their season corn and oil and wine. And on these things human life depended. Demeter *Kourotróphos*, 'Who rears the young,' was worshipped, and rightly worshipped, in the precinct of Aglauros[10].

[1] Eur. *Ion* 496 Ἀγραύλου (A. W. Verrall prints Ἀγλαύρου) *κόραι τρίγονοι*.

[2] Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 2 *τῇ* Ἀγραύλῳ *τῇ* Κέκροπος *καὶ νύμφης* Ἀγραυλίδος.

[3] Apollod. 3. 14. 2 Κέκροψ δὲ *γήμας τὴν* Ἀκταίου *κόρην* Ἄγραυλον *παῖδα μὲν ἔσχεν* Ἐρυσίχθονα, *ὃς ἄτεκνος μετήλλαξε, θυγατέρας δὲ* Ἄγραυλον Ἕρσην Πάνδροσον, Paus. 1. 2. 6 *ἀποθανόντος δὲ* Ἀκταίου Κέκροψ *ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν θυγατρὶ συνοικῶν* Ἀκταίου (cp. 1. 14. 7), *καὶ οἱ γίνονται θυγατέρες μὲν* Ἕρση *καὶ* Ἄγλαυρος *καὶ* Πάνδροσος, *υἱὸς δὲ* Ἐρυσίχθων.

[4] Skamon of Mytilene (*s.* iv B.C., according to F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 437) *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 489 f. Müller) *ap.* Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.* Φοινικήια γράμματα, cp. Apostol. 17. 89 (Κάμων, Ἀκταίονος, Ἀγλαύρην, Ἀκταίονα), makes Aktaion the father of Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos, and Phoinike. See further J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1212.

[5] Paus. 1. 18. 2, cp. Eur. *Ion* 497 f.

[6] Dem. *de fals. leg.* 303, Lykourg. *in Leocr.* 76 f., Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 21 p. 141 Kayser. The oath is quoted by Poll. 8. 105 f., cp. Stob. *flor.* 43. 48 p. 14, 7 ff. Hense.

Philochor. *frag.* 14 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 386 Müller) *ap.* Ulpian. *in* Dem. *de fals. leg.* 303 (p. 95 b 32 ff. Baiter—Sauppe) Ἄγραυλος καὶ Ἕρση καὶ Πάνδροσος *θυγατέρες* Κέκροπος, *ὡς φησιν ὁ* Φιλόχορος. *λέγουσι δὲ ὅτι πολέμου συμβάντος παρ'* Ἀθηναίοις, *ὅτε ὁ* Εὔμολπος *ἐστράτευσε κατὰ* Ἐρεχθέως, *καὶ μηκυνομένου τούτου ἔχρησεν ὁ* Ἀπόλλων *ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι, ἐάν τις ἀνέλῃ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως. ἡ τοίνυν* Ἄγραυλος *ἑκοῦσα αὐτὴν ἐξέδωκεν εἰς θάνατον· ἔρριψε γὰρ ἑαυτὴν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους. εἶτα ἀπαλλαγέντος τοῦ πολέμου ἱερὸν ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐστήσαντο αὐτῇ περὶ τὰ* Προπύλαια *τῆς πόλεως· καὶ ἐκεῖσε ὤμνυον οἱ ἔφηβοι μέλλοντες ἐξιέναι εἰς πόλεμον.*

[7] Plout. *v. Alcib.* 15 *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γῆς συνεβούλευεν ἀντέχεσθαι τοῖς* Ἀθηναίοις, *καὶ τὸν ἐν* Ἀγραύλου *προβαλλόμενον ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις ὅρκον ἔργῳ βεβαιοῦν. ὀμνύουσι γὰρ ὅροις χρήσασθαι τῆς* Ἀττικῆς *πυροῖς, κριθαῖς, ἀμπέλοις, ἐλαίαις, οἰκείαν ποιεῖσθαι διδασκόμενοι τὴν ἤμερον καὶ καρποφόρον.* Cp. Cic. *de rep.* 3. 15 Athenienses iurare etiam publice solebant, omnem suam esse terram, quae oleam frugesve ferret.

[8] *Supra* ii. 21 n. 4.

[9] *Supra* p. 237 n. 2.

[10] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 372 (with facsimile on pl. 4) Κουροτρόφου | ἐξ Ἀγλαύρου |

Pandrosos too had a sanctuary of her own[1], called the Pandroseion[2], immediately adjoining the Erechtheion at its western end[3]. Here grew the sacred olive[4], beneath which stood the altar of Zeus *Herkeîos*[5]. And, just as the youths of Athens in the fourth century B.C. swore in the precinct of Aglauros that they would defend their country and preserve the fruitful earth[6], so in the first century B.C., when about to take the field, they offered a sacrifice on the Akropolis

Δήμη(τ)ρος, W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 266 pl. 1 (note the proximity of no. 371 Δειπνοφόρο[ις], cp. *supra* p. 241 n. o). Hesych. *s.v.* Κουροτρόφος· παιδοτρόφος. ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἡ Δημήτηρ.

[1] Paus. 1. 27. 2 τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχής ἐστι.

[2] (1) *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 322 *a* 44 f. and 63, 69 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 571 i 44 f. and ii 63, 69 f. = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 318 ff. no. 117 i 44 f. and ii 63, 69 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 372 i 44 f. and ii 171, 177 f. = L. D. Caskey in J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Cambridge, Mass. 1927 p. 276 ff. no. 2 i 44 f. τὸν κιόνον τὸν ἐπὶ τῶ τοίχο | τῖ πρὸς τῶ Πανδροσείο and ii 63 ἐπὶ τὸν τοῖχον τὸν πρὸς τῶ Πανδροσε(ίο), 69 f. ἐπὶ τὸν τοῖχον τὸν πρὸς | τῶ Πανδροσείο (409/8 B.C.). Cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 321, 43 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 373 i 43 f. = Caskey *loc. cit.* no. 8A, 43 f.

(2) *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1. 3 p. 148 ff. no. 321 2, 19 f., 27 f. and 3, 6, iv. 1. 2 p. 74 ff. no. 321 iii 31 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 373 ii 74 f., iii 114 f., 127 f., v 251 ff. = Caskey *loc. cit.* no. 10 i 19 f. [ἐπὶ τῶι τοίχοι τ]ὸι πρὸς τ|[ῶ Πανδροσείο], ii 27 f. ἐπὶ τὸ[μ πρ]ὸς τῶ Πανδροσείο | αἰετόν, 40 f. ἐργασίας τῶ | [πρὸς] τῶ Πα[νδροσείο αἰ]ετῶ, no. 11 iii 31 ff. διαφάρχσαν|τι τὰ μετακιόνια, τέτταρα ὄντα, τὰ | πρὸς τῶ Πανδροσείο (409/8 B.C.).

(3) *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 829, 11 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2. 1 no. 1654 *b* 34 = Caskey *loc. cit.* no. 28, 36 κατὰ τὸ Πανδρόσειο[ν] (405/4 or 395/4 B.C.).

[3] J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Cambridge, Mass. 1927 pp. 119—127 ('The Pandroseum') and Index p. 669.

[4] *Supra* p. 187 n. 2.

[5] Philochor. *frag.* 146 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 408 f. Müller) *ap.* Dion. Hal. *de Dinarch.* 3 ἐν δὲ τῆ ἑνάτη φησί (*sc.* ὁ Φιλόχορος)· 'τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ τουδὶ (307/6 B.C.) διελθόντος, ἑτέρου δ' εἰσιόντος, ἐν ἀκροπόλει σημεῖον ἐγένετο τοιοῦτο. κύων εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἰολιάδος νεὼν εἰσελθοῦσα, καὶ δῦσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσιον, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβᾶσα τοῦ Ἐρκείου Διὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τῆ ἐλαίᾳ κατέκειτο. πάτριον δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κύνα μὴ ἀναβαίνειν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν.' The topographical bearings of this passage are discussed by J. M. Paton *op. cit.* p. 747 f. On the cult of Zeus Ἔρκεῖος or Μεσέρκειος (schol. B. L.T. *Il.* 16. 231, Hesych. *s.v.* Μεσέρκ(ε)ιον) see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 686 f. Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 111, *à propos* of the rule that the *flamen Dialis* must neither touch nor mention a dog or a goat, says φασὶν ἔνιοι μήτε τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλεως ἐπιβαίνειν κύνα μήτε τῆς Δηλίων νήσου, διὰ τὴν ἐμφανῆ μίξιν κ.τ.λ. Similarly dogs would not enter the island of Sygaros (Plin. *nat. hist.* 6. 155), nor the temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium at Rome (*supra* ii. 783). Any dog that entered the market-place at Argos during the days called ἀρνηίδες was killed (Klearch. *frag.* 79 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 327 Müller) *ap.* Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 34, cp. Athen. 99 E—F μὴ καί τινα Κυνοφόντιν ἑορτὴν ποιησώμεθα ἀντὶ τῆς παρ' Ἀργείοις ἐπιτελουμένης)—a custom explained by the story that dogs had torn to picces Linos the son of Apollon by Psamathe daughter of Krotopos (Konon *narr.* 19). S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1793 i. 781 ff., L. Hopf *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit* Stuttgart 1888 p. 55 ff., and F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2573 ff. collect facts bearing on the significance of dogs in ancient religion. And Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 13 n. 6 has a parallel to the avoidance of dogs drawn from the Kafirs of the Hindoo Koosh.

[6] *Supra* p. 242.

'to Athena *Poliás* and to the *Kourotróphos* and to Pandrosos[1].' It is reasonable to infer that Pandrosos, like Aglauros[2], was only another name for Ge[3]. *Kourotróphos* too was, at Athens, an epithet of the same goddess[4]. Ge *Kourotróphos* was worshipped near the western approach to the Akropolis[5], and Souidas[6] dwells on the importance of her cult:

'They say that Erichthonios was the first to sacrifice to her on the Akropolis and to build her an altar, in gratitude for Earth having reared him. He also made it customary that those who sacrificed to any god should sacrifice first to her[7].'

Details are of interest. When a cow was sacrificed to Athena, a sheep was first sacrificed to Pandrosos[8] or, as others would have it,

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 481, 58 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1. 2 no. 1039 iii 58 f. (attributed to the period 83—73 B.C., though W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 145 says 48—42 B.C.) ὁμ[οίως δὲ κα]ὶ τὰ ἐξιτητήρια ἐν ἀκρο|πόλει τῆι τε Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Πολιάδι καὶ τῆι Κουρ[οτρό]φωι καὶ τῆι Πανδρόσ[ωι κα]ὶ ἐκαλλιέρησαν.

[2] *Supra* p. 242.

[3] This conclusion was anticipated by Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 352: 'Pandrosos...is none other than a form of Ge Themis, who is but the earlier aspect of Demeter Thesmophoros.'

[4] Aristoph. *thesm.* 299 καὶ τῇ Κουροτρόφῳ [τῇ Γῇ (this gloss was expunged by P. P. Dobree, cp. the schol. εἴτε τῇ γῇ εἴτε τῇ ἑστίᾳ)]. See further B. Prehn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2215, who cites Solon *frag.* 43 Bergk[4] *ap.* Chorik. p. 107 Boissonade ταῦτα δή σου τῆς πόλεως τὰ γνωρίσματα, ἣν αἱ κοιναὶ τοῦ βίου θεράπαιναι γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα τοῖς ἑαυτῆς ἑκατέρα δώροις ἀβρύνει· γῆ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐπίσταται φέρειν ὅσα τίκτουσιν ὧραι, ὑπτία τε πᾶσα καὶ καθειμένη, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος, 'λιπαρὴ κουροτρόφος'· θάλαττα δὲ κ.τ.λ., Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 144, 4 ff. Diehl οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὕτη (*sc.* ἡ γῆ) δυνάμεις ἔχει ποικίλας, καὶ ὡς μὲν 'τροφὸς' τὴν τελεσιουργὸν μιμεῖται τάξιν, καθ' ἣν καὶ πάτριον Ἀθηναίοις 'κουροτρόφον' αὐτὴν ὑμνεῖν καὶ 'ἀνησιδώραν,' ὡς καὶ ἀνιεῖσαν τὰ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ ζῷα καὶ τρέφουσαν, κ.τ.λ., *et. mag.* p. 529, 50 f. κορεσθῆναι· ὅτι Κουροτροφον τὴν γῆν καλοῦσι, καὶ τὸν ἐκ ταύτης καρπὸν Κόρην, κ.τ.λ., and A. R. Rangabé *Antiquités helléniques* Athènes 1855 ii. 746 no. 1083 Καλλίας Ἀγαθάρχου . . Γῆι Κουροτρόφωι (an inscription noted by K. S. Pittakis 'à l'entrée de l'Acropole,' but now lost).

[5] Paus. 1. 22. 3 (cited *supra* p. 177 n. 1) with Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*

[6] Souid. *s.v.* κουροτρόφος· παιδοτρόφος (cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Κουροτρόφος). Κουροτρόφος Γῆ. ταύτῃ δὲ θῦσαί φασι πρῶτον Ἐριχθόνιον ἐν ἀκροπόλει καὶ βωμὸν ἱδρύσασθαι, χάριν ἀποδιδόντα τῇ Γῇ τῶν τροφείων· καταστῆσαι δὲ νόμιμον τοὺς θύοντάς τινι θεῷ ταύτῃ προθύειν. P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig und Berlin 1910 p. 31 n. 5 holds that this πρόθυμα consisted in an offering probably of grain, possibly of blood, but hardly of a prescribed animal, and in any case must not be confused with the sheep for Pandrosos (*infra* n. 8).

[7] Cp. Plat. com. Φάων *frag.* 2. 7 f. (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 674 f. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 441 F πρῶτα μὲν ἐμοὶ γὰρ Κουροτρόφῳ προθύεται | πλακοῦς ἐνόρχης, ἄμυλος ἐγκύμων, κ.τ.λ.

[8] Philochor. *frag.* 32 (*Frag. hist. Gr* i. 389 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* ἐπίβοιον· Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερείας (*frag.* 4 Sauppe). Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν β' φησὶν οὕτως· 'ἐὰν δέ τις τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ θύῃ βοῦν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ τῇ Πανδρόσῳ (so codd. B.C.P.Q. πανδώρᾳ cod. A. ed. Ald. and the epitome Harpokr.) θύειν ὄϊν, καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ θῦμα ἐπίβοιον.' ὁμοίως καὶ Στάφυλος ἐν α' τῶν περὶ Ἀθηνῶν (*frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 506 Müller)).

to Pandora, this preliminary sacrifice being known as *epíboion*[1]. Pandrosos had a circular garment called *podónychon*[2] or *podónychos*[3]. Her priestess[4], according to Pollux[5], wore the same sacred attire. But Photios[6] and Souidas[7] are apparently alluding to the same vestment when they state that the *protónion* is a small *himátion* worn by the priestess and from her transferred to the man slaying the victim. They add that it was named *protónion* because Pandrosos, or Pandora, with her sisters was the first (*próte*) to make woollen raiment for men. The etymology, as usual, is naught, but the rite of the transferred garment is of value as providing a parallel to the custom implied by the *péplos*-scene on the eastern frieze of the Parthenon[8].

The case of Herse is different. She is definitely a personification of the Dew, and as such must be comparatively late. Hence, though Athenian youths swore by Agraulos[9], who indeed heads their list of witnessing deities[10], and though Athenian women might swear either by Agraulos[11] or, less frequently, by Pandrosos[12], nobody swore by Herse[13]. Nor had she, unless we can credit an unsupported statement of Ovid[14], any sanctuary set apart for her. Again, Athena—

[1] Souid. *s.v.* *ἐπίβοιον· ὅταν τις τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἔθυε βοῦν, ἔθυε καὶ τῇ Πανδώρᾳ ὄιν μετὰ βοός· καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ θῦμα ἐπίβοιον.* Favorin. *lex.* p. 701, 7 ff. combines Philochor. *frag.* 32 (*supra* p. 244 n. 8) with Souidas' *ὄιν μετὰ βοός*, adding *de suo καὶ ἐπιβοῖον τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ θυομένῃ βοΐ θυόμενον.*

[2] Phot. *lex. s.v.* *ποδώνυχον* (*πανδώνυχον* cod.)· *ἐσθὴς τῆς Πανδρόσου κυκλοτερής.*

[3] Hesych. *s.v.* *ποδώνυχος* (*ποδώνυμος* cod.)· *ἐσθὴς ἱερὰ τῆς Πανδρόσου.*

[4] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1160 (a broken base of Pentelic marble found on the Akropolis) [*ὁ δῆμ*]*ος* – – | – – *Δημοχάρου* | [– – *θ*]*υγατέρα* | [*ἱέρειαν*(?) *Παν*]*δρόσου*, cp. *ib.* no. 1369 (a round base of Hymettian marble found on the Akropolis) *Ἀγλαύρου ἱέρεα Φειδοστράτη* | *Ἐτεοκλέους Αἰθαλίδου θυγάτηρ.*

[5] Poll. 10. 191 *εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν, ἔστι μὲν ὑφάσματα, καλεῖται δὲ ἱστριανόν, προτόνιον, ἡμίμιτρον. ποδώνυχον ἡ ἐσθὴς τῆς ἱερείας τῆς Πανδρόσου.*

[6] Phot. *lex. s.v.* *προτόνιον· ἱματίδιον ὃ ἡ ἱέρεια ἀμφιέννυται· ἐπιτίθεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερείας τῷ σφάττοντι· προτόνιον δὲ ἐκλήθη ὅτι πρώτη Πάνδροσος μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κατεσκεύασε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων ἐσθῆτα.* This hangs together with the attempt to derive *Ἐρι-χθόνιος* from *ἔριον* (*supra* p. 220).

[7] Souid. *s.v.* *προτόνιον· ἱματίδιον ὃ ἱέρεια ἀμφιέννυται· ἐπιτίθεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερείας τῷ σφάττοντι· προτόνιον δὲ ἐκλήθη ὅτι πρώτη Πανδώρα μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κατεσκεύασε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων ἐσθῆτα.*

[8] *Supra* ii. 1136 (pl. xliv).

[9] *Supra* p. 242 f.

[10] Poll. 8. 106 *ἵστορες θεοί, Ἄγραυλος, Ἐνυάλιος, Ἄρης, Ζεύς, Θαλλώ, Αὐξώ, Ἡγεμόνη.*

[11] Aristoph. *thesm.* 533 *οὔ τοι μὰ τὴν Ἄγραυλον* (R. F. B. Brunck cj. *Ἄγλαυρον*), *ὦ γυναῖκες, εὖ φρονεῖτε* with schol. *ad loc.* *κατὰ* (so I. Bekker for *ἐκ* codd.) *τῆς Ἀγραύλου ὤμνυον, κατὰ δὲ τῆς Πανδρόσου σπανιώτερον, κατὰ δὲ τῆς Ἕρσης οὐχ εὑρήκαμεν.*

[12] Aristoph. *Lys.* 439 f. *εἰ τἄρα νὴ τὴν Πάνδροσον ταύτῃ μόνον* | *τὴν χεῖρ' ἐπιβαλεῖς, ἐπιχεσεῖ πατούμενος* with schol. *thesm.* 533 (quoted *supra* n. 11).

[13] Schol. Aristoph. *thesm.* 533 (quoted *supra* n. 11).

[14] Ov. *met.* 2. 737 ff. pars secreta domus ebore et testudine cultos | tres habuit thalamos,

originally an earth-goddess[1] or mountain-mother[2]—absorbed into her all-prevailing cult the worship of both Aglauros and Pandrosos, and was occasionally called Athena *Áglauros*[3] and Athena *Pándrosos*[4]; but she never came to be equated with Herse. We may, then, subscribe to Usener's opinion that Herse is later than Pandrosos, Pandrosos than Aglauros, the three names being progressively clearer expressions for a single religious idea[5].

Aglauros[6] and Pandrosos[7], if not Herse also, were—we have seen—intimately associated with a goddess dubbed *Kourotróphos*. What better guardians could Athena have found for the infant Erichthonios? Perhaps they fed him, shut up in the basket, on dew[8].

Some support for this surmise might be found in the myth that the Muses fed Komatas, shut up in a chest, on honey[9], or in the tale of Meliteus, son of Zeus by the nymph Othreïs, who through fear of Hera was exposed in a wood, but was there fed and fattened by bees[10]. For honey, as W. H. Roscher[11] has well shown, was held by most Greeks and Romans to be a sort of dew, which fell from the sky on trees and flowers and was thence collected by the bees.

Another case of confinement and dew-diet is that of Tithonos. Herse, some said, became by Hermes the mother of Kephalos[12]. Kephalos, they added, was carried off by Eos, the 'Dawn,' to Syria

quorum tu, Pandrose, dextrum, | Aglauros laevum, medium possederat Herse. *Supra* p. 240 Ovid's three *thalami* may be derived from the internal arrangement of the Erechtheion, modified to suit Roman readers familiar with the Etruscan temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus*.

[1] *Supra* p. 200 n. 0. [2] *Supra* pp. 224, 236.

[3] Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἄγλαυρος (ἄγραυλος codd. A.C.M.Q. But the alphabetical order requires ἀγλ—)· ἡ θυγάτηρ Κέκροπος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπώνυμον Ἀθηνᾶς, Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 1 p. 1 Schwartz (cited *supra* p. 240 n. 8).

[4] Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 439 θυγατέρες Κέκροπος Πάνδροσος καὶ Ἀγραύλη (R. F. P. Brunck cj. Ἄγραυλος). ἐκ τῆς Πανδρόσου δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ Πάνδροσος καλεῖται.

[5] H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 139.

[6] *Supra* p. 242. [7] *Supra* p. 244.

[8] It is on record that Herse, Pandrosos, and Agraulos had a popular festival called *Deipnophoría*, at which a dinner was served for them with much pomp in accordance with a mystic tale (*supra* p. 240 n. 8); and it is known that certain *Deipnophóroi* occupied a seat in the theatre adjoining that of the *Kourotróphos* worshipped in the sanctuary of Aglauros (*supra* p. 242 n. 10). But of the nurture supplied by the Kekropides to their *koûros* nothing explicit is said.

[9] Theokr. 7. 78 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*

[10] Ant. Lib. 13 (after Nikandros ἑτεροιούμενα 2).

[11] W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 pp. 9, 13 ff., cp. W. Robert-Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione* Berolini 1893 p. 75 ff.

[12] Apollod. 3. 14. 3. Hermes' union with Herse is hardly older than the Hellenistic age (*supra* p. 240 nn. 4 and 5). In Hyg. *fab.* 160 he becomes the father of Kephalos by Kreousa, daughter of Erechtheus. Other pedigrees are noted by A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1089 ff. and F. Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 217 f.

and there begat Tithonos the father of Phaethon[1]. Some such sequence of mythical events must have been known to the painter of the red-figured *kýlix* from Corneto, now at Berlin (*supra* p. 186 fig. 95); for, whereas on the outside of the cup Herse witnesses the birth of Erichthonios, on the inside Heos is carrying off Kephalos. Be that as it may, we are concerned with the fortunes of Tithonos. The Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* (*s.* vi (?) B.C.[2]) says that, when Tithonos despite his Zeus-given immortality began to get gray-headed, Eos refrained from union with him, but tended him in her halls with food and ambrosia (*i.e.* honey) and, as downright old age crept upon him till he could not stir, shut him up in a chamber (*thálamos*), where his voice flows on unceasingly[3]. The poet is hinting, discreetly enough, at a tale that later writers tell with more directness. When Tithonos grew so old that he rolled himself round in a wool-

Fig. 153.

basket or a basket-cradle (*líknon*) and slept like a baby (fig. 153)[4], the goddess transformed him into a cicala (*téttix*)[5]. Confusion

[1] Apollod. 3. 14. 3. But the parentage of Tithonos is variously given. He is also described as the son of Laomedon (*Il.* 20. 237) by Strymo (schol. A.B.D. *Il.* 11. 1, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 18) or Trymo (schol. V. *Il.* 20. 237) or Rhoio (schol. and Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 18).

[2] W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 240. See further T. W. Allen—E. E. Sikes *The Homeric Hymns* London 1904 p. 197 f.

[3] *H. Aphr.* 218 ff.

[4] E. Gerhard *Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern* Berlin 1840 pp. 8, 16 pl. 4, 4 (*id. Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen und kleine Schriften* Berlin 1866 i. 149, 347 pl. 8, 4) = my fig. 153, J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1029 fig. 4 an Etruscan relief in stamped gold foil, found at Vulci, then in the Campana collection, and later at Petrograd (?). It represents Eos pouring the contents of a jug (?) over Tithonos, who lies on a concave couch or cradle.

[5] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 18 ἀθάνατον δὲ τὸν Τιθωνὸν ποιήσασα ἐπελάθετο ποιῆσαι καὶ ἀγήρω. γηράσαντα δὲ τοσοῦτον ὡς ἐν ταλάρῳ καὶ λίκνῳ (Eudok. *viol.* 920 has ὡς ἐν ταλάρῳ καὶ λίκνῳ, ἤτοι κωνίῳ) αὐτὸν περιστρεφόμενον δίκην βρεφυλλίου καθεύδειν εἰς τέττιγα μετέβαλεν, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1528, 1 ff. ληροῖ (λῃρεῖ? λῆροι?) δὲ ὁ μῦθος περὶ Τιθωνοῦ, καὶ ὅτι διὰ γῆρας ἐν ταλάρῳ ἢ καρτάλῳ τῷ δηλουμένῳ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κωμικοῦ ἐκρεμάσθη, ὡς ἂν δηλαδὴ μὴ φαίνοιτο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ εἰς τέττιγα μετεβλήθη.

between the *líknon* and the *kérnos*[1], which figured in similar rites[2], may account for the late tradition that the couch of Eos and Tithonos was on Kerne[3], an island off the west coast of Libye or, as mythographers and poets declared, at the ends of the habitable earth[4]. Two points appear to justify the comparison of Tithonos with Erichthonios. We have seen[5] that Athena, wishing to make Erichthonios immortal, kept him as an infant in a basket (pl. xxix and fig. 154)[6]. Similarly Eos, bent on making Tithonos not only deathless but ageless, tended him like a babe in a basket[7]. Again, we

[1] For the λίκνον see Miss J. E. Harrison 'Mystica Vannus Iacchi' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 292 ff., *ib.* 1904 xxiv. 241 ff., *ead.* 'Note on the Mystica Vannus Iacchi' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1903—1904 x. 144 ff., *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 401 ff. ('Dionysos Liknites'), 517 ff. ('The Liknophoria'), H. G. Pringsheim *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults* München 1905 pp. 29—38, Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 536—538, W. Kroll *ib.* xiii. 538—541.

For the κέρνος, D. Philios in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 pp. 171—174, *ib.* 1906 pp. 197—212, R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 57—61 ('The so-called Kernoi'), H. von Fritze in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897 pp. 163—174, K. Kourouniotes 'KEPNOI' *ib.* 1898 pp. 21—28, O. Rubensohn 'Kerchnos' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1898 xxiii. 271—306, L. Couve in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 822—825, E. Pernice in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv. 69—72, B. Staes in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1901 pp. 11—21, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d' Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 169—191, R. M. Dawkins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1903—1904 x. 220—223, H. G. Pringsheim *op. cit.* pp. 69—78, S. Xanthoudides 'Cretan Kernoi' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 9—23, Leonard in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 316—326, C. D. Bicknell in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 231.

The two utensils are confused by the schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 497 C p. 913 *a* 42 κέρνος δὲ τὸ λίκνον ἤγουν τὸ πτύον ἐστίν. S. N. Dragoumes in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 46 infers from Poll. 4. 103 τὰς δὲ πινακίδας ὠρχοῦντο οὐκ οἶδα εἴτ' ἐπὶ πινάκων εἴτε πίνακας φέροντες· τὸ γὰρ κερνοφόρον ὄρχημα οἶδ' ὅτι λίκνα ἢ ἐσχαρίδας φέροντες· κέρνα δὲ ταῦτα ἐκαλεῖτο that θυμιατήριον and λίκνον had both come to be identified in popular parlance with the old mystic κέρνος.

[2] Ammonios of Lamptrai περὶ βωμῶν καὶ θυσιῶν *frag.* 6 (Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 96) *ap.* Athen. 476 E—F, Polemon of Ilion περὶ τοῦ Δίου κῳδίου *frag.* 2 (Tresp *Frag. Gr. Kultschr.* p. 87 f.) *ap.* Athen. 478 C—D. See further Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 159, Leonard in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 317 f.

[3] Lyk. *Al.* 16 ff. with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, cp. 1084 with schol. and Tzetz. *ad loc.*

[4] C. T. Fischer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 315 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 238.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 243 no. E 372 a red-figured *pelike* from Kameiros showing (*a*) Athena and Erichthonios, who sits up in his basket to greet her. The wicker lid (cp. Ov. *met.* 2. 554) is off, and from the rock (Akropolis) rise two spotted snakes (Eur. *Ion* 23 cited *supra* p. 239 n. 1), one bearded, one beardless. (*b*) Two draped figures moving to the right, probably Aglauros and Herse, but possibly two youths by mistake of the artist (so Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. xxxii). See further R. Engelmann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879 li. 62 ff. pl. F, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1306 f. fig., H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879 li. 112 ff., Harrison *op. cit.* p. xxxi f. fig. 4, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 808 fig. 2766, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 342, 2. Existing illustrations being inadequate, I have given both a photographic plate and a development of the design by Miss E. T. Talbot.

[7] *Supra* p. 247.

a

Pelike from Kamei
(*a*) Athena finds Erichthoni
(*b*) Aglauros (?) and Herse

b

h Museum :
ded by two snakes.

See page 248 *n.* 6 and *page* 249 *fig.* 154.

Fig. 154.

have conjectured that the Dew-sisters fed the infant Erichthonios on dew[1]. So with Tithonos. Eos fed him on ambrosia, that is honey[2], a species of heavenly dew[3]. Moreover she changed him into a cicala[4], and that little creature was popularly believed to subsist on dew[5]. The transformation was apt, for the cicala, once more like Erichthonios the 'very child of the Ground[6]', was notoriously earth-born[7] and the traditional badge of an autochthonous Ionian people[8] (figs. 158—161)[9]. It may even be surmised that Tithonos

[1] *Supra* p. 246. [2] *Supra* p. 247. [3] *Supra* p. 246.

[4] Hellanikos *frag.* 142 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 64 Müller) = *frag.* 140 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 140 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. A.B. Gen. 11. *Il.* 3. 151, Hieronymos of Rhodes (*c.* 290—230 B.C.: Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1563) *ap.* schol. B.L.T. *Il.* 11. 1, Eudok. *viol.* 920, and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 825, 43 ff., schol. A.B.D. *Il.* 11. 1, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 396, 33 ff., Klearchos *frag.* 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 309 f.) *ap.* Zenob. 6. 18, Plout. 1. 68, *Append.* 4. 68, Apostol. 16. 57, Arsen. *viol.* p. 447 Walz, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τιθωνοῦ γῆρας, Souid. *s.v.* καταγηράσαις Τιθωνοῦ βαρύτερον, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 328, *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 585, 7. 188, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 447, Myth. Vat. 1. 139, 2. 194.

J. T. Kakridis 'ΤΙΘΩΝΟΣ' in the *Wiener Studien* 1930 xlviii. 25—38 makes it probable that the transformation of Tithonos into a *téttix* kept in a cage was an early myth, purposely ignored by the author of *h. Aphr.* 218 ff., but presupposed by certain of his phrases (231—238) and resuscitated by later writers. See also F. Dornseiff 'Der homerische Aphroditehymnos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1931 xxix. 203 f.

[5] Hes. *sc. Her.* 393 ff., Aristot. *hist. an.* 4. 7. 532 b 10 ff., 5. 30. 556 b 14 ff., Theokr. 4. 16, *Anacreont.* 32. 3 Bergk[4], 32. 3 Hiller—Crusius, Verg. *ecl.* 5. 77, Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 94, Ail. *de nat. an.* 1. 20, Philes *de an. propr.* 500.

In Loukian. *Icaromen.* 13 Empedokles, speaking as an inhabitant of the moon, says σιτοῦμαι δρόσον.

[6] *Supra* p. 181.

[7] Plat. *symp.* 191 C, *Anacreont.* 32.16 Bergk[4], 32.16 Hiller—Crusius, Plout. *symp.* 2. 3. 3, schol. Hermog. (cited *infra* p. 251 n. 0). See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 797 n. 6. In point of fact the cicala lays its eggs in the ground (Aristot. *hist. an.* 5. 30. 556 a 29 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 93. O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 401) and remains for a long period in the larval state (Aristot. *hist. an.* 5. 30. 556 b 7 τεττιγομήτρα, Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 93 tettigometra. R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1896 vi. 193 fig.), so that it would easily be regarded as earth-born.

[8] Asios *frag.* 13, 4 f. Kinkel *ap.* Athen. 525 E—F (Samians visiting the precinct of Hera) χαῖται δ' ἠωρεῦντ' ἀνέμῳ χρυσέοις ἐνὶ δεσμοῖς, | χρύσειαι δὲ κόρυμβαι ἐπ' αὐτέων τέττιγες ὥς, Aristoph. *eq.* 1331 ὅδ' ἐκεῖνος (*sc.* the Athenian Demos) ὁρᾶν τεττιγοφόρας, ἀρχαίῳ σχήματι λαμπρός with schol., *nub.* 984 ἀρχαῖά γε καὶ Διπολιώδη καὶ τεττίγων ἀνάμεστα with schol. ἄλλως· οἱ ἀρχαιότατοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τέττιγας χρυσοῦς ἐν τοῖς τῶν τριχῶν πλέγμασιν εἶχον, διότι οἱ τέττιγες μουσικοὶ ὄντες ἀνάκεινται τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, ὃς ἦν πατρῷος τῇ πόλει and schol. R. τοὺς τέττιγας παρέλαβεν, ἐπειδὴ οἱ παλαιοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀναπλοκὴν τῶν τριχῶν χρυσῷ ἐχρῶντο τέττιγι, τεκμήριον διὰ τὸ φαίνεσθαι ὅτι αὐτόχθονες εἶεν, Thouk. 1. 6 καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς (*sc.* the Athenians) τῶν εὐδαιμόνων διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰώνων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπὶ πολὺ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ κατέσχεν, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 645, 12 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1377, 13 (an inventory of the Parthenon 399/8 B.C.) [χρυσίδια διάλιθα σύμμ]κτα πλινθίωγ καὶ τεττίγων, C. Curtius *Inschriften und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos* Lübeck 1877 p. 10 ff. no. 6, 50 ff. pl. 1 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 832, 50 ff. (an inventory of the Samian Heraion 346/5 B.C.) γυνὴ ἐπὶ βήματος ξυλίνου, χεῖ|ρες πρόσωπον

πόδες λίθινοι, αὕτη ἔχει τέττιγας ἐπιχρύσους, ἐνλείπει | τῶν τεττίγων τριῶν καὶ τῶν ἐνωιδίων (which incorporates the revised readings of U. Köhler in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 371 f.), Herakleides Pontikos (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 200 n. 0 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 512 C κορύμβους δ' ἀναδούμενοι (*sc.* the Athenians) τῶν τριχῶν χρυσοῦς τέττιγας περὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ τὰς κόμας (T. Birt cj. κόρρας) ἐφόρουν paraphrased by Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 22 κορύμβους δὲ ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν, χρυσοῦς ἐνείροντες αὐταῖς τέττιγας καὶ κόσμον ἄλλον πρόσθετον περιαπτόμενοι χρυσοῦ προήεσαν, Verg. *cir.* 126 ff. ergo omnis cano residebat cura capillo, | aurea sollemni comptum quem fibula ritu | crobylus et (so Nic. Loensis (anon. cj. *Crobyliae*) for *Corpsele* cod. A. *Corpselle* cod. H. *Corpselae* cod. R. *Corselle* cod. L. E. Bährens prints Scaliger's cj. *Cecropiae*) tereti nectebant dente cicadae, Loukian. *navig.* 3 οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν (*sc.* Athenians), οἷς ἐδόκει καλὸν εἶναι κομᾶν τοὺς γέροντας, ἀναδουμένους κρωβύλον ὑπὸ τέττιγι χρυσῷ ἀνειλημμένον. κ.τ.λ., Clem. Al. *paed.* 2. 10 p. 220, 11 ff. Stählin καὶ κρωβύλον, ὃ ἐμπλοκῆς ἐστιν εἶδος, ἀνεδοῦντο (*sc.* Athenian magistrates) χρυσῶν ἑνέρσει τεττίγων κοσμούμενοι, τὸ γηγενὲς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπειροκαλίᾳ κιναιδίας ἐνδεικνύμενοι, Tertull. *de virg. vel.* 10 debebunt enim et ipsi aliqua sibi insignia defendere, aut pennas Garamantum aut stropulos barbarorum aut cicadas Atheniensium aut cirros Germanorum aut stigmata Britonum, schol. Hermog. in C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1833 iv. 70 n. 3 Ven. καὶ πάλιν ἔθος ἦν Ἀθήνησι τεττιγοφορεῖν τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τοὺς παῖδας, ὃ καὶ μέχρι ἡμῶν διεσώζετο καὶ τὸ ἀρχαιότερον, ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησὶ κρωβύλον ἀναδεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν, *ib.* 79 n. 40 Par. ad marg. τέττιγας ἐφόρουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι χρυσοῦς, ἔστι δ' ὁ τέττιξ δεσμός τις ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔμπροσθεν ἐγκαθήμενος· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου, ὃν οἱ ἐπίσημοι ἐφόρουν κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι· κρωβύλος δέ ἐστι πλοκὴ τριχῶν εἰς ὀξὺ λήγουσα, εἰς ἣν διὰ τὸ ὀξὺ ἐκφερόμενος ὁ τέττιξ σύνδεσμος ἦν τῶν τριχῶν, ὥστε συστῆναι καὶ μὴ διαλυθῆναι τὴν πλοκήν· σύμβολον δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ τέττιξ τοῦ εἶναι αὐτόχθονας καὶ μουσικοὺς τῷ τὸν τέττιγα καὶ αὐτόχθονα εἶναι καὶ μουσικόν, Prokop. of Gaza *epist.* 18 καὶ γάρ σε νῦν ἐπιθυμῶν ἀρχαίῳ σχήματι τεττιγοφόρον ἰδεῖν κέχηνα τῇ θαλάττῃ κ.τ.λ., Hesych. *s.v.* τεττιγοφόρας· Ἀττικοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς κεφαλῆς τριχῶν εἶρον χρυσοῦς τέττιγας (εἰρομένων χρυσοὺς τέτας cod. N. I. Schow cj. εἶρον. Musurus corr. χρυσοῦς τέττιγας), Isid. *orig.* 19. 30. 3 Athenienses enim cicadas aureas gerebant partim in vertice, nonnulli in fronte, Phot. *lex. s.v.* τεττιγοφόροι· οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· τέττιγας γὰρ ἐφόρουν χρυσοῦς σύμβολον τοῦ γηγενεῖς εἶναι· Θουκυδίδης ἀ κ.τ.λ., Souid. *s.v.* τεττιγοφόροι· (after transcribing Phot. *loc. cit.*)... ἢ ὅτι μουσικοί. μουσικὸς γὰρ ὁ τέττιξ. γηγενεῖς δέ, διότι καὶ Ἐρεχθεὺς ὁ οἰκιστὴς τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐτέχθη, *id. s.v.* τεττίγων ἀνάμεστα = schol. R. Aristoph. *nub.* 984 (cited *supra*), Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 232 f. πολλῷ χρυσῷ κατάδετον εἶχε (*sc.* Euphorbos, cp. *Il.* 17. 52) τὴν πλοκαμῖδα | καὶ κόσσυβον (*an legendum* κόρυμβον?) καὶ κρωβύλον καὶ τεττιγοφορίαν, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 395, 33 ff. οἱ δὲ ὕστερον εὐγενεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι πραγματικῶς τέττιξιν ἐσέμνυνον ἑαυτούς, τεττιγοφόροι ὄντες· τέττιγας γὰρ ἐφόρουν χρυσοῦς, ὡς καὶ Θουκυδίδης φησίν, εἰς σύμβολον τοῦ γηγενεῖς εἶναι.

The name κερκώπη applied to a small species of *téttix* (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1476 A—B) is noteworthy on account of its possible relation to Κέκροψ (cp. P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1913 iv. 309).

[9] Various views have been taken in modern times with regard to the precise nature of these *téttiges*:

(1) W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1874 pp. 61—63, *id.* 'Über die goldenen Cicaden der alten Athener' in *Commentationes philologae in honorem Theodori Mommseni* Berolini 1877 pp. 616—626, *id.* in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1879 xxxiv. 484—487, *id. Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert* Leipzig 1884 p. 169 f., *ib.*[2] Leipzig 1887 p. 246 put forward the view that they were gold spirals wound round the hair. F. Studniczka 'Krobylos und Tettiges' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 248—291, combining Helbig's hypothesis with that of A. Conze 'Krobylos' in the *Mem. d. Inst.* 1865 ii. 408—420, maintained that *téttiges* were gold spirals wound round the back-hair (*krobýlos*) to keep it in position. This view was advocated also by H. Lechat in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1897 x. 342—344, *id.* 'Χρύσεοι τέττιγες' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1899 pp. 19—22, who noted that such metallic spirals in the hair might produce a sound reminiscent of the cicala, and by A. Boulanger in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 164.

Similarly L. Kjellberg 'Zur τεττιγοφορία der alten Athener' in *Eranos* 1909 ix. 164—175 explained the *téttiges* as threads of thin bronze or gold twined in the hair and rustling like an Aeolian harp in the wind. W. Bremer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2124 concludes that they were thin gold leaves sewn on to a fillet or soldered on to a metal band.

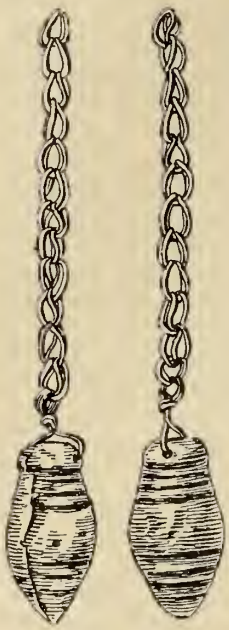


Fig. 155.

Fig. 156.

(2) F. Hauser 'Tettix' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1906 ix. 75—130 would identify the *téttix* with the *stlengís*, a gold diadem covering the front hair (*krobýlos*). This hypothesis roused much controversy. An attack by E. Petersen *ib.* 1906 ix Beiblatt pp. 77—86 elicited a reply by Hauser 'Tettix II' *ib.* 1907 x Beiblatt pp. 9—32, and a renewed attack by Petersen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1907 lxii. 540 ff. called forth a further reply by Hauser 'Tettix III' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi Beiblatt pp. 87—96. Another opponent of Hauser was W. Bremer *Die Haartracht des Mannes in archaisch-griechischer Zeit* Giessen 1911 p. 60 ff., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2121 ff. The reader is inclined to quote '*Katy-did, Katy-didn't*,' etc.

(3) Meantime the old view that the *téttiges* really were golden cicalas can claim the support of much archaeological evidence. H. Schliemann *Mycenæ* London 1878 p. 176 nos. 259, 260 (= my fig. 155) illustrated two out of 'ten golden grasshoppers with chains' from the third shaft-grave: these he took to be 'ornaments of the breast or hair'; Staïs *Coll. Mycénienne: Athènes* p. 20 nos. 77, 78 calls them, with less likelihood, 'des jouets d'enfants.' Sir A. J. Evans, however, in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 55 with fig. 52, 4 points out that these pendants are 'intended for chrysalises' and compares a better-marked chrysalis-bead of gold (*ib.* fig. 47 = my fig. 156) found by A. J. B. Wace in a chamber-tomb (no. 518 of the Kalkani cemetery) at Mykenai (A. J. B. Wace in *The Times Literary Supplement* for Oct. 26, 1922 p. 684, *id.* in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 24, 1923 p. 300 fig. 4, *id.* 'Chamber Tombs at Mycenae' in *Archaeologia* 1932 lxxxii. 87 no. 76, 194 pl. 38). L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1877 p. 28 ff. Atlas pl. 2, 15 (= my fig. 157: scale *c.* ⅔, F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1906 ix. 89 f. fig. 30) published a small gold pendant representing the larva of a cicala, which was found in the fourth barrow of the 'Seven Brothers' group near Temrjuk on the Sea of Azov, a tomb dating from *s.* v B.C. (E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 210, M. Rostovtzeff *Iranians & Greeks in South Russia* Oxford

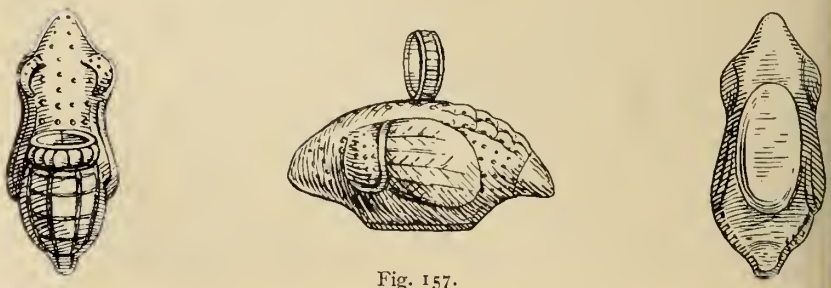


Fig. 157.

1922 p. 53 f.). F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 282 n. 201 cites another from the *Bull. Sardo* iii. 21, cp. P. Wolters in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 xlii. 7 n. 12.

A more satisfactory *téttix* in the form of a gold brooch (length ·016^{m}) came from the earliest Artemision at Ephesos (D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 p. 98 pl. 4, 33 and pl. 3, 3 (= my fig. 158: scale $\frac{2}{1}$)). Another *téttix*-brooch of gold was found by A. N. Skias in a cave of Pan and the Nymphs, known as *Lychnospelia*, on Mt Parnes at the depth of half a metre below the surface (A. N. Skias in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1900 p. 40, 'Funde' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 456, R. C. Bosanquet in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 350, and finally K. Rhomaios in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1906 pp. 89—96 fig. 1 (= my fig. 159: scale $\frac{1}{1}$)). The pin has a ring at one end and originally worked on a metal axis between two other rings attached to the upper part of the

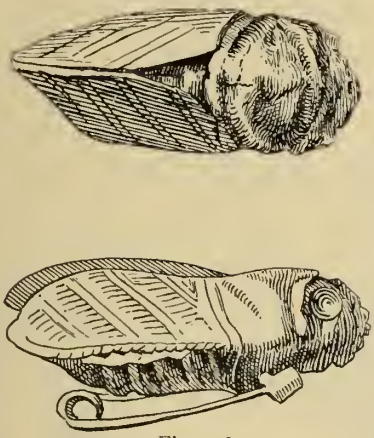


Fig. 158.

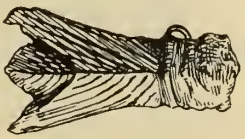


Fig. 159.

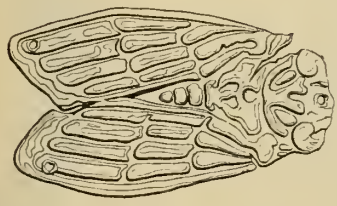


Fig. 160.

Fig. 161.

insect's body. The other, pointed, end of the pin was caught by the hook on the lower part of the body. The axis having dropped out or been broken, the owner, lest he should lose the little gold pin, had twisted it up as best he could through the other two rings. A couple of *téttiges* in gold foil, sent by Count Peroffsky in 1852, were figured in the *Antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien* St-Pétersbourg 1854 i. 155, iii pl. 22, 20 (= my fig. 160: scale $\frac{1}{1}$) and 21 (= my fig. 161: scale $\frac{1}{1}$), *ib.* ed. S. Reinach Paris 1892 p. 69 pl. 22, 20 and 21, cp. L. Stephani in the *Mélanges gréco-romains tirés du Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg* St.-Pétersbourg 1855 ii. 215, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1870 p. 54 n. 2, E. Beulé *Fouilles et découvertes, résumées et discutées en vue de l'histoire de l'art* Paris 1873 ii. 411, V. Duruy *Histoire des Romains* Paris 1883 vi. 413 fig. (of no. 20), T. Schreiber in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 272, F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 282 fig. 13 (of no. 20). *Fibulae* of late Roman and early mediaeval date found in Hungary again represent the

cicala, though with less approximation to nature (F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 283 f. fig. 15 (= my fig. 162)).

On the whole it may be concluded that the *téttix* of Thouk. 1. 6 was a golden *fibula* shaped like a cicala, that being the traditional, perhaps the tribal, badge of Ionian *autóchthones*.

We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the *téttix* occurs as a private badge on tetradrachms of Athens with two monograms struck *c.* 229—197 B.C. (*Hunter Cat. Coins*

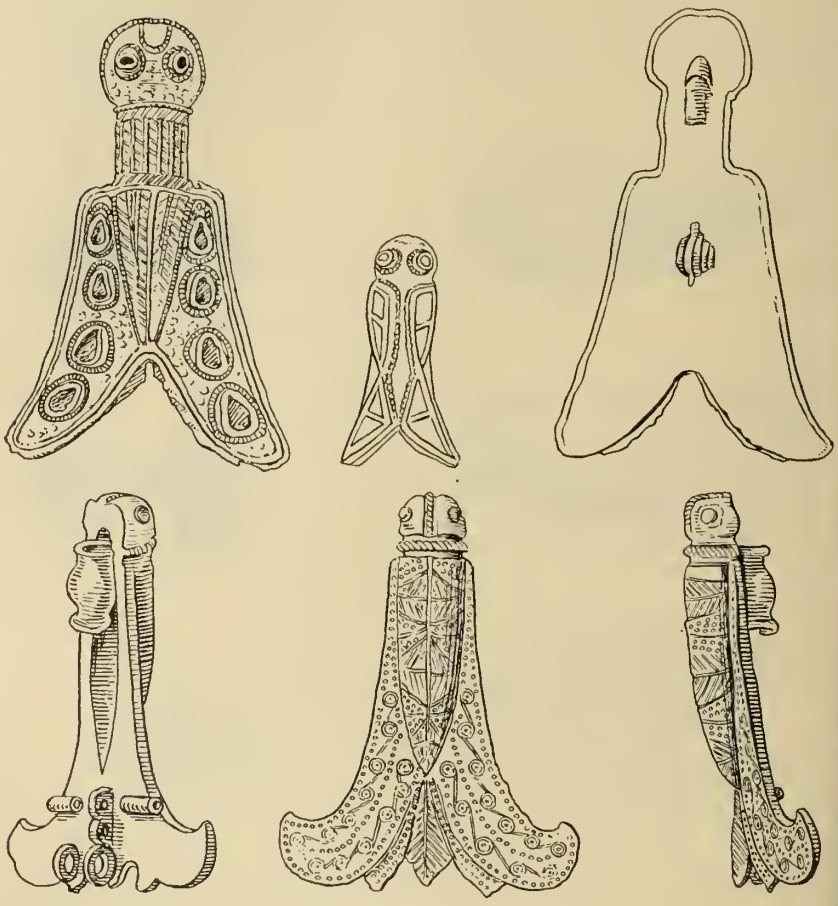


Fig. 162.

ii. 59 no. 73 pl. 34, 6, nos. 74, 75, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 37, 6—15) and again on tetradrachms and drachms with the names of the brothers Lysan[dros] and Glaukos issued in 159 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. pp. xliii, 62, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 64 no. 114, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 48, 21—31. On the date see J. E. Kirchner 'Zur Datirung der athenischen Silbermünzen' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1898 xxi. 82, J. Sundwall *Untersuchungen über die attischen Münzen des neueren Stiles* Helsingfors 1908 p. 96, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 383. Fig. 163 is from a specimen in my collection). On bronze pieces the *téttix* is sometimes a 'symbol' ((1) *obv.* head of Athena *Parthénos; rev.* owl on *amphora* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 78

nos. 525, 526, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 71, 17, 18 and pl. 79, 38—42). (2) *obv.* head of Athena *Parthénos; rev.* statue of Apollon at Delos by Tektaios and Angelion (*supra* ii. 232 n. o fig. 161. To the bibliography there given add J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 56, 26, 27 and pl. 80, 8—14. Fig. 164 is a further specimen from my collection)), sometimes a 'type' ((1) *obv.* head of Artemis; *rev.* cicala (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 87 pl. 15, 9, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 107, 28—35 and 42—45. In fig. 165 I append a specimen of mine). (2) *obv.* cicala; *rev.* owl on thunderbolt (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 85 pl. 15, 5, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 107, 50—54, cp. *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 74 no. 201 pl. 34, 17). (3) *obv.* cicala; *rev.* amphora and branch (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 88 nos. 618—620 ('palm'), 621—626 ('branch'), J. N. Svoronos *op.*

Fig. 163.

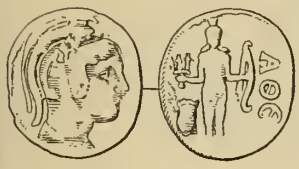


Fig. 164.

Fig. 165.

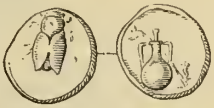


Fig. 166.

Fig. 167.

Fig. 168.

cit. pl. 107, 55—69. Fig. 166 is from a specimen in my collection). (4) *obv.* cicala; *rev.* quiver and bow (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 88 no. 627, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 107, 70—74). (5) *obv.* cicala; *rev.* letter, monogram, or simple type (J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 18, 26, 38, 106, 117 (?) *kóllyboi*)).

A creature with such a record behind it would serve as an excellent amulet to keep off mischief (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1860 p. 91, 1864 p. 130 f., 1865 p. 84, 1869 p. 130, 1877 pp. 28—31, 91, 1880 p. 99 f.). Two engraved chalcedonies of early Roman date at Berlin show cicalas equipped with shield, sword, lance, etc. (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 239 nos. 6524 and 6523 pl. 45, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 29, 41 (=my fig. 167) and 43 (=my fig. 168), ii. 144). Prophylactic virtue probably attached to the terra-cotta models of the *téttix*, of which sundry specimens are extant. One from Tanagra, in our national collection, has its upper side coloured black, with markings in

red, on a white slip (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 83 no. B 72 fig. 17 = my fig. 169 (scale $\frac{1}{1}$), O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 404 fig. 125). Another, in my possession, is a child's rattle and by means of a pellet within makes a noise more or less resembling that of its original (fig. 170: scale $\frac{1}{1}$). A *phiále mesómphalos* by the potter

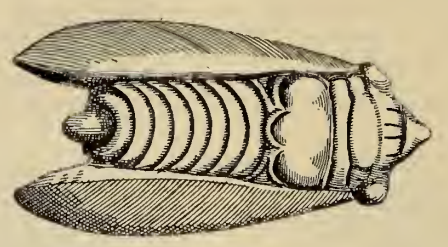


Fig. 169.

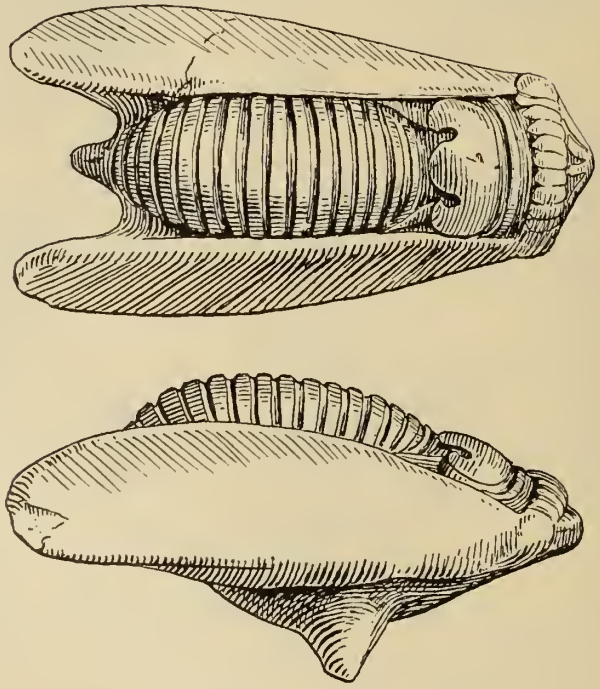


Fig. 170.

Sotades, now at Boston, has perched upon its central boss a most life-like *téttix* in pale terra cotta (W. Froehner *Collection van Branteghem* Bruxelles 1892 no. 159 pl. 35, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 445 pl. 40, 1, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 722 fig. 395, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 428 no. 1 fig., J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 129). Was this prophylaxis or a practical joke?

was *ab origine* a personification of the cicala[1], and that he bore a name which was primarily onomatopoeic[2]. In any case Tithonos

[1] The personification of the cicala is by no means an unexampled effort of the imagination. The Laconian town Tainaros was called 'the seat of Tettix' because it had been founded by Tettix the Cretan (Hesych. *s.v.* Τέττιγος ἕδρανον). When the Naxian Kalondas, surnamed Korax, had killed Archilochos in battle, he was bidden by the Pythian priestess to go to 'the dwelling of Tettix' and appease the soul of Archilochos. 'The dwelling of Tettix' meant Tainaros because Tettix the Cretan had come thither with his ships, founded a town, and dwelt beside the *psychopompeîon* (Plout. *de ser. num. vind.* 17, cp. Ail. *frag.* 80 Hercher *ap.* Souid. *s.v.* Ἀρχίλοχος). O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 402 rightly infers from Archil. *frag.* 143 Bergk[4] *ap.* Loukian. *pseudolog.* 1 τέττιγα τοῦ πτεροῦ συνειλῆφας that the poet had spoken of himself as a *téttix*, and this lends the needed point to the anecdote.

A folk-tale from Naxos says that the cicala (ὁ τζιτζικας), the ant, the bee, and the spider were brothers and sisters. Their mother lay dying and bade them all come to receive her blessing. The bee alone came. So her mother wished that she might make wax for the saints and honey for men. The rest were cursed. The spider should spin all night and unravel her web by day. The ant should drudge the year through and eat but a single grain. The cicala should chirp, chirp till he burst (N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 194 no. 352, ii. 943, O. Dähnhardt *Natursagen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 iii. 468). In northern Greece the cicala is held in greater honour—witness G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 60: 'The farmers of Macedonia out of the newly ground corn make a large thin cake, which they take to the village fountain or well. They sprinkle it with water and then distribute it among the bystanders, who in return wish them "a happy year." This cake is called "Grasshopper-Cake" (τζιτζηρόκλικο), and is supposed to be a kind of offering to their favourite insect. The following rhymes express the insect's satisfaction at the sacrifice: Ἀωνίζετε, θερίζετε κῆ 'μένα κλίκι κάνετε, | Καὶ ῥίξτε το 's τὴ βρύσι νὰ πάω νά το πάρω, | Νὰ κάτσω νά το φάω μαζὺ μὲ τὰ παιδια μου, | Νὰ πέσω νὰ πεθάνω[2]. [2] Α. Δ. Γουσίου, "Ἡ κατὰ τὸ Πάγγαιον Χώρα," p. 47] "Thresh and mow and make a cake for me. | Throw it into the fount that I may go and fetch it, | And sit and eat it with my children, | And then lay me down and die."'

A popular Tuscan song tells how the grasshopper (*grillo*) married the ant. After the wedding he became first a greengrocer and then an innkeeper, but finally went bankrupt, beat his wife, and died in misery (A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 48 f.).

See further B. Laufer *Insect Musicians and Cricket Champions of China* (*Anthropology Leaflet* 22) Chicago 1927 (reviewed in *Folk-Lore* 1928 xxxix. 112: 'A champion cricket is looked on as the incarnation of a great warrior or hero of the past, and fetches the price of a good horse. If he has won many victories, his burial will be in a small silver coffin, for good luck, and in the neighbourhood of his grave excellent fighting crickets are expected to be found in the following year').

The main objection to my view is that the evidence directly connecting Tithonos with the cicala is not older than *s.* v B.C. See, however, *h. Aphr.* 236 ff. and *infra* n. 2.

[2] Names for the cicala regularly involve a reduplicated *t* or *k* together with an *i*-sound (O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 406). So with the ancient Greek τέττιξ, τεττιγόνιον, τιτιγόνιον (L. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 2091 A—D), κίξιος (Hesych. κίξιος· τέττιξ), κίκους (Hesych. κίκους· ὁ νέος τέττιξ. It is just possible that in *h. Aphr.* 237 f. τοῦ δ' ἦ τοι φωνὴ ῥεῖ ἄσπετος, οὐδέ τι κῖκυς | ἔσθ', οἵη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν the choice of the word κῖκυς was determined by a reminiscence of κίκους. Neither Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 686 (A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1263) nor J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1025 is convincing), the modern Greek τζιτζιρας or τζήτζηρας, τζιτζικας, and the Latin *cicada* with its derivatives (G. Körting *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch* Paderborn 1901 p. 238 notes Italian *cicála*, *cigala*, Lombard *šigada*, Provençal *cigala*, French *cigale*, Spanish *cigarra*, *chicharra*, Portuguese *cigarra*, etc.

Fig. 171.

Fig. 172.

Fig. 173.

and adds: 'Nach gewöhnlicher Annahme soll die Benennung der "Cigarre" (span. ptg. *cigarro*, ital. *sigarro*, frz. *cigare m.*) auf span. *cigarra* zurückgehen, wegen einer gewissen Ähnlichkeit des Tabakröllchens mit der Cicade, sei es in Gestalt oder in Farbe.' Cp. E. Weekley *An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English* London 1921 p. 303). But these imitative formations are apt also to have an *in*-sound, as in the modern Greek *τσίντζικας*, *τζίντζικας*, *τσίντζιρας* (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 458), the Macedonian-Roumanian *chincală* (Körting *loc. cit.*), and the Latin verb *fritinnire* (Suet. *frag.* p. 252, 2 Reifferscheid cicadarum fritinnire (*frintinnire* cod. V. *fretinnire* alii codd.), F. Buecheler—A. Riese *Anthologia Latina*[2] Lipsiae 1906 i. 2. 248 no. 762. 35 et cuculi cuculant et rauca cicada fritinit), late Latin *frintinnire* (Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.vv.* 'baulare,' 'frintinnire').

The same variation meets us in the case of the hero, whose name *Τιθωνός*, *Tithonus* appears in Etruscan as *Tinθun* or *Tinθn* (C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 971 f., J. Schmidt *ib.* v. 1021, 1029). A mirror from Chiusi (?), published by E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1852 x Anz. p. 160, *ib.* 1857 xv. Anz. p. 71*, *id. Etr. Spiegel* iv. 22 f. pl. 290 (=my fig. 171), E. Hübner in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1857 p. 165, H. Brunn *ib.* 1859 p. 109, A. Fabretti *Corpus inscriptionum Italicarum* Aug. Taurinorum 1867 p. ccxviii no. 2513 *bis*, shows *Tinθun* and *Θesan* as a pair of lovers flanked by *Memrun* (Memnon) on the right and *La[s]a* (W. Deecke in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1903) on the left. Another, owned and published by Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 217 f. pl. 232 (=my fig. 172), Fabretti *op. cit.* p. ccxvii no. 2506, has a similar scene in which *Tinθn* (S. Bugge in W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen und Studien* Stuttgart 1883 iv. 34 notes that Deecke read |*tinθn*|, and A. Furtwängler *itinθu* (adding 'der erste Strich kann allerdings auch zu der Randeinfassung der Inschrift gehört haben')) is embraced by *Evan* (Gerhard read *Efan* (=*Evan*), comparing *Efas* (=*Evas*) as the name of Memnon in *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 218 f. pl. 235, 1. C. Friederichs *Kleinere Kunst und Industrie im Alterthum* Düsseldorf 1871 p. 60 no. 70, W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1878 p. 84 f., and S. Bugge *loc. cit.* p. 35 ff. accept *Evan*, on which goddess see W. Deecke in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1440, E. Samter in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 838 f. W. P. Corssen *Ueber die Sprache der Etrusker* Leipzig 1874 i. 260, 820 and W. Deecke in K. O. Müller *Die Etrusker* Stuttgart 1877 i[2]. 481 propose [Θ]*esan*; but there is no trace of an initial *θ*) with *Tvamii* (Gerhard read *Tfami* (=*Tvami*) or *Tsami*, Fabretti *Tiami*; Bugge *loc. cit.* p. 34 f. hazards *tiaśii* for *Φθιώσιος, *i.e.* Achilles) standing on the right and *Θeθis* seated on the left.

There is some reason to think that the Etruscan *Tinθun* is still remembered by the peasants of north Italy. C. G. Leland *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition* London 1892 p. 122 states that the Romagnoli regard *Tituno* or *Til'uno* as 'the spirit of thunder,' and *ib.* p. 215 asserts that, when it hails, people invoke *Tituno* or *Tignia*. If his information be reliable (*supra* ii. 421 n. 0), it is possible to suppose that the *-in-* of *Tinθun* led to confusion with the Etruscan *Tinia*. Be that as it may, *Tinia*, like *Tinθun*, is grouped with *Θesan* and *Θeθis* on a mirror now in the Vatican (E. Braun in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1837 pp. 73—80, *Mus. Etr. Gregor.* i pl. 31, 1, Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 5. 44 pl. 396 (=my fig. 173), Fabretti *op. cit.* p. ccxv no. 2477), which presumably represents Zeus supplicated by Heos and Thetis (*supra* ii. 734, 753 n. 3 (3)). Leland *op. cit.* pp. 75—78 claims that *Θesan* too has survived as *Tesana*, 'the Spirit of the Dawn,' and quotes a popular poem in which she appears as a dream to a sleeping *contadino* and promises to help him when he is weary.

More ingenious, but also more speculative, are the suggestions of S. Bugge *Das Verhältnis der Etrusker zu den Indogermanen und der vorgriechischen Bevölkerung Kleinasiens und Griechenlands* ed. A. Torp Strassburg 1909 p. 229 ff.:—*Τιθωνός* was a pre-Greek Anatolian name, borne *e.g.* by a brother of Priam (*Il.* 20. 237). A cuneiform tablet found at Eyuk in Kappadokia mentions a town *Tintunia*, perhaps to be located in Armenia rather than in Asia Minor (E. Chantre *Recherches archéologiques dans l'Asie occidentale. Mission en Cappadoce 1893—1894* Paris 1898 p. 45 ff. no. 1, 10 Ti-in-tu-u-ni-ia). With this agrees the form *tinθun*, which the Etruscans may have brought with them from their early home in Asia Minor. *Tintunia* (for **Tinthōnia*) is to *tinθun* as *Ἀπολλωνία*

had by Eos a son Memnon; and here too the dew-connexion reappears. When Memnon was slain by Achilles, his mother Eos wept for him, and in the morning dew-drops we still see her tears[1].

Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse were alike associated with Zeus. Their mother was the daughter of Aktaios[2]; and *Aktaîos* is a cult-epithet of Zeus[3]. Possibly Zeus *Aktaîos*, Zeus 'of the Point,' was at one time worshipped on the high ground of Akte overlooking the harbours of the Peiraieus[4]. More probably he drew his title from Akte, the old name for the whole promontory of Attike[5], which indeed represents an earlier Aktike[6]. Pandrosos, again, stood in close relation to Zeus. In the Pandroseion was his altar[7]; and, though we must not with O. Gruppe[8] assume the existence of a Zeus *Pándrosos*, yet we may feel sure that here Zeus the sky-father,

to Ἀπόλλων. On this showing *tinθun* was the god or godlike hero of Hittite-speaking Cappadocians. Memnon as son of Tithonos implies that Tithonos was known in Anatolia. Tithonos founded Sousa on the Choaspes (Strab. 728, Diod. 2. 22, cp. Hdt. 5. 53, 7. 151, Paus. 4. 31. 5) and was worshipped as a god by the Susians (Souid. *s.v.* Σούσιοι· ὄνομα ἔθνους. τὸν νεκρὸν καύσαντες οἱ Σούσιοι τὰ ὀστᾶ κομίζουσι τῷ πατρὶ Τιθωνῷ). Further, Tithonos was a personification of the day (*et. mag.* p. 758, 27 f. Τιθωνός, ἡ ἡμέρα· παρὰ τὸ τιθασός τὸ σημαῖνον τὸ ἥμερος [Etymology at its worst! A. B. C.]). Now it seems that the Etruscan stem *tin-* denoted both the 'day' and the 'daylight-god' *tinia* or *tina*, the equivalent of Zeus or Iupiter (S. Bugge *op. cit.* p. 190 f.). Accordingly, Τῑθωνός presupposes an Anatolian form in which *in* before *θ* became a nasal *i* (*į*). The Etruscan inscription on the wrappings of the Agram mummy speaks of the Dawn of the Day-god (G. Herbig in C. Pauli *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* Lipsiae 1919—1921 Suppl. i (liber linteus Zagrabiensis) col. v, 19 *θesan-tinś* with pl. 5: see further C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 676 f.). This makes it certain that *tinθun* associated with *θesan*, the Dawn (*supra* fig. 171), involves the syllable *tin-* 'day.' The termination *-θun* is of doubtful origin, but may be a combination of *θ* the enclitic article with the suffix *-un* (cp. *-ωνο-* of Τιθωνός). The schol. A.L. *Il.* 11. 1 equates Τιθωνός with Τιτάν and both with Apollon. 'Τίταν [*sic*]...scheint mir ebenfalls vorgriechischen Ursprungs und auf dieselbe Grundwurzel wie Τιθωνός zurückzugehen.' C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 971 f. is likewise inclined to accept an original connexion between *Tinθun*, *Τινθών, Τῑθωνός, Tituno* on the one hand and *Tinia, Tignia* on the other. But the whole edifice is a house of cards.

[1] Ov. *met.* 13. 621 f., Stat. *silv.* 5. 1. 34 f., interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 489. Cp. O. Puchstein *Epigrammata Graeca in Aegypto reperta* Strassburg 1880 no. 18.

[2] *Supra* p. 242 n. 3.

[3] *Supra* ii. 869 n. 2, 904 n. 2.

[4] *Supra* p. 238 n. 3.

[5] Eur. *Hel.* 1673, Lyk. *Al.* 1339, Strab. 391, 397, Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἀκτή (Favorin. *lex.* p. 102, 43 ff.), Apollod. 3. 14. 1, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀκτή, *et. mag.* p. 167, 51.

[6] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 22 'Αττική=*'Ακτική.' But W. Judeich in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2184 f. had already derived Ἀττική 'offenbar gleich Ἀκτική' from Ἀκτή and had cited in support, not only the lexicographers (*supra* n. 5), but also the *marm. Par. ep.* 1 p. 3 Jacoby and Strab. 397 (cp. Paus. 1. 2. 6), in both of which the precise form Ἀκτική occurs.

[7] *Supra* p. 243 n. 5.

[8] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 29 n. 6, 1111 n. 1, 1217 n. 3. *Id. ib.* p. 29 says: 'ursprünglich wohl "Allbetauer."' But *πάνδροσος* is at least as likely to be passive as active in meaning.

who distilled the fructifying dew[1], had as his consort Pandrosos the earth-mother 'All-bedewed.' Lastly, Herse was for Alkman the very daughter of Zeus[2].

(c) Zeus *Érrhos, Ersaîos, Ikmaîos, Íkmios, Áphrios.*

In view of the foregoing sections we are not surprised to find that Zeus had sundry titles characterising him as the god of dew, moisture, and the like.

It seems probable that *Érrhos*, an obscure name for Zeus quoted by Hesychios[3] from some unknown source, meant simply the 'Dew.' Zeus, as Plutarch[4] put it, turned himself into dew. If so, his appellation will be connected with those of the Athenian *Errhephóroi*[5], the Lesbian *Ersóphoros*[6], and the Attic Apollon *Érsos*[7]. Another

[1] Even the honey-dew (*supra* p. 246) came from Zeus. When in summertime a cold night was followed by a hot day, and consequently trees and plants were found to be coated with a sweet exudation (δροσόμελι, ἀερόμελι), Greek farmers exclaimed: ὁ Ζεὺς ἔβρεξε μέλι (Galen. περὶ τροφῶν δυνάμεως 3. 39 (vi. 739 Kühn)). Virgil says of Iupiter: *mellaque decussit foliis* (*georg.* 1. 131). See further *infra* p. 498 ff.

[2] *Supra* i. 732 n. 5, iii. 179 f.

[3] Hesych. Ἔρρος· ὁ Ζεύς. M. Schmidt is silent. J. Alberti, who records the guesses of G. Soping (cp. Hesych. Ἐρυμός· Ζεύς) and J. J. Reiske ('An *Herus*?'), is not particularly helpful.

[4] *Supra* p. 180. [5] *Supra* p. 166. [6] *Supra* pp. 167 n. 10, 168.

[7] About an hour's walk to the north-east of *Vari* (Anagyrous), some 290^{m} above the sea, near the top of one of Hymettos' southern spurs—a height known formerly as *Kapsála* but now as *Spélaion*—is a very remarkable cave, first thoroughly explored in 1901 by members of the American School at Athens. The best map of the neighbourhood is in E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Karten von Attika* Berlin 1904 Blatt 8 (Vari) with Text by A. Milchhöfer Berlin 1889 iii. 16 f. The official reports of the excavation were published by C. H. Weller in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 263—288 (description) with pl. 1 (plan) = my fig. 174, pl. 2 (sections) = my figs. 175, 176, and figs. 1—10, M. E. Dunham *ib.* 289—300 (a score of inscriptions), Miss I. C. Thallon *ib.* 301—319 (marble reliefs) with pls. 3—9, Miss L. S. King *ib.* 320—327 (vases) with pl. 10 and figs. 1, 2, 328—334 (terra cottas) with pl. 11, Miss A. Baldwin *ib.* 335—337 (coins), S. E. Bassett *ib.* 338—349 (lamps) with pls. 12—14 and figs. 1—5. The cave consists of an outer and an inner grotto, the former with a series of interesting rock-carvings and -cuttings, the latter dimly lit and containing a cold spring of water said to be 'καθαρτικό.' The excavators failed to find any prehistoric remains. The evidence pointed to two periods of more or less continuous resort, *c.* 600—*c.* 150 B.C. and *c.* 300—*c.* 400 A.D. Inscriptions prove that during the earlier period the cave was devoted to the worship of the Nymphs, Pan, Charis, and Apollon *Érsos* or *Hérsos*. Lamps etc. show that during the later period it was adapted for Christian usage.

We are concerned only with the shrine of Apollon, which is hewn out of the rock at the spot marked ε on the plan (fig. 174). This shrine was arranged in two levels, each divided into halves by a low partition. The floor of the upper niche has a couple of D-shaped cavities (for libations or votive gifts? Cp. *supra* i. 140). The lower divisions lack such receptacles, but may have had fitted into them a pair of similarly concave stones. Two little holes on the left of the upper level, with corresponding holes on the right, perhaps imply pillars supporting a roof as a protection against the drip of water, which is here constant. Small fluted columns—two fragments were found—may or may not have been the pillars in question. Legible till lately was the rock-cut inscription

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ⋮ΕΡΣΟ (*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 430 Ἀπόλλωνος Ἔρσου, *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 783 Ἀπόλλωνος⋮Ἔρσο, E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 30 description with pl. 8, 2 sketch by F. Adler (=my fig. 177), H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1884 iii. 217 fig. 25, T. Schreiber *Atlas of Classical Antiquities* ed. W. C. F. Anderson London 1895 p. 15 pl. 8, 5, C. H. Weller in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 270 f. fig. 5 photo, fig. 6 sketch, M. E. Dunham *ib.* p. 296 no. 14 Ἀπόλλωνος· Ἔρσου). This is usually transcribed Ἔρσου, but A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 456 *h* prints Ἐρσο.....

Fig. 174.

and H. van Herwerden *Appendix lexici Graeci suppletorii et dialectici* Lugduni Batavorum 1904 p. 90 assumes a nominative Ἔρσης or Ἔρσος (*id. Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 p. 587 gives Ἔρσος (Ἔρσης?)). H. Stuart Jones in the new ed. of Liddell and Scott, Oxford 1929, has '"Ερσος...perh. cf. Ἔρρος.' To the left of the shrine is a crude carving of a stone-cutter, who bears a hammer or pick and a square and is inscribed twice with the name Archedemos (*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 787 Ἀρχέδημος. | Ἀρχέδημος.). Inscriptions found elsewhere in the cave describe him as Archedamos of Thera (*ib.* no. 786 [Ἀ]ρχέδαμος | [*h*]ο Θεραῖος), who being possessed by the Nymphs was bidden to adorn their grotto (*ib.* no. 788 Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Θ|ηραῖος ὁ νυμφ|όληπτος φραδ|αῖσι Νυμφῶν τ|ἄντρον ἐξηργ|άξατο=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 48), planted a garden for them (*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i nos. 784/785 *a* Ἀρχέδαμος *ho* Θερ|αῖος κᾶπον Νύ|μφαις ἐφύτευσεν=a sixth foot *plus* a complete hexameter), and constructed a

dancing-ground (*ib.* nos. 784/785 *b* Ἀρχέδ[α]μος ho Θερ|αῖος καὶ χορὸν ὀρ|χεστὲ[s] Νύνφαι ἐχ|σοικ[οδό]μεσεν = a sixth foot *plus* the first half of a hexameter *plus* a complete hexameter). The date of Archedemos is uncertain. C. H. Weller places him *c.* 400 B.C. But his vagaries of dialect, lettering, and metre seem to me to indicate a much later (Hadrianic?) period, when archaisms were in fashion.

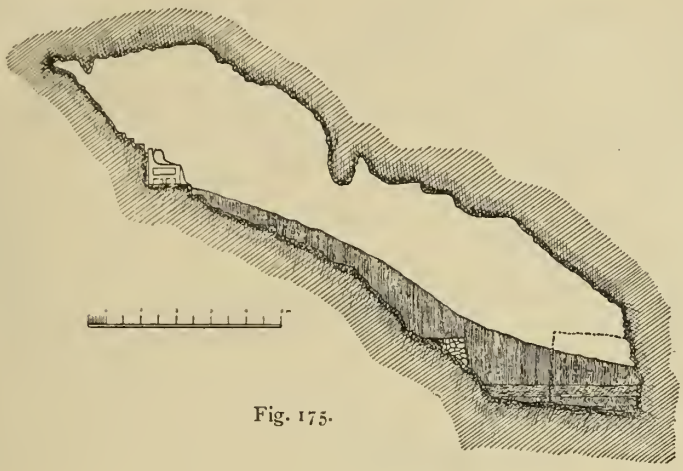


Fig. 175.

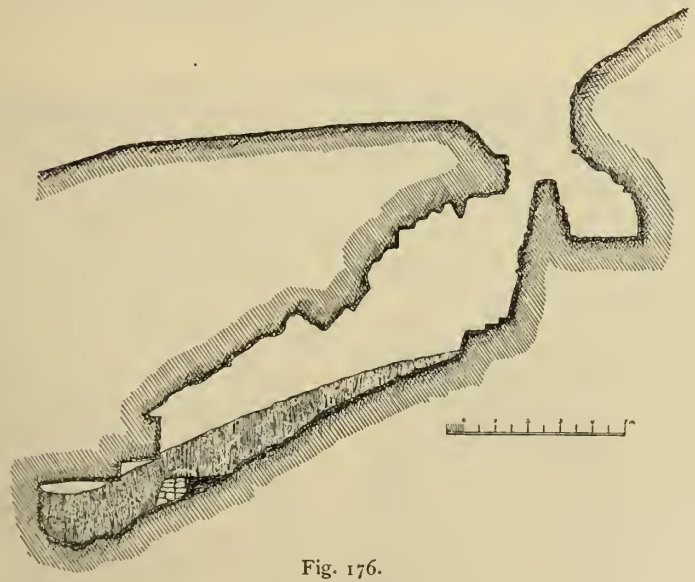


Fig. 176.

In addition to the deities already mentioned there was the seated goddess, whose rock-cut effigy and *omphalós* are still to be seen at the point marked β on the plan (fig. 174. Cp. the sectional drawing in fig. 175). Her headless torso has been twice portrayed (E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 30 pl. 8, 1 sketch by F. Adler

Fig. 177.

Fig. 178.

title of kindred origin preserved by Hesychios[1] is perhaps *Ersaîos*, Zeus 'of the Dew.'

Keos was once so well watered that, like certain others of the Kyklades[2], it was known as *Hydroûssa*[3]. Hither came Aristaios, one

(=my fig. 178), C. H. Weller in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 267 ff. fig. 4 photo) and is variously interpreted as Isis (R. Chandler *Travels in Greece* Oxford 1776 p. 150 'Isis, the Egyptian Ceres,' J. C. Hobhouse (Lord Broughton) *A Journey through Albania*[2] London 1813 i. 403 'supposed to represent Isis, the Egyptian Ceres,' E. Dodwell *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece* London 1819 i. 553 'probably a statue of Isis') or Demeter (L. Ross *Reisen des Königs Otto und der Königinn Amalia in Griechenland* Halle 1848 ii. 76 'vielleicht einer Demeter') or Kybele (A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1880 v. 217 'offenbar...Kybele,' L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 531. This would agree with the lion's head carved in the rock at ξ on the plan (fig. 174). See also A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1642, 1644) or Rhea (A. Milchhöfer in E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Karten von Attika* Berlin 1889 Text iii. 16 'Rhea?').

On the whole I conclude that the seated divinity is an earth-goddess, very possibly Ge herself, who here as at Delphoi (*supra* ii. 169 ff., 231, 239, 1216, cp. ii. 258 pl. xvi) had her *omphalós*. Further it would appear that deeper in the cavern, just where there was a perpetual drip of water, the Greeks established the cult of Apollon *Érsos* or *Hérsos*, the 'Dew'-god,—Apollon, rather than Zeus, in deference to the *omphalós*. C. Wordsworth *Athens and Attica* London 1836 p. 198, *ib.*[3] London 1855 p. 170, was not very wide of the mark when he wrote: 'Ersus...appears to have been venerated here, as the beneficent power to whose influence—shed like dew (ἔρση) upon the earth,—all rural produce in its infant state, the tender blade, the opening blossom, and the young firstling, were alike indebted for their preservation and increase.' More succinctly let us say that down here, in the dark womb of mother earth, Apollon *Érsos* with his gentle moisture impregnates Ge for the benefit of mankind. And, if so, then the cave at Vari furnishes a noteworthy parallel to the *Ersephoría* (*supra* p. 165 ff.) at the underground descent (of Ge *Olympía*? *supra* p. 188) beside the Ilissos.

Finally, if—as seems probable—the cave at Vari was the actual spot on Mt Hymettos to which the infant Platon was taken by his parents for a sacrifice to the rustic powers (Ail. *var. hist.* 10. 21 ὅτι τὸν Πλάτωνα ἡ Περικτιόνη ἔφερεν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις· θύοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος ἐν Ὑμηττῷ ταῖς Μούσαις ἢ ταῖς Νύμφαις, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ κατέκλινε Πλάτωνα ἐν ταῖς πλησίον μυρρίναις δασείαις οὔσαις καὶ πυκναῖς. καθεύδοντι δὲ ἐσμὸς μελιττῶν ἐν τοῖς χείλεσιν αὐτοῦ καθίσασαι ὑπῆδον, τὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος εὐγλωττίαν μαντευόμεναι ἐντεῦθεν, Olympiod. *v. Plat.* p. 1, 14 ff. Westermann καὶ γεννηθέντα τὸν Πλάτωνα λαβόντες οἱ γονεῖς βρέφος ὄντα τεθείκασιν ἐν τῷ Ὑμηττῷ, βουλόμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεοῖς Πανὶ καὶ Νύμφαις καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Νομίῳ θῦσαι, καὶ κειμένου αὐτοῦ μέλιτται προσελθοῦσαι πεπληρώκασιν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα κηρίων μέλιτος, ἵνα ἀληθὲς περὶ αὐτοῦ γένηται τὸ 'τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή' (*Il.* 1. 249)), it may be that the honey found on the babe's lips was accepted as the divine dew vouchsafed by the deities of the cavern.

[1] Hesych. Ἐργαῖος· ἀέριος Ζεύς (cp. *supra* i. 30, ii. 351 n. 0, 808 n. 0 (0)). A. Meineke's cj. Ἐρσαῖος is commonly approved and squares with Hesych. ἑρσαῖα·...δροσώδη and ἑρσαίη· δροσώδης. If this is right, Nonnos had the sanction of cult-usage, when he made Semele dream of herself as a fruit-tree in a garden 'Drenched by the nurturing dews of Kronos' son' (*Dion.* 7. 146 νιφόμενον Κρονίωνος ἀεξιφύτοισιν ἐέρσαις).

[2] Andros (Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 65 Hydrusam). Tenos (Aristot. *frag.* 553 Rose, 595 Rose[2] *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 65 Hydrusam, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τῆνος·...Ὑδροῦσσα, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 525 Ὕδρουσα). Cp. an island off the deme Aixone (Strab. 398 Ὑδροῦσσα: see further L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 79), etc. (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 749).

[3] Herakl. Pont. *frag.* 9. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 214 Müller) Ὑδροῦσα, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 62 Hydrusam, Hesych. *s.v.* Ὑδροῦσα.

of the great culture-heroes of Greece, who learnt the care of sheep and oxen from the Nymphs and of bees from the Brisai. But drought befell the island, for the Etesian Winds failed and plants and animals suffered[1]. At this point the narrative as told by Herakleides of Pontos, the pupil of Aristotle[2], breaks off abruptly. It is continued by Apollonios of Rhodes[3]. Aristaios by his wisdom averted disaster. Gathering together the Parrhasian folk of Lykaon's lineage (presumably Arcadian settlers in Keos[4]), he made a great altar for Zeus *Ikmaîos*, Lord 'of the Damp[5],' and sacrificed on the mountains both to the star Seirios and to Zeus son of Kronos. Thereupon Zeus sent the Etesian Winds to blow for forty days and cool the earth. Hence the Cean custom that priests offer burnt-

[1] Herakl. Pont. *loc. cit.*

[2] Aristot. *frag.* 511 Rose[2].

[3] Ap. Rhod. 2. 519 ff. Λίπεν δ' ὅγε πατρὸς ἐφετμῇ | Φθίην, ἐν δὲ Κέῳ κατενάσσατο, λαὸν ἀγείρας | Παρράσιον, τοίπερ τε Λυκάονός εἰσι γενέθλης, | καὶ βωμὸν ποίησε μέγαν Διὸς Ἰκμαίοιο, | ἱερά τ' εὖ ἔρρεξεν ἐν οὔρεσιν ἀστέρι κείνῳ | Σειρίῳ αὐτῷ τε Κρονίδῃ Διί. τοῖο δ' ἔκητι | γαῖαν ἐπιψύχουσιν ἐτήσιαι ἐκ Διὸς αὖραι (*supra* p. 142 n. 6) ἤματα τεσσαράκοντα· Κέῳ δ' ἔτι νῦν ἱερῆες | ἀντολέων προπάροιθε Κυνὸς ῥέζουσι θυηλάς. So Theophr. *de vent.* 14 εἰ δέ ποτ' ἐξέλιπον καὶ Ἀρισταῖος αὐτοὺς ἀνεκαλέσατο θύσας τὰς ἐν Κέῳ θυσίας τῷ Διὶ καθάπερ μυθολογοῦσι, κ.τ.λ. and more fully Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 3 p. 444, 30 ff. Stählin πάλιν ἱστοροῦσιν Ἕλληνες ἐκλειπόντων ποτὲ τῶν ἐτησίων ἀνέμων Ἀρισταῖον ἐν Κέῳ θῦσαι Ἰκμαίῳ (so L. C. Valckenaer for *ἰσθμίωι* cod. L.) Διί· πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν φθορά, φλογμῷ διαπιμπραμένων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀναψύχειν τοὺς καρποὺς εἰωθότων ἀνέμων μὴ πνεόντων· <ὁ δὲ (*ins.* U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff) >ῥᾳδίως αὐτοὺς ἀνεκαλέσατο. Cp. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4 praeterea Canicula exoriens aestu Ceorum (so B. Bunte for *eorum* codd. D.G.N.) loca et agros fructibus orbabat et ipsos morbo adfectos poenas Icaro cum dolore sufferre cogebat, quod latrones recepissent. quorum rex Aristaeus Apollinis et Cyrenes filius, Actaeonis pater, petiit a parente, quo facto calamitate civitatem posset liberare. quem deus iubet multis hostiis expiare Icari mortem, et ab Iove petere, ut, quo tempore Canicula exoriretur, dies XL ventum daret, qui aestum Caniculae mederetur. quod iussum Aristaeus confecit et ab Iove impetravit ut etesiae flarent. quas nonnulli etesias dixerunt, quod quotannis certo tempore exoriuntur (*ἔτος* enim Graece *annus* est Latine); nonnulli etiam aetesias (so A. van Staveren for *etesias* codd., *ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰτεῖν*) appellaverunt, quod expostulatae sunt ab Iove et ita concessae.

[4] A. Pridik *De Cei insulae rebus* Dorpati Livonorum 1892 pp. 19—21 would discredit this notion of an Arcadian settlement in Keos ('Quod veteres scriptores Aristaeum aut cum Parrhasiis ex Arcadia venisse aut postea in Arcadiam se contulisse narrant, collegerunt nimirum ex Aristaei Jovisque cultu et Ceis et Arcadibus communi'). F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 853 is less sceptical ('Indessen hat eine Wanderung von Arkadern nach Keos an sich nichts Unwahrscheinliches; auch an der ionischen Wanderung nahmen nach Herodt. I 146 Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί teil').

[5] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 522 Ἰκμαίου δὲ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν Κέῳ, τουτέστι Διύγρου, ἕνεκεν τῆς ἰκμάδος καὶ τῆς πνοῆς τῶν ἀνέμων. So cod. Par. The vulgate has Διὸς Ἰκμαίοιο. ἕνεκα τῆς ἰκμάδος. ἐν τῇ Κῷ (*sic*) δέ ἐστιν ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἰκμαίου, τουτέστι διύγρου. ἐπεὶ αἴτιος γέγονε τῆς πνοῆς τῶν ἀνέμων. K. Manthos thought he could locate the temple of Zeus *Ikmaîos* at a place called μικρὰ Ἑλληνικά, near Ἑλληνικά between Ioulis and Karthaia. There were remains of Cyclopean walls, which had been used as a quarry for building two neighbouring churches, one being that of the Taxiarchai (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 543).

sacrifice before the rising of the dog-star. The poet's allusion to Arkadia and Lykaon suggests that the altar of Zeus *Ikmaîos* resembled that of Zeus *Lýkaios* on the summit of Mount Lykaion[1]. We do not, however, hear that in Keos, as in Arkadia[2] and Elis[3], a starving populace, when famine stared them in the face, resorted to the desperate expedient of human sacrifice. Milder methods had come into vogue. The priest of Zeus *Lýkaios* made rain-magic with an oak-branch[4]. And Aristaios, after sacrificing a bull, poured a libation of honey on the altar of Zeus *Ikmaîos*[5]—a libation thoroughly appropriate to the god that sent refreshing dew[6].

Aristaios, then, was famous as a culture-hero. But admittedly[7] he was more than that. As early as 474 B.C. Pindar[8] identifies him with Zeus *Aristaîos* or with Apollon *Agreús* and *Nómios*—high gods of field and fold. Cheiron, foretelling to Apollon the destiny of Kyrene's son, says that Hermes shall receive him from his mother and bring him to the fair-throned Horai and to Gaia:

> And they shall set the babe upon their knees,
> And nectar and ambrosia take, and these
> Upon his lips let fall,
> So make him once for all
> A power that shall endure—
> Zeus and Apollon pure,
> A present help to men upon their way,
> Of flocks a guardian sure,
> *Agreús* and *Nómios* named of some to-day,
> Of others *Aristaîos*, as they pray.

[1] *Supra* i. 81 ff.

[2] *Supra* i. 70 ff., 654.

[3] *Infra* § 9 (g) Molpis.

[4] *Supra* i. 76, 87, *infra* § 9 (a) iii.

[5] Nonn. *Dion.* 5. 269 ff. καὶ πυρὶ σειριάοντα κατεύνασεν ἀστέρα Μαίρης, | καὶ Διὸς Ικμαίοιο θυώδεα βωμὸν ἀνάψας | αἵματι ταυρείῳ γλυκερὴν ἐπεχεύατο λοιβὴν | ποικίλα φοιταλέης ἐπιβώμια δῶρα μελίσσης, | πλήσας ἀβρὰ κύπελλα μελικρήτου κυκεῶνος· | Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ ἤκουσε καὶ υἱέος υἷα γεραίρων | πέμψεν ἀλεξικάκων ἀνέμων ἀντίπνοον αὔρην, | Σείριον αἰθαλόεντος ἀναστέλλων πυρετοῖο. | εἰσέτι νῦν κήρυκες Ἀρισταίοιο θυηλῆς | γαῖαν ἀναψύχουσιν Ἐτήσιαι ἐκ Διὸς αὖραι, | ὁππότε ποικιλόβοτρυς ἀέξεται οἰνὰς ὀπώρῃ.

[6] Hesych. *s.v.* ἰκμασία· ὁ ἔνδροσος ἀήρ, ὑγρασία. In Paus. 1. 32. 2 L. C. Valckenaer cj. βωμὸς Ἰκμαλέου Διός, but Σημαλέου codd. is right (*supra* i. 121, ii. 4, 897 n. 6).

[7] *E.g.* Schirmer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 547 'ein Gott der Urbewohner Griechenlands,' Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 455 'eines Schutzgottes' etc., F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 852 'die ehemalige Bedeutung dieses einer sehr alten und ursprünglichen Entwicklungsstufe angehörenden Gottes,' Smith—Marindin *Class. Dict.* p. 111 'an ancient divinity' etc., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1710 'Wettergott,' E. Thrämer in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 546[a] 'an ancient Thessalian deity' etc., H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 144 'a rustic deity.'

[8] Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 112 ff. (quoted *supra* i. 372 n. 8).

Pindar appears to be weaving together a warp and a woof of diverse origin. The one tradition, which we may call Boeotian since it was found in Hesiod, equated Aristaios with the pastoral Apollon[1]. The other, which is rather Arcadian, identified him with Zeus[2]. This is the version accepted by Kallimachos when, wishing to ascribe a noble pedigree to Akontios of Keos, he makes him descended 'from the priests of Zeus *Aristaîos Íkmios*[3].' Later writers repeat, with less precision, this twofold claim to divinity[4]. We are left wondering whether Aristaios was a god who had faded into a hero, or a mortal who had put on immortality.

And here we must take into account an attractive hypothesis advanced by L. R. Farnell[5], who observes that *Aristaîos* means 'sprung from *Aríste*' and that *Aríste* was an appellative of Artemis[6]: 'His

[1] Hes. *frag.* 98 Flach, 129 Rzach *ap.* Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 14 Aristaeum invocat, id est Apollinis et Cyrenes filium, quem Hesiodus dicit Apollinem pastoralem.

[2] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 14 huic opinioni (*sc.* that Aristaios went from Thebes to Keos and thence to Sardinia) Pindarus refragatur, qui eum ait de Cea insula in Arcadiam migrasse ibique vitam coluisse: nam apud Arcadas pro Iove colitur, quod primus ostenderit qualiter apes debeant reparari, ut ait poeta de hoc ipso Aristaeo 'tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri | pandere' (Verg. *georg.* 4. 283 f.).

[3] Kallim. *aitia* 3. 1. 32 ff. Mair Κοδρείδης σύ γ' ἄνωθεν ὁ πενθερός, αὐτὰρ ὁ Κεῖος | γαμβρὸς 'Αρισταίου [Ζη]νὸς ἀφ' ἱερ < έ > ων | 'Ικμίου, οἷσι μέμ[η]λεν ἐπ' οὔρεος ἀμβώνεσσιν | πρηύνειν χαλ[ε]πὴν Μαῖραν ἀνερχομένην, | αἰτεῖσθαι τὸ δ' ἄημα παραὶ Διός, ᾧ τε θαμ < ι > νοὶ | πλήσσονται λινέαις ὄρτυγες ἐν νεφέλαις. In line 33 the papyrus has γαμβροσαρισταιοι . . τιοσαμφίερων with μ of ἀμφ apparently crossed through. A. S. Hunt in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1910 vii. 27 no. 1011 prints U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's cj. λή < ιτ > ος ἀμφ' ἱερῶν, but *ib.* p. 63 admits that λήιτος 'cannot actually be read.' A. W. Mair did well to prefer A. E. Housman's [Ζη]νὸς ἀφ' ἱερ < έ > ων. The form 'Ικμίου, instead of the usual 'Ικμαίου, is *metri gratia*.

[4] Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 112 τὸν 'Αρισταῖόν τινες 'Απόλλωνα, τινὲς δὲ καὶ 'Αγρέα, 115 a ἱστέον ὅτι τὸν 'Αριστοῖον διὰ τὸ τὴν κτηνοτροφίαν καὶ κυνηγεσίαν εὑρηκέναι 'Αγρέα καὶ Νόμιον, Δία καὶ 'Απόλλωνα προσηγόρευον, schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 498 καὶ κατακαλεσάμενος τοὺς ἐτησίας Ζεὺς 'Αρισταῖος ἐκλήθη καὶ 'Απόλλων 'Αγρεὺς καὶ Νόμιος (cod. Par. has διὰ δὲ τὸ αἴτιον γενέσθαι τῶν ἐτησιῶν (*leg.* ἐτησίων) Ζεὺς 'Αρισταῖος ἐκλήθη καὶ 'Απόλλων 'Αγυιεὺς (*sic*) καὶ Νόμιος), Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 14 p. 15 Schwartz Κεῖοι 'Αριστοῖον (*sc.* ἵδρυνται θεόν), τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Δία καὶ 'Απόλλω νομίζοντες. Cp. Diod. (probably from Timaios: see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 676) 4. 81 διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν τὴν ἐκ τούτων τῶν εὑρημάτων τοὺς εὐεργετηθέντας ἀνθρώπους τιμῆσαι τὸν 'Αριστοῖον ἰσοθέοις τιμαῖς, καθὰ καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, 82 διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦσι διαφερόντως φασὶ τιμηθῆναι τὸν 'Αριστοῖον ὡς θεόν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὸ τῶν συγκομιζόντων τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας καρπόν, Paus. 8. 2. 4 ἐπεί τοι καὶ θεοὶ τότε ἐγίνοντο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, οἳ γέρα καὶ ἐς τόδε ἔτι ἔχουσιν ὡς 'Αριστοῖος κ.τ.λ.

Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2364, 2 (Karthaia) τῷ 'Απόλλων[ι] 'Αριστα[ῳ] was a misreading amended *ib.* p. 1071 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 545, 2 τῶι 'Απόλλωνι δεκάτην.

[5] Farnell *Gk. Hero Cults* p. 49 ff.

[6] Paus. 1. 29. 2 κατιοῦσι δ' ἐς αὐτὴν περίβολός ἐστιν 'Αρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανα 'Αρίστης καὶ Καλλίστης· ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ καὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Πάμφω (so A. Hecker for σαπφοῦς codd., cp. Paus. 8. 35. 8), τῆς 'Αρτέμιδός εἰσιν ἐπικλήσεις αὗται, λεγόμενον δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐς αὐτὰς λόγον εἰδὼς ὑπερβήσομαι. Perhaps we catch an echo of the other version in Hesych. *s.v.* Καλλίστη· ... καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ Κεραμ(ε)ικῷ ἱδρυμένη 'Εκάτη, ἣν ἔνιοι 'Αρτεμιν λέγουσιν.

name implies a powerful goddess and her son. Are we transported back once again to the domain of Cretan religion, with its great goddess and youthful companion-god?' Artemis certainly bulked big in Keos. She had a sanctuary at Ioulis, as we gather not only from the myth of Ktesylla[1] but also from extant inscriptions[2]. Her head appears on bronze coins of the town struck in *s.* iii B.C.[3] And her name at least is perpetuated by that of Saint Artemidos, the Cean protector of ailing children[4]. If, then, we may assume that in Keos, as at Athens, Artemis was *Aríste*, it is possible to plead that *Aristaîos* was a theophoric name[5] attached to her *páredros*[6]—possible, but precarious.

On the whole, I am disposed to see in Aristaios another example of those early kings of Greece (Agamemnon, Amphiaraos, Trophonios, Asklepios, etc.), who bore the title of the sky-god because they were regarded as his human embodiment[7]. Hyginus—was it only a lucky

[1] Ant. Lib. 1 (after Nikandros *ἑτεροιούμενα* book 3) Hermochares of Athens saw Ktesylla, daughter to Alkidamas of Ioulis, as she danced round the altar of Apollon at Karthaia on the occasion of the Pythian festival. Falling in love with her, he inscribed an apple and let it drop in the precinct of Artemis. Ktesylla picked it up and read thereon a vow to marry Hermochares of Athens. Thereupon, moved by modesty and anger, she flung the apple away. When Hermochares pressed his suit, Ktesylla's father consented and, laying hold of the bay-tree, swore by Apollon to that effect. But after the Pythia Alkidamas forgot his oath and gave his daughter to another. The wedding was at hand, and the girl was already offering her sacrifice in the precinct of Artemis, when Hermochares indignant at losing his bride burst in. Ktesylla was smitten with love for him and, helped by her nurse, eloped with him by night to Athens, and there married him. Fate ordained, however, that she should die in childbed, because her father had broken his word. When she was being carried out to burial, a dove flew up from the bier and the body of Ktesylla vanished. Hermochares consulted the oracle about it and was bidden to found at Ioulis a sanctuary of [Aphrodite (*secl.* J. G. Schneider)] *Ktésylla*. The Ceans still worship her —the men of Ioulis calling her Aphrodite *Ktésylla*, the rest Ktesylla *Hekaérge*.

Ov. *met.* 7. 368—370 is likewise indebted to Nikandros (cp. E. Oder *De Antonino Liberali* Bonnae 1886 pp. 1 ff., 42 ff., M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1899 ii. 1. 219).

The tale of Hermochares and Ktesylla is paralleled by that of Akontios and Kydippe (C. Dilthey *De Callimachi Cydippa* Leipzig 1863, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 237 f.).

[2] Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 787 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 617 ('fragmentum deforme lapidis communis, olim in casa G. F. Depastae in regione *Διασέλιον τοῦ Ὀζιᾶ* inaedificatum') *Ἀρτέμιδο|ς ἱερόν* in lettering of *s.* iii B.C.

Corp. inscr. Gr. ii Add. no. 2367 = Lebas—Foucart *Péloponnèse* no. 1786 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 618 ('Iulidis in arce') [. . . .]*ς Ἐπίφρονος καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἀρτέμι[δ]ι.*

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 96 pl. 22, 15 and 16 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 204 no. 1, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 518 no. 7247 pl. 245, 23, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 484.

[4] *Supra* i. 172.

[5] Examples of the name as borne by men are collected in W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 128 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 859.

[6] *Supra* ii. 294 ff.

[7] *Supra* ii. 1069 f. Zeus *Ἀγαμέμνων*, 1070 ff. Zeus *Ἀμφιάραος*, 1073 ff. Zeus *Τρεφώνιος* or *Τροφώνιος*, 1076 ff. Zeus *Ἀσκληπιός*.

guess?—dubs him 'King' of the Ceans[1]. Diodoros, probably drawing upon Timaios[2] (*c.* 346—*c.* 250 B.C.), is aware that he left descendants in Keos, and states that in Sardinia he begat two sons called Charmos and Kallikarpos[3]. The well-omened[4] jingling names are suggestive of a Dioscuric pair. Finally, Aristaios, identified by the poets with Zeus[5], appears as a Zeus-like head, bearded and often laureate, on Hellenistic coins of Keos (figs. 179—182)[6] and of the

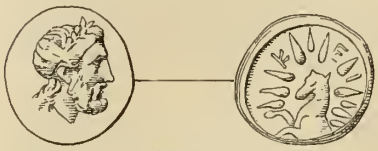


Fig. 179.

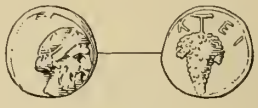


Fig. 180.

Fig. 181.

Fig. 182.

Fig. 183.

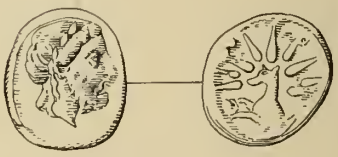


Fig. 184.

Fig. 185.

Fig. 186.

[1] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4 (quoted *supra* p. 266 n. 3).

[2] *Supra* p. 268 n. 4. [3] Diod. 4. 82.

[4] With Χάρμος cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 64 ἀνδράσι χάρμα φίλοις of Aristaios himself.

[5] *Supra* p. 267 f.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 89 pl. 21, 1—5 'Aristaeus?,' *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 203 pl. 43, 14 'Zeus (Aristaios),' *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 557 nos. 4632—4634 pl. 168 'Aristaeos,' *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 518 pl. 245, 26 f. 'Aristaeos,' Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 482 f. 'Aristaeos represented like Zeus.' *Rev.* KEI or KEIΩN Seirios. I figure two bronze coins in the Leake collection and two in the McClean collection.

Cean towns Ioulis (fig. 183)[1], Karthaia (figs. 184, 185)[2] and Koresia (fig. 186)[3].

In this connexion a word must be added on a Thessalian cult about which we are very imperfectly informed. Three out of the four tetrarchies of Thessaly recognised a month *Áphrios*[4], which belonged to the second half of the year[5] but cannot as yet be more nearly defined. B. Keil[6], K. Tümpel[7], and J. W. Kubitschek[8] held that its name implied the worship of Aphreia[9], a clipped form of the Thessalian Aphrodite. But N. I. Giannopoulos has done good service by publishing a couple of inscriptions from Pherai, which afford a

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 96 f. pl. 22, 18 'Bearded head,' *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 204 nos. 2—4 'Zeus (Aristaios),' *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 518 pl. 245, 24 'Aristaeos,' Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 484 'Aristaeos.' *Rev.* ΙΟΥΛΙΕ or ΙΟΥΛΙ Bee. My fig. 183 is from a silver didrachm, now in the British Museum, published by W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1891 xi. 129 no. 25 'Aristaeus,' which reads ΙΟΥ and has in the field a dog's head and Η.

[2] W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Insular Greece p. 6 'Jupiter,' *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 516 no. 7234 (my fig. 184), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 483 'Aristaeos.' *Rev.* ΚΑΡΘΑ Seirios.

McClean Cat. Coins ii. 517 pl. 245, 17 (my fig. 185) 'Bearded head.' *Rev.* Grape-bunch.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 94 pl. 22, 8 'Aristaeus?,' *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 559 no. 4645 pl. 169 'Aristaeos,' Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 484 'Aristaeos.' *Rev.* ΚΟΡΗ Star. My fig. 186 is the Weber specimen.

Agreús on autonomous and imperial bronze coins of Korkyra has a more distinctive type—a bearded god clad in a long *chitón* and holding a *cornu copiae* (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 155 pl. 25, 7 f., p. 159 ff. pl. 26, 4, 6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 21 pl. 32, 4 and p. 22 no. 57, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 282 pl. 191, 9 and 12, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 328). *Obv.* Zeus *Kásios* (*supra* ii. 906 n. 3 fig. 823) or Head of emperor. I figure a specimen in my collection.

Fig. 187.

[4] Hestiaiotis: Aiginion (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 323, 1 μη[νὸς Ἀφ]ρί[ου]), Chyretiai (*ib.* no. 349 *b*, 4 Ἀ(φ)ρίου). Pelasgiotis: Azoros (*ib.* no. 1295 *a*, 5 μηνὸς Ἀφρίου), Gonnos (*ib.* no. 1042, 13 f. Ἀ|φρίου), Larissa (*ib.* nos. 542, 9 μηνὸς Ἀφρίο[υ], 544, 2 f. τὴν δευ[τέ]ραν ἐξάμηνον, 11 Ἀφρίῳ, 546, 16 νουμη(νίᾳ) Ἀφρίου, 547, 7 μ(ηνὸς) Ἀφρίου, 556, 10 f. [μη]|νὸς Ἀφρί[ου], 568, 4 μηνὸς Ἀφροδισίου? ('(=Ἀφρίου) lectio incerta': p. 320 'Ἀφρίου *legit Rensch*' and 'Ἀφροδίσιος *nihil est*; *v*. Ἄφριος'). Thessaliotis: Pharsalos (*ib.* no. 256 *b*, 11 Ἀφ[ρίου?]).

[5] *Ib.* no. 544, 2 f., 11 (*supra* n. 4).

[6] B. Keil in *Hermes* 1885 xx. 630.

[7] K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2724 and 2796.

[8] J. W. Kubitschek *ib.* i. 2724.

[9] J. Franz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1842 xiv. 136 ff. no. 1 published a metrical inscription from *Gallipoli* (Kallipolis) on the Thracian Chersonese, of which a revised transcript was given by J. H. Mordtmann in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1881 vi. 260 ff. beginning Ἀρφείης υἱῆι τετει[μέν]ον ἱερὸν ἄστυ | ἀρχαίων ἵδρυμα κ.τ.λ. Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1034 printed the poem from Franz' copy, but omitted the opening word as an obvious error. Later, in *Hermes* 1884 xix. 261, he suggested that Ἀρφείης might be a stone-cutter's slip for Ἀφρείης in the sense of Ἀφρογενείας. Lastly B. Keil *ib.* 1885 xx. 630 supported Kaibel's suggestion by noting the month Ἄφριος, which according to him implied a Thessalian Ἀφρία to match the Thracian Ἀφρεία.

more likely explanation. Both are engraved on marble *stêlai* topped by a small pediment. The first to be found read ΔΙΑΦΡΙΟΥ, which Giannopoulos[1] shrewdly interpreted as a dedication (in dialect[2]) 'to Zeus *Áphrios*.' Various scholars shook sapient heads over this new-fangled epithet[3]. But all doubts as to its authenticity were dissipated when Giannopoulos produced a second inscription from the same town, containing the god's name in full—ΔΙΙΑΦΡΙΟΥ, 'to Zeus *Áphrios*[4].'

It remains to determine the sense of *Áphrios*, and that is no easy task. Indeed, we are reduced to pure conjecture. I should assume derivation from the Greek *aphrós*, 'foam.' Significance might attach to bubbles on the local spring[5], froth on the river, foam on the sea, and any or all of these things might be attributed to the action of the sky-god. An Indian story tells how Indra—the thunder-god who

[1] N. I. Giannopoulos in the Δελτίον Φιλαρχαίου Ἑταιρείας Ὄθρυος 1901/2 p. 47, *id.* in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1913 p. 220. Height 0·38^{m}, width 0·25^{m}.

[2] For *-ου* = *-φ* in Thessalian see *e.g.* A. Thumb *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* Heidelberg 1909 p. 242 and in greater detail F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 179.

[3] A. I. Spuridakes in the Δελτίον Φιλαρχαίου Ἑταιρείας Ὄθρυος 1901/2 p. 24 no. 19 (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1913 p. 220) took Διαφρίου to be the tomb 'of Diaphrios.' A. Jardé and M. Laurent in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 385 no. 93 read Διαφρίου, but left it without interpretation. A. Rutgers van der Loeff in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 220 n. 1 and O. Kern in the *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 452 incline to accept Giannopoulos' view. But Kern *ib.* prints Λιαφρίου because J. von Prott thought it '*viel wahrscheinlicher als* Διαφριου.'

[4] N. I. Giannopoulos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1913 p. 219 f. no. 4. Height 0·84^{m}, width 0·35^{m}.

[5] At Pherai this would be the fountain of Hypereia (F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 107 with fig. 5 chart of *Velestino* (Pherai)), who appears on silver drachms (W. Frœhner *Collection Photiadès Pacha: Monnaies grecques* Paris 1890 p. 14 no. 165 pl. 1 (=my fig. 188), Head *Hist. num.*^{2} p. 307. *Obv.* Head of the nymph

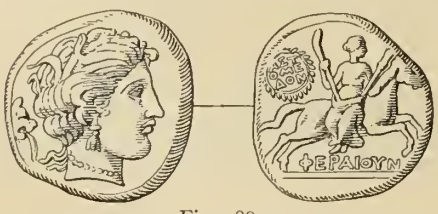


Fig. 188.

Fig. 189.

Hypereia crowned with reeds; behind, lion's head spouting water. *Rev.* ΦΕΡΑΙΟΥΝ Hekate, with two torches, on galloping horse; in the field, a wreath containing the name ΑΣΤΟΜΕΔΟΝ) and hemidrachms of *s.* iv B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 48 pl. 10, 15 bad, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 222 pl. 175, 25 worse, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1908 xi. 65 cp. 75, Head *Hist. num.*^{2} p. 307. Fig. 189 is from a specimen of mine. *Obv.* Head of Hekate, wreathed with myrtle; behind, torch. *Rev.* ΦΕΡΑΙΟΥΝ The nymph Hypereia, in *chitón* and *himátion*, placing her right hand on a lion-head fountain; in the field, a wreath containing the name ΑΣΤΟ. Cp. M. Leumann ''Αστο- für 'Αριστο- auf thessalischen Inschriften' in *Glotta* 1929 xviii. 65 f.).

conquered the demons of drought[1]—swore to the Asura Namuḳi[2] that he would slay him neither by day nor by night, neither with staff nor with bow, neither with the palm of the hand nor with the fist, neither with the wet nor with the dry. So he killed him in the morning twilight by using as a thunderbolt the foam of water[3].

[1] A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 54.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 161 f. concludes: 'The etymology of the name is according to Pāṇini (6, 3, 75) *na-muci*, "not letting go." In that case it would mean "the demon withholding the waters"[12] ([12]Cp. KUHN, KZ. 8, 80).' F. Max Müller *Vedic Hymns* Oxford 1891 p. 111 says: 'na-muḳ, not delivering rain.'

[3] *The Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa* trans. J. Eggeling Part v (*The Sacred Books of the East* xliv) Oxford 1900 p. 222 f. 12. 7. 3. 1 ff.: '1. By means of the Surâ-liquor Namuḳi, the Asura, carried off Indra's (source of) strength, the essence of food, the Soma-drink. He (Indra) hasted up to the Aśvins and Sarasvatî, crying, "I have sworn to Namuḳi, saying, "'"I will slay thee neither by day nor by night, neither with staff nor with bow, neither with the palm of my hand nor with the fist, neither with the dry nor with the moist!"'' and yet has he taken these things from me: seek ye to bring me back these things!" 2. They spake, "Let us have a share therein, and we will bring them back to thee."—"These things (shall be) in common to us," he said, "bring them back, then!" 3. The Aśvins and Sarasvatî then poured out foam of water (to serve) as a thunderbolt, saying, "It is neither dry nor moist"; and, when the night was clearing up, and the sun had not yet risen, Indra, thinking, "It is neither by day nor by night," therewith struck off the head of Namuḳi, the Asura. 4. Wherefore it has been said by the Ṛishi (Ṛig-veda S. VIII, 14, 13 [cited *infra*]), "With foam of water, Indra, didst thou sever the head of Namuḳi, when thou wert subduing all thine enemies." Now, Namuḳi is evil: having thus, indeed, slain that evil, his hateful enemy, Indra wrested from him his energy, or vital power.'

W. H. D. Rouse 'Baldur Story' in *The Folk-Lore Journal* 1889 vii. 61 notes the *Taittîrya Brâhmana* 1. 7. 1. 7 ('He moulded this foam of the waters: that, you know, is neither dry nor wet. It was dawn, the sun had not risen: that, you know, is neither day nor night. He cut off his head with the foam of the water in this world').

M. Bloomfield in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1893 xv. 155 ff. collects other allusions: 'At Rāmāyaṇa iii. 30. 28 (Bomb.; iii. 35. 94 Gorresio) we read:..."Khara fell down slain...as Vṛtra was slain by the thunderbolt, as Namuci by the foam." At Mahābh. ix. 2436:..."the lord Vāsava, perceiving a fog, cut off his (Namuci's) head with the foam of the waters." Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on Mahābh. i. 7306 ff. (Calc.; i. 197. 31 Bomb.) says:..."just as when Namuci was to be slain (Indra's) thunderbolt entered into the foam of the waters"...* (*A variation of this story at Mahābh. v. 318—330 tells how the great Ṛṣis had promised Vṛtra that they would not slay him with anything dry or wet, with a stone or wood, with a knife or arrow, neither by day nor by night. This promise was kept until at dawn one day Indra saw "foam in the sea similar to a mountain"; this along with his thunderbolt he threw upon Vṛtra; Viṣṇu entered the foam and slew Vṛtra...). Mahīdhara at VS. x. 33 says: "the Açvins and Sarasvatī gave to Indra a thunderbolt in the form of water-foam. With that Indra cut the head of Namuci." And at xix. 71:..."with the foam of water did you take off the head of the Asura Namuci." Sāyaṇa at RV. viii. 14. 13: "Indra...cut off his head at the junction of day and night, with foam, which is different from dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse: O Indra, with the foam of the waters, turned into a bolt, did you take off the head of the Asura Namuci." The Brāhmaṇas are more explicit. At MS. iv. 3. 4 we have:..."having spread a fog at sunrise, he cut off his head with the foam of the waters."... The Pañc. Br. xii. 6. 8 has:..."he cut off his head at dawn before the sun had risen with the foam of the waters. For at dawn before the sun has risen: that is neither night nor day; and foam of the waters: that is neither wet nor dry."'

Sir James Frazer[1], who cites the tale as a parallel to the myth of Balder, adds: 'The foam of the sea is just such an object as a savage might choose to put his life in, because it occupies that sort of intermediate or nondescript position between earth and sky or sea and sky in which primitive man sees safety. It is therefore not surprising that the foam of the river should be the token of a clan in India[2].'

The Greeks apparently looked upon foam as one manifestation of the sky-god's seed, and thus in a manner akin to dew or rain. Nonnos[3] states that Hephaistos, when enamoured of Athena,

> Shot forth the hot and self-sped foam of love.

The same poet elsewhere[4] tells how a dolphin once carried Aphrodite to Kypros,

> What time the gendering dew of Ouranos,
> Down-streaming with his manhood's gore, gave shape
> To the foam of childbed and brought forth the Paphian.

The Orphic Rhapsodies[5] used similar language in narrating the birth of Aphrodite from the foam that arose when the seed of Zeus fell into the sea. Both incidents of course involve the naïve derivation of *Aphrodíte* from *aphrós*[6]. But the idea of seminal foam is as

Bloomfield *ib.* further contends that this legend of Indra and Namuki gave rise to a class of magical practices in which demons were routed by means of river-foam, called 'river-lead,' or some surrogate such as lead, iron-filings, and even the head of a lizard. See *e.g. Hymns of the Atharva-veda* trans. M. Bloomfield (*The Sacred Books of the East* xlii) Oxford 1897 p. 65 f. 1. 16. 1—4 with p. 256, *The Satapatha-Brâhmana* trans. J. Eggeling Part iii (*The Sacred Books of the East* xli) Oxford 1894 p. 92 5. 4. 1. 9 f.

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 280 f.

[2] E. T. Dalton 'The Kols of Chota-Nagpore' in *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* 1868 New Series vi. 36—again cited by Frazer *Totemism and Exogamy* i. 24 ('the foam of the river is an Oraon totem and not to be eaten by the clansmen'), ii. 290 ('The *Amdiar* will not eat the foam of the river').

[3] Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 179 θερμὸν ἀκοντίζων αὐτόσσυτον ἀφρὸν Ἐρώτων.

[4] *Id. ib.* 13. 439 ff. ὁππότε γὰρ γονόεσσα κατάρρυτος ἄρσενι λύθρῳ | Οὐρανίη μόρφωσε λεχώιον ἀφρὸν ἐέρσῃ | καὶ Παφίην ὤδινε, κ.τ.λ.

[5] Orph. *frag.* 183 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 110, 23 ff. Pasquali (quoted *supra* ii. 1029).

[6] Modern adherents of this time-honoured view include the following:

(1) L. Meyer *Vergleichende Grammatik der Griechischen und Lateinischen Sprache*[2] Berlin 1884 i. 2. 641 ''Αφρο-δῑ́-τη ("die im Schaum leuchtende (?)"),' *ib.* 990 ''Αφρο-δῖτη (eigentlich "im Schaum glänzend" oder "im Gewölk glänzend"?),' *id. Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 160 f. from ἀφρό-ς 'foam' + a participial form of the root *dî* 'to shine' (cp. Sanskrit *su-dîti*), '"im Schaume glänzend."' So also H. Hirt *Der indogermanische Ablaut* Strassburg 1900 p. 99 § 364 'idg. dejā "scheinen"...'Αφροδίτη.' I pursued the same will-o'-the-wisp in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 177.

(2) L. v. Schroeder *Griechische Götter und Heroen* Berlin 1887 i. 7 f. assumes an Indo-Europaean **abhradîtâ* or **abhradîti* from Sanskrit *abhra* 'cloud' (ἀφρός) + the root

dî 'to hasten' (*δίον*, *δίεσθαι*, etc.) '"im Gewölk sich bewegend, im Gewölk dahineilend oder fliegend."'

(3) P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 156 n. 1 '*Αφροδίτη* enthält in seinem ersten Teil unzweifelhaft *ἀφρός*, in seinem zweiten wahrscheinlich **ὀδίτης*, das sich zu *ὀδίτης* verhält wie *ταμίη* zu *ταμίης*,' *id.* in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiii. 267 '*Αφρ-οδίτη* "Auf dem schaume dahinwandelnd." So F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2773 "auf dem Schaum hinwandelnd," O. Kern *Die Religion der Griechen* Berlin 1926 i. 206 "die auf dem Schaume wandelnde" ('Sehr anschaulich dazu E. Oberhummer, Die Insel Cypern I, S. 108 ff.').

(4) Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1348 n. 2 suggests '*Αφρο-δίτη* from *ἀφρός* + **δίω* (*διαίνω*, *διερός*) 'wetted with foam,' cp. *Anacreont.* 53. 30 ff. Bergk[4] *χαροπῆς ὅτ' ἐκ θαλάσσης | δεδροσωμένην Κυθήρην | ἐλόχευσε πόντος ἀφρῷ*, Himer. *or.* 1. 20 *ἔτι τὸν ἀφρὸν μετὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξ ἄκρων πλοκάμων στάζουσαν*.

Others treat the name as non-Greek (*e.g.* A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 p. 439 'Der Name '*Αφροδίτη* ist wohl kaum griechisch' etc.) and advocate a variety of Semitic etymologies (listed by K. Tümpel in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1880 xi. 680 f. and Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 1348 n. 3). A couple will serve as examples, or at least as warnings:

(1) E. Röth *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie* Mannheim 1846 i. 263 with n. 452 and L. Preller *Griechische Mythologie*[2] Berlin 1860 i. 263 note the Semitic *aphrodeth*, 'dove' (Aramaic פְּרִידָה, Phoenician with article (*sic*) אַפְרוֹדֶת). This is to some extent approved by K. Tümpel *loc. cit.* and by E. H. Meyer in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1888 p. 138. See further W. Muss-Arnolt *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* Berlin 1905 ii. 827 *s.v.* 'purīdu,' 'a bird,' C. Bezold *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar* Heidelberg 1926 p. 226 *s.v.* 'purīdu, puriddu, pirīdu,' 'e. Vogel,' W. Gesenius *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das alte Testament*[16] rev. F. Buhl Leipzig 1915 p. 657 *s.v.* פֶּרֶד [pered] (derived from *parad* 'to flee'—ass. *parādu* probably 'to flee,' *purîdu* 'leg' [properly 'goer']—in Hebrew = 'mule'), J. Levy *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1889 iv. 101 *s.v.* פְּרִידָה *f.* [pərīdhah] (arab. فريد [farīd] syn. mit פֶּרֶד [peredh] 'ein Stück von dem Taubenpaar, das (nach Lev. 1, 14 fg.) geopfert werden soll, einzelne Taube.' But all this fails to justify the initial 'A- of '*Αφροδίτη*.

(2) F. Hommel 'Aphrodite-Astarte' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1882 xxviii. 176 contends that '*Αφροδίτη* is a direct loan-word from the Phoenician form *Ashtóreth*: 'das *sh* dieses wortes (wie auch seiner babylonischen nichtsemitischen urform *Ishtar*) wurde dem folgenden *t* in der aussprache möglichst angeglichen, so dasz dieselbe eher *Aθtóreth* als *Ashtóreth* lautete; das wird unwiderleglich bewiesen durch die form *Aθtar* bei den Südarabern, welche...die Astarte von Babylonien entlehnten. auf diese aussprache des *sh* in *Ashtôreth* wie engl. *th* nun gründet sich meine identification: bekannt ist, dasz in etymologisch verwandten, um so mehr aber in lehnwörtern, ursprüngliches *θ* (sprich wie engl. *th*) durch *f*, in alter zeit wohl auch *ph* (griech. *φ*) ersetzt wurde[2] ([2]wer mir entgegnet dasz *φ* in ältester zeit noch nicht den laut *f* gehabt habe, den verweise ich darauf, dasz aus *Aftóreth*—die Griechen hatten ja überhaupt kein *f*—schon des anklangs an *ἀφρός* halber ganz ungezwungen *Aphróteth* werden konnte, ja muste. für fremdes *f* war der nächstliegende griechische laut eben nur *φ*); vgl. nur russisch *Fedor* aus griechisch *Θεόδωρος*. die Griechen hörten nun *Ashtóreth* wie *Aphtóreth*, was mit einer bei lehnwörtern so überaus häufigen metathesis umgestellt wurde zu *Aphróteth*—'*Αφροδίτη*.' *Id. Aufsätze und Abhandlungen arabistisch-semitologischen Inhalts* München 1892 i. 34 n. 1 'Auch die Griechen hörten ja Ashtoret (vgl. *Ishtâritu* neben *Isthar* und zur Länge *Namtâru* aus *Namtar*) als *Aθtoret*, da sie (vgl. russ. Marfa aus Martha) Aphtoret und weiter Aphrotet ('*Αφροδίτη*) draus machten.' *Id. Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 1040 adheres to his view ''*Αφροδίτη* aus *Aθtoret* (Astarte, Mittelform Afrotet)' and cites in support H. Grimme in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 18 with n. 1. See also Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 168, who cp. as a doubtful parallel *γέφυρα* = a Semitic *gĕšûr*.

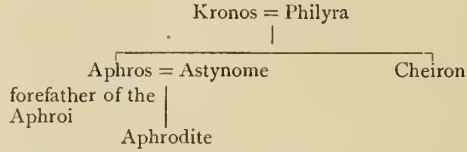
old as Hesiod[1], reappears in fifth-century science[2], and quite conceivably accounts for the existence of *Áphrios* as an appellative of Zeus.

On the whole, I incline to accept Hommel's hypothesis that 'Αφροδίτη (F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 239 ff. no. 4952 *A*, 27 'Αφορ(δ)ίταν = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 527 *a*, 27 'Αφροδίταν in an oath from Dreros in eastern Crete, *c.* 220 B.C., quoted *supra* i. 729 n. 2) really was a Greek attempt to pronounce *Aštóreth* and at the same time to make sense of a foreign name by assimilating the first part of it to ἀφρός. G. Meyer *Griechische Grammatik*[3] Leipzig 1896 p. 246 n. 1 summarises the process: 'F. Hommel...nimmt die Entwickelung *Aštóreth* **Aθtóreth* (südarab. *Aθtar*) **Aftóreth* und daraus mit Metathesis im Anklang an ἀφρός *Aphróteth* an.'

See further V. Costanzi 'Ζεὺς Ἄφριος e il nome 'Αφροδίτη' in the *Atti d. r. accad. di sci. di Torino* 1913—1914 xlix. 315—321.

[1] Hes. *theog.* 190 ff. (*supra* ii. 447 n. 8). This and many other literary allusions are collected by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1870—1871 p. 11 ff.

Late chroniclers, by way of providing an eponym for the Africans, personified the Hesiodic ἀφρός and put together the following pedigree:



So Sex. Iulius Africanus (*c.* 200 A.D.) *ap.* Kedren. *hist. comp.* 15 D (i. 28 Bekker), Io. Antioch. (*i.e.* Malalas, *s.* vi) *frag.* 4. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 542 Müller), cp. the *Chronicon Paschale* (early in *s.* vii) 36 D—37 A (i. 66 Dindorf) which speaks of ὁ Ἄφραος, ὅστις ἔγημε τὴν 'Αστυνόμην ἐκ τῆς Λακερίας νήσου (K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2796). On this whole genealogy see *supra* ii. 693 n. 4.

[2] Diogenes of Apollonia *frag.* 6 Diels *ap.* Aristot. *hist. an.* 3. 2. 512 b 8 ff. αὗται δὲ (*sc.* αἱ φλέβες) σπερματίτιδες καλοῦνται. τὸ δ' αἷμα τὸ μὲν παχύτατον ὑπὸ τῶν σαρκωδῶν ἐκπίνεται· ὑπερβάλλον δὲ εἰς τοὺς τόπους τούτους λεπτὸν καὶ θερμὸν καὶ ἀφρῶδες γίνεται, cp. Clem. Al. *paed.* 1. 6 p. 119, 2 ff. Stählin τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ ζῴου ἀφρὸν εἶναι τοῦ αἵματος κατ' οὐσίαν ὑποτίθενται, ὃ δὴ τῇ ἐμφύτῳ τοῦ ἄρρενος θέρμῃ παρὰ τὰς συμπλοκὰς ἐκταραχθὲν ἐκριπιζόμενον ἐξαφροῦται κἀν ταῖς σπερματίσιν (L. Dindorf cj. σπερματίτισιν) παρατίθεται φλεψίν· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ὁ 'Απολλωνιάτης Διογένης τὰ ἀφροδίσια κεκλῆσθαι βούλεται. The same idea is found in the medical writers, *e.g.* Galen. περὶ χρείας τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπου σώματι μορίων 14. 9 (iv. 183 Kühn) αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ σπέρμα πνευματῶδές ἐστι καὶ οἷον ἀφρῶδες, *id.* περὶ σπέρματος 1. 5 (iv. 531 Kühn) σὺ γὰρ (*sc.* Aristotle) εἷς ὁ καλῶς εἰκάσας ἀφρῷ τὸ σπέρμα, Vindician. *frag. Bruxell. de semine* 1 (in M. Wellmann *Fragmentsammlung der griechischen Ärzte* Berlin 1901 i. 208, 2 ff.) Alexander Amator veri (*sc.* Φιλαλήθης) appellatus, discipulus Asclepiadis, libro primo De semine spumam sanguinis eius essentiam dixit Diogenis placitis consentiens... 3 (*ib.* p. 210, 8 ff.) Diogenes autem Apolloniates essentiam < seminis > similiter spumam sanguinis dixit libro physico: etenim spiratione adductus spiritus sanguinem suspendit, cuius alia pars carne bibitur, alia superans in seminales cadit vias et semen facit, quod < non > est aliud quam spuma sanguinis spiritu collisi. It occurs also in theological and exegetical authors such as Cornut. *theol.* 24 p. 45, 3 ff. Lang 'Αφροδίτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ συνάγουσα τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ δύναμις, τάχα διὰ τὸ ἀφρώδη τὰ σπέρματα τῶν ζῴων εἶναι ταύτην ἐσχηκυῖα τὴν ὀνομασίαν, schol. Eur. *Tro.* 990 τὴν 'Αφροδίτην ἐτυμολογοῦσιν οἱ μὲν παρὰ τὸν ἀφρὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ συνουσίᾳ, οἱ δὲ κ.τ.λ., Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 77 quod autem Saturnum fingunt Coelo patri genitalia abscidisse et sanguinem fluxisse in mare, atque ex spuma maris concreta Venus nata est, illud aiunt quod per coitum salsi humoris substantia est, et inde 'Αφροδίτην Venerem dici, quod coitus spuma est sanguinis quae ex succo viscerum liquido salsoque constat.

That, however, is guesswork, and other guesses are almost equally permissible. For instance, philologists have shown that *aphrós* is related both to *ómbros*, 'rain,' and to *néphos*, *nephéle*, 'cloud[1].' We might, therefore, without deserting the Greek area, conjecture that Zeus *Áphrios* was originally a Thessalian rain-god or cloud-god. Further evidence is much to be desired.

(d) Zeus *Thaúlios*.

Some twenty minutes west of Pherai (*Velestino*), on the right bank of a small torrent known as *Michali-Revma*[2], A. S. Arvanitopoullos located a large and important cult-centre. Since 1919 he has been at work, helped latterly by Y. Béquignon and P. Collart of the French School, uncovering the area and determining its history[3]. No fewer than six successive epochs are involved. The site was already occupied in neolithic times—witness numerous sherds and a marble idol. Then came a 'Mycenaean' sanctuary[4], evidenced

The widespread beliefs attaching to 'cuckoo-spit' are not unworthy of attention. The name is popularly given to a mass of froth concealing the *larvae* of certain insects. One of the main *genera* of the *cercopidae* or frog-hoppers is labelled *aphrophora*, and one of its *species* is *aphrophora spumaria* (R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1896 vi. 195 f. with figs.). J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 682 says: 'The froth on willows, caused by the cicada spumaria, we call *kukuks-speichel*, Swiss *guggerspeu*, Eng. *cuckoo-spit*, *-spittle*, Dan. *giögespyt*, but in some cases witch's spittle, Norweg. trold-kiäringspye.' E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 111, *à propos* of the cuckoo as a 'Gewittervogel' notes: 'Sein *Speichel* verkündet *Regen* und hilft gegen Ausschlag' (after K. Bartsch *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Meklenburg* Wien 1880 ii. 175). P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 303 'D'après un vieil auteur, les cicades et grillons naissaient du crachat et escume de l'oyseau appelé cocu ou coucou' (after E. Rolland *Faune populaire de la France* Paris 1879 ii. (Les oiseaux sauvages) 98, who cites Jean de Luba (*leg.* Johannes de Cuba) *Ortus sanitatis*). J. Jonston *Thaumatographia Naturalis* Amstelodami 1665 p. 351 '*Cicadas* ex cuculorum sputo nasci scripsit *Isidorus*' is alluding to Isid. *orig.* 12. 8. 10 cicadae ex cuculorum nascuntur sputo. See further C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 122, who states *inter alia* that 'In Devonshire, boys take the insects in the spittle for cuckoos in their early stage.'

[1] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] pp. 68, 311, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 106, 666, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 378 *s.v.* 'imber,' Muller *Altital. Wörterb.* p. 162 *s.v.* 'emfris.'

[2] Was Zeus here as elsewhere (*supra* ii. 894 n. 3) superseded by St Michael?

[3] Until the official account of this interesting excavation has been published, we must be content with the very inadequate preliminary reports. See the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1920 xliv. 396, 1921 xlv. 529 f., 1923 xlvii. 524, 1924 xlviii. 482, 1925 xlix. 458—460 fig. 3, 1926 l. 562 f. fig. 9, A. J. B. Wace in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 273, A. M. Woodward *ib.* 1924 xliv. 275, 1925 xlv. 224 f., 1926 xlvi. 246 f., 1927 xlvii. 256 f., *id.* in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1924—1925* p. 68, the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii Arch. Anz. p. 247, 1925 xl Arch. Anz. p. 328, 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 429 f., 1927 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 389 f.

[4] *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 429, cp. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 524 and A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlvi. 246.

by terra-cotta figures and vase-fragments. Next, a necropolis of the 'geometric' period. Over a score of graves, rectangular in shape, built of and covered with large stone slabs[1], were but poorly furnished; they contained a few vases, small bronzes, and iron weapons. The cist-graves had, however, been left undisturbed by later builders. Immediately above them was placed the Hellenic temple, or rather a sequence of three Hellenic temples. The first, which appears to have been constructed, in part at least, of timber[2], dated from *s.* vii B.C., to judge from the fragment of an early Doric capital. To it belonged a mass of votive offerings in bronze, silver, gold, ivory, and other materials[3]. These had been deposited in two *bóthroi* or *favissae*, one about 11·50^{m} to the south, the other to the west of the temple: the contents of the latter were thrown in with the earth as filling for a retaining-wall of the next temple. The offerings included many bronze animals (horses, cocks, geese, etc.), a bronze handle in the form of a griffin's head, the bronze statuette of a warrior[4]; gold and silver ornaments of 'orientalising' date; an Egyptian head of good style, scarabs with bogus hieroglyphs; terra-cotta figurines of *kórai* seated or standing, some being fragments of almost life-sized figures, sundry types of *koûroi*, statuettes of sick or deformed persons, several *ex-voto* effigies of hands and feet; carved ivory seals and couchant beasts recalling those from Sparta[5]. The second temple, built *c.* 550—500 B.C. and burnt *c.* 400 B.C., is represented by many architectural remains found underneath the south-east corner of its successor. Here were four Doric columns in *pôros* with fragments of archaic Doric capitals and frieze-blocks in the same material, showing traces of painted stucco—all used as foundations of the latest edifice[6]. Within the temple was the base of a bronze statue, inscribed in lettering of 450—400 B.C. '[? Strongyl]ion made me[7].' Parts of a female statue in marble were also found, half life-sized and of good fifth-century work[8]. The third temple was erected in the first quarter of *s.* iv B.C.

[1] Details in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 459 f.

[2] *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 429, D. S. Robertson *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 p. 65 n. 3.

[3] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 524.

[4] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 562 with fig. 9.

[5] A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliv. 275.

[6] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 460 with fig. 3.

[7] A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlvi. 247 n. 26 [---]ιον μ' ἐποίεσ[εν]: 'The discoverer would restore the name Strongylion.'

[8] *Id. ib.* p. 247.

and in its turn destroyed by fire *c.* 200 B.C. It was approximately 26·50^{m} long by 16·82^{m} broad. On the east side the stylobate is preserved, with the two lower steps of white local marble. The building itself was a hexastyle peripteral temple of the Doric order. Its columns, of *pôros* coated with stucco, carried an entablature of which portions have come to light. Among them may be noted a marble metope with the relief of a lion killing a bull[1]; also various fragments of the cornice with carved and painted decoration[2]. To the east of the temple are the foundations of six structures differing in date: one at least of these seems to have been a *naîskos*, the rest bases or altars of rectangular plan, built of *pôros* in massive blocks. The finds comprise many pedestals and fragments of statues, bronze *phiálai* for libation, and broken vases ranging as late as *s.* iii or *s.* ii B.C. Of greater moment are the inscriptions. There are ten bronze plaques preserving the terms of twenty-five laws or proxeny-decrees. There is the fragment of a decree in the Thessalian dialect. And there are other records of interest[3]. For instance, five large and five small pieces of inscribed *stêlai*, which include a fresh dedication to the Thessalian goddess *Enhodía*[4]. Finally, in post-classical times the temple-area was used as a Christian cemetery.

It would seem, then, that from the neolithic age down to our own era the spot was in some sense holy ground. It is not, however, quite obvious what deity or deities were here worshipped by the Greeks. On the one hand, the prevalence of female terra-cotta figurines in the archaic period points to the possibility that the sanctuary was then devoted to a female divinity[5]. On the other hand, A. S. Arvanitopoullos, on the strength of certain inscriptions actually found at some distance from the temple, believes that it was the cult-centre of Zeus *Thaúlios*. Perhaps it may be suggested that at Pherai, as at Larissa[6], the cult of Zeus was associated with that

[1] A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 224, *id.* in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1924—1925* p. 68.

[2] A. J. B. Wace in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 273.

[3] *E.g.* a dedication in large letters στάσαντο κ.τ.λ., the *formula* εὐξαμένα καὶ κατατυχοῦσα (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 482 with n. 4, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 225).

[4] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 482, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 224 f. For Ἐνοδία as an appellation of Artemis, Hekate, and Kore see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2634 f.

[5] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 562, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 257.

[6] *Supra* ii. 1155 n. 4.

of *Enhodía*[1], whose head indeed appears on the coinage of the town (fig. 190)[2]. Her ritual—if we can trust a tale told by Polyainos[3]—might require the sacrifice of a choice bull with gilded horns, fillets, and blue gold-spangled draperies.

Zeus *Thaúlios* undoubtedly had a cult at Pherai. A votive *stéle* of marble, found there by Arvanitopoullos[4], has a small pediment

Fig. 190.

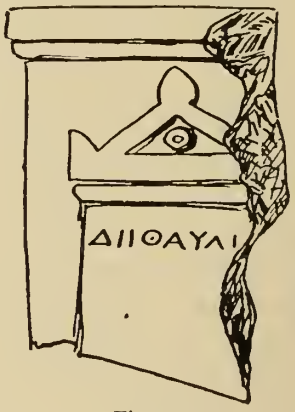


Fig. 191.

[1] A dedication to *Enhodía* at Pherai was published by P. Monceaux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 60 no. 14 (*Velestino*) Καλλίκλεια | Παρμενίσκου | Ἐνοδίαι εὐξαμένη.

[2] A silver drachm struck by Alexander of Pherai (369—357 B.C.) has *obv.* head of Hekate *Enhodía* to right inscribed ΕΝΝΟΔΙΑΣ, *rev.* ΑΛΕΞ lion's head (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 47 no. 17 (wrongly described) pl. 10, 13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 308). Fig. 190 is from J. Hirsch *Rhousopoulos Sale Catalogue* p. 88 no. 1446 pl. 19, on which see K. Regling 'ΕΝΝΟΔΙΑ' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1905 viii. 175 f.

[3] Polyain. 8. 43 τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἀποικίας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφικομένης τοῖς Ἐρυθραὶς κατέχουσιν ἐπολέμει Κνῶπος τοῦ Κοδριδῶν γένους. ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ στρατηγὸν παρὰ Θεσσαλῶν λαβεῖν τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἐνοδίας· ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύεται πρὸς Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ μηνύει τὸ λόγιον τοῦ θεοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἔπεμψαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς θεοῦ Χρυσάμην. αὕτη, φαρμάκων ἔμπειρος οὖσα, ταῦρον ἐξ ἀγέλης μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον συλλαβοῦσα, τὰ μὲν κέρατα κατεχρύσωσε καὶ τὸ σῶμα κατεκόσμησε στέμμασι καὶ χρυσοπάστοις ἁλουργίσι καὶ μετὰ τῆς τροφῆς ἀναμίξασα μανιοποιὸν φάρμακον ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ φαγεῖν· τὸ δὲ φάρμακον αὐτόν τε τὸν ταῦρον ἐξέμηνε καὶ τοὺς γευσαμένους αὐτοῦ μανιουργεῖν ἔμελλεν. οἱ μὲν δὴ πολέμιοι ἀντεστρατοπέδευον, ἡ δὲ ἐν ὄψει τῶν πολεμίων βωμὸν παραθεῖσα καὶ ὅσα πρὸς θυσίαν, ἐκέλευσε προσάγειν τὸν ταῦρον. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου μεμηνὼς καὶ οἰστρῶν ἐξεπήδησε καὶ μέγα μυκώμενος ἔφυγεν. οἱ πολέμιοι χρυσόκερων κατεστεμμένον ὁρῶντες καὶ φερόμενον ἐς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας τῶν ἐναντίων ὡς ἀγαθὸν σημεῖον καὶ οἰώνισμα αἴσιον ἐδέξαντο καὶ συλλαβόντες καλλιεροῦσι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τῶν κρεῶν ἕκαστος φιλοτίμως ἐδαίσαντο ὡς δαιμονίου καὶ θείας ἱερουργίας μεταλαγχάνοντες. αὐτίκα δὴ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ μανίας καὶ παραφροσύνης ἐξίστατο· πάντες ἀνεπήδων, διέθεον, ἀνεσκίρτων, τὰς φυλακὰς ἀπέλειπον. Χρυσάμη ταῦτα ἰδοῦσα τὸν Κνῶπον ἐκέλευσε διὰ τάχους ὁπλίσαι τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπάγειν ἀμύνασθαι μὴ δυναμένοις. οὕτω δὴ Κνῶπος ἀνελὼν ἅπαντας ἐκράτησε τῆς Ἐρυθραίων πόλεως μεγάλης τε καὶ εὐδαίμονος. It can hardly be doubted that this curious recital has borrowed more than one trait from the Thessalian cult of *Enhodía*.

[4] A. S. Arvanitopoullos in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1907 p. 152, *id.* in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1908 p. 36, 1910 p. 407 f.

above, a space left blank for a painted portrait below, and in the middle a Thessalian[1] inscription:

ΔΙΙ ΘΑΥΛΙΟΥ 'To Zeus *Thaúlios*.'

A second *stéle* from Pherai, published by N. I. Giannopoulos (fig. 191)[2], bears a relief representing a *stéle* with pediment, *akrotéria*, and central disk[3], beneath which is the fragmentary inscription:

ΔΙΙΘΑΥΛΙ[ΟΥ] 'To Zeus *Thaúli*[*os*].'

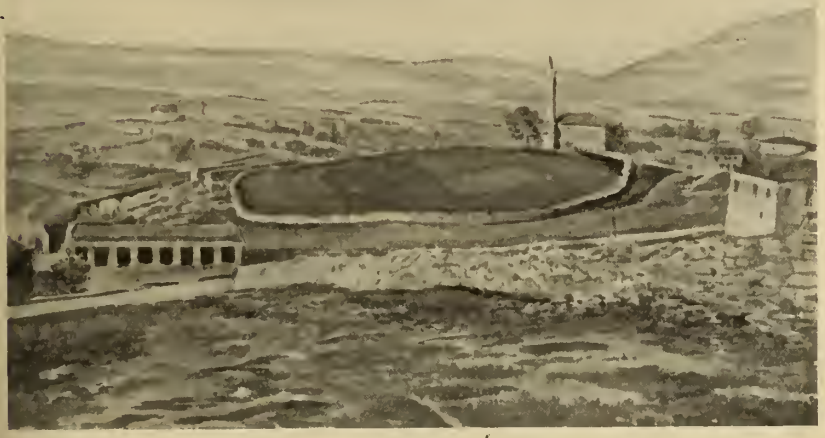


Fig. 192.

Yet another dedication to the same god has recently been found at Pherai, but is still unpublished[4].

Zeus *Thaúlios* was worshipped also at Pharsalos[5]. Above the springs of the Apidanos, in a quarter called *Tampachana*, rises a fair-sized hill commanding a wide prospect[6]. Remains of isodomous masonry suggest that the place was fortified in ancient times[7]. The

[1] *Supra* p. 272 n. 4.

[2] N. I. Giannopoulos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1913 p. 218 fig. 3 (=my fig. 191) Pherai no. 1 Διὶ Θαυλί[ου]. Height 0·37^{m}, breadth 0·21^{m}.

[3] *Supra* i. 292 ff.

[4] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xiix. 460, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 p. 247.

[5] A. S. Arvanitopoullos in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1907 pp. 151—153 ('Ἱερὸν Διὸς Θαυλίου').

[6] F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 138 fig. 9 gives a small plan.

[7] *Id. ib.* p. 136 reports that he found on this hill ('auf dem Hügel der Fatihmoschee an der Apidanosquelle') prehistoric sherds and one of geometric date. He conjectures that it was the site of Phthia, the town of the Myrmidones.

rocky surface of the hill-top has been so worked as to leave outstanding sundry breast-shaped knobs, meant presumably to fit into corresponding hollows on the under side of votive bases. One such patch of tooled rock at the north-eastern edge of the summit exhibits a carefully incised dedication

ΔΙΟΘΑΥΛΙΩΙ 'To Zeus *Thaúlios*'

by certain 'kinsfolk of Parmeniskos[1].' The hill (fig. 192) is crowned by an old Turkish mosque[2], founded—so it is said—centuries ago on the site of an older church. The minaret fell and could not be set up again till a cross was fixed on its highest point. So here the Turks must needs reverence the cross! This mosque is built of ancient materials: many statue-bases, architectural blocks, and a very early Doric capital of *pôros* are still to be seen in its walls. A trial excavation west of the mosque proved unproductive. But the inhabitants aver that here inscriptions and marble statuettes and numerous coins have come to light. Again, in the quarter of Pharsalos known as *Koloklompas*[3] N. I. Giannopoulos[4] found an altar inscribed in lettering which dates from the latter part of *s.* iv B.C.:

ΔΙΟΣ ΘΑΥΛΙΟΥ 'Of Zeus *Thaúlios*.'

The appellative has been traced further afield[5]. Hesychios gives *Thaûmos* (?) or *Thaúlos* as a title of the Macedonian Ares[6], and *Thaúlia* as the name of a festival held by Kteatos and the Dorians[7]. Lastly, the clan *Thaulonídai* at Athens had an eponymous ancestor *Thaúlon*, who figures in a myth relating to the cult of Zeus *Polieús*[8]. It looks as though *Thaûlos*, *Thaúlios*, *Thaúlon* had been in early days a divine epithet used by more than one Greek community.

[1] A. S. Arvanitopoullos in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1907 p. 152 Δι(ὶ) Θαυλίωι -- ἀγχιστῶν τῶν περὶ Παρμενίσκον. Cp. Καλλίκλεια | Παρμενίσκου (*supra* p. 280 n. 1).

[2] See the view in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1910 p. 177 fig. 1 (=my fig. 192).

[3] F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 143 n. 10.

[4] F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 154, N. I. Giannopoulos in the Ἐφ. Αρχ. 1913 p. 218 n. 1.

[5] See V. Costanzi 'Zeus Thaulios' in the *Athenaeum* Pavia 1913 i. 406—411 and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 533—535.

[6] Hesych. Θαῦμος (O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 94 n. 127 cj. Θαῦλλος. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 154 cj. Θαύλιος, which is better) ἢ Θαῦλος· Ἄρης Μακεδόνιος (so M. Schmidt for Μακεδονίως cod. Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 263 B, against Hesychian usage, cj. Μακεδονικῶς. Musurus cj. Μακεδόσι).

[7] Hesych. Θαύλια (so Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 257 A for Θαυλία cod.)· ἑορτὴ [Ταραντῖνοι (referred to the preceding gloss by J. V. Perger)] ἀχθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κτεάτου (I. Voss cj. ἐπ' ὀκταετοῦς)· παρ' ὃ καὶ θαυλίζειν <φασὶ (*ins.* T. Hemsterhuys)> λέγειν τοὺς Δωριεῖς. Even thus emended, the gloss remains obscure. The allusion to Kteatos (? the son of Molione (*supra* ii. 1015 n. 8)) is not found elsewhere, and perhaps postulates εἰσαχθεῖσα.

[8] *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (δ).

With regard to its original meaning nothing is known. Conjectures have been advanced by W. Tomaschek[1], F. Hiller von Gaertringen[2], F. Bechtel[3], and F. Solmsen[4]. But none of these is convincing. I venture therefore to add to their number the suggestion that *Thaúlios* denotes 'god of the Dew,' being in fact a word akin to the German *Tau*, the Dutch *dauw*, and the English *dew*[5].

[1] W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxx Abh. ii. 55 (from the root *θυ-*, 'stürmen').

[2] F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 156 considers the possibility of connexion with *θάλλω*, *θαλλός*, Θαλύσια, but rightly observes that the *αυ* of Θαύλιος, Θαύλων is quite incompatible with the *ᾱ* : *ᾰ* of *τέθᾱλα* : *θᾰλέθω*.

[3] *Id. ib.* cites a suggestion of F. Bechtel: 'Nur als einen Einfall will es Bechtel gelten lassen, dass Θαύλων den Töter bedeute: *θαυ-*, zu combiniren mit germanischem *dau* im gotischen *daubs*, ahd. *tôt*, nhd. *todt*. Dann würde Θαύλων dasselbe wie *βουφόνος*, Θαύλια = *βουφόνια* sein, und Zeus Θαύλιος der Gott, dem die Βουφόνια gelten. Sachlich dürfte hiergegen nichts einzuwenden sein; das Verschwinden des Wortstammes im täglichen Sprachgebrauche der Griechen wäre ein Beweis für das hohe Alter der religiösen Sitte und Vorstellung.'

[4] F. Solmsen 'Zeus Thaulios' in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 286—291 criticises Bechtel's view: 'So verführerisch die Deutung erscheint, so erheben sich doch gegen sie lautliche Bedenken von gotischer Seite her. Neben *daubs* "tot" *daubus* "Tod" nämlich steht hier *diwans* "sterblich." Dessen *-iw-* geht auf *-eu-* zurück, also muss...das *-au-* von *daubs daubus* älteres *-ou-* fortsetzen, und damit lässt sich das *-αυ-* von Θαύλιος usw. schlechterdings nicht vereinigen.' Solmsen further propounds a conjecture of his own: 'Θαυλ- kann sich Laut für Laut mit *-δαυλ-* decken, dem zweiten Bestandteil des lydischen, genauer lydisch-phrygischen Namens Καν**δαύλας**. Über das eigentliche Wesen dieser Figur belehrt uns der bekannte Hipponaxvers Ἑρμῆ κύναγχα [*leg.* κυνάγχα], Μηιονιστὶ Καν**δαῦλα**' (Hipponax *frag.* 1 Bergk[4], 4 Diehl, 45 Knox). On this showing Θαύλων would denote 'Throttler' ('Würger'), Θαύλια 'the Throttling-festival' ('Würgefest'), and Θαύλιος the god served with such rites. Sacrifice effected by, or at least accompanied with, strangulation appears to have been an early institution: Solmsen adduces the bull-dragging for Poseidon Ἑλικώνιος (*Il.* 20. 403 f. cited *supra* i. 506 n. 1), the bull-hanging for Athena at Ilion (*supra* i. 533 fig. 406), the slaughter of a bull for Poseidon at intervals of five and six years alternately, on the top of a pillar made of 'mountain-bronze' (? brass) and inscribed with the laws, by the natives of Atlantis (Plat. *Critias* 119 C—E), and the yearly hanging of a young kid for Aspalis Ameilete Hekaerge in the precinct of Artemis at Melite in Phthia (Ant. Lib. 13 after Nikandros *ἑτεροιούμενα* 2). Analogous cases are mentioned by W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3] London 1927 p. 343 n. 3. But, unfortunately for Solmsen's view, Thaulon is expressly said to have slain his ox with an axe (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (δ)).

[5] A. Fick *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*[3] Göttingen 1876 ii. 388, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 183, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 342 f.

If it be objected that the Macedonian Ares Θαῦλος (*supra* p. 282) can hardly have been a dew-god, we must remember that at Athens an early myth made Ares the husband of Agraulos the dew-sister (Hellanik. *frag.* 69 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 54 Müller) = *frag.* 38 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 119 Jacoby) *ap.* Souid. *s.v.* Ἄρειος πάγος = *et. mag.* p. 139, 14 ff. = Bekker *anecd.* i. 444, 8 ff., cp. Paus. 1. 21. 4, Apollod. 3. 14. 2: see K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 650, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 32, 1204 n. 1, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 402). It is by no means certain that Ares was *ab origine* only a war-god, and Makedonia is the sort of place in which we might expect to find traces of wider functions.

§ 9. *Zeus and the Rain.*

(a) Rain-magic.

i. Rain-magic in modern Greece.

Rain-making by means of magic, with some admixture of prayer, is practised even nowadays in the less frequented parts of Greece. Mr J. C. Lawson[1] tells us that in Thera (*Santorini*) he found the local rain-maker high busy with her spells:

'I chanced one day upon a very old woman squatting on the extreme edge of the cliff above the great flooded crater which, though too deep for anchorage, serves the main town of the island as harbour—a place more fascinating in its hideousness than any I have seen. Wondering at her dangerous position, I asked her what she was doing; and she replied simply enough that she was making rain. It was two years since any had fallen, and as she had the reputation of being a witch of unusual powers and had procured rain in previous droughts, she had been approached by several of the islanders who were anxious for their vineyards. Moreover she had been prepaid for her work—a fact which spoke most eloquently for the general belief in her; for the Greek is slow enough (as doubtless she knew) to pay for what he has got, and never prepays what he is not sure of getting. True, her profession had its risks, she said; for on one occasion, the only time that her spells had failed, some of her disappointed clients whose money she had not returned tried to burn her house over her one night while she slept. But business was business. Did I want some rain too? To ensure her good will and further conversation, I invested a trifle, and tried to catch the mumbled incantations which followed on my behalf. Of these however beyond a frequent invocation of the Virgin (Παναγία μου) and a few words about water and rain I could catch nothing; but I must acknowledge that her charms were effectual, for before we parted the thunder was already rolling in the distance, and the rain which I had bought spoilt largely the rest of my stay in the island. The incantations being finished, she became more confidential. She would not of course let a stranger know the exact formula which she employed; that would mar its efficacy: she vouchsafed to me however with all humility the information that it was not by her own virtue that she caused the rain, but through knowing "the god above and the god below" (τὸν ἄνω θεὸ καὶ τὸν κάτω θεό). The latter indeed had long since given up watering the land; he had caused shakings of the earth and turned even the sea-water red. The god above also had once rained ashes[2] when she asked for water, but generally he gave her rain, sometimes even in summer-time.'

The names of Zeus and Poseidon have long since passed into oblivion[3]. But, in view of this remarkable confession, who shall say that their memory does not in some sense linger yet?

[1] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 49 f. *Supra* ii. 829.

[2] In the drying-up of the springs and in the rain of ashes Mr Lawson sees an allusion to the great eruptions of 1866, which were graphically described to him by the old crone.

[3] *Supra* i. 165.

Better known is the rain-magic of northern Greece and the Balkans. In times of prolonged drought a girl is dressed up in flowers and, with a troop of children at her heels, is sent round to all the wells and springs of the district. At every halting-place she is drenched with water by her comrades, who sing this invocation[1]:

Perperià, all fresh bedewed,
Freshen all the neighbourhood;
By the woods, on the highway,
As thou goest, to God now pray:
O my God, upon the plain,
Send thou us a still, small rain;
That the fields may fruitful be,
And vines in blossom we may see;
That the grain be full and sound,
And wealthy grow the folks around;
Wheat and barley
Ripen early,
Maize and cotton now take root;
Rye and rice and currant shoot;
Gladness be in gardens all;
For the drought may fresh dews fall;
Water, water, by the pail;
Grain in heaps beneath the flail;
Bushels grow from every ear;
Each vine-stem a burden bear.
Out with drought and poverty,
Dew and blessings would we see.

At Shatista in south-west Makedonia the song is alliterative[2]:

Perperuna perambulates
And to God prays:
'My God, send a rain,
A right royal rain,
That as many (as are the) ears of corn in the fields,
So many stems (may spring) on the vines,' etc.

Similarly on the island of Imbros a girl dressed up with leaves and

[1] Text in T. Kind *Neugriechische Anthologie* Leipzig 1844 i. 18. Translation in L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie *Greek Folk Poesy* London 1896 i. 60 f. (in part cited by Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 272 f.). For variants see A. Passow *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 nos. 311 Περπεριά, 312 Περπερούνα, 313 Περπερούνα (all from Thessaly and Makedonia), G. F. Abbott *Songs of Modern Greece* Cambridge 1900 p. 190 f., *id. Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 pp. 118—120, W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 328 f., J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 pp. 23—25. Cp. O. Schrader in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 40 b.

[2] Text and translation in G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 119 Περπερούνα περπατεῖ | Κῆ τὸν θεὸ περικαλεῖ· | 'Θέ μου, βρέξε μιὰ βροχή, | Μιὰ βροχὴ βασιλική, | "Οσ ἀστάχυα 's τὰ χωράφια, | Τόσα κούτσουρα 's τ' ἀμπέλια,' κ.τ.λ.

flowers goes round the village and at every house is drenched with water, while her comrades sing[1]:

The Walker walks her ways
And God the Lord she prays.
God, send the rain
On us again,
That strong the corn may grow
And strong the laddies too.

The name *Perperiá* has many variations. At Kataphygi it has been corrupted into *Piperiá*, 'Pepper-tree[2]':

Piperia, dew-collecting piperia, etc.

In Zagorion, a district of Epeiros, it has become *Papparoûna*, 'Garden-poppy,' and the chief actor in the ceremony must be largely dressed in poppies[3]. Other forms used by the Greeks are *Perperína*[4], *Perperítsa*[5], *Purperoûna*[6], *Purpirouna*[7]. In Bulgaria we hear of *Preperuga* or *Peperuga*[8]; in Wallachia, of *Papeluga*[9] or *Papaluga*[10]:

Papaluga, climb into heaven,
Open its doors,
Send down rain from above,
That well the rye may grow.

E. Gerard[11] gives the following account of *Papaluga*:

'When the land is suffering from protracted and obstinate droughts, the Roumanian not unfrequently ascribes the evil to the Tziganes [*sc.* gypsies], who by occult means procure the dry weather in order to favour their own trade of brick-making. In such cases, when the necessary rain has not been produced by soundly beating the guilty Tziganes, the peasants sometimes resort to the *Papaluga*, or Rain-maiden. This is done by stripping a young Tzigane girl quite naked, and dressing her up with garlands of flowers and leaves, which entirely cover her, leaving only the head visible. Thus adorned, the Papaluga is conducted round the village to the sound of music, each person hastening to pour water

[1] Text and translation (by R. M. Dawkins) in M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 120 Πορπατήρα πορπατεῖ, | Καὶ θεὸν παρακαλεῖ | Κύριον, θεέ, | Βρέξε μιὰ βροχή, | Νὰ ἀξήνουν τὰ σιτάρια, | Νὰ ἀξήν' τὰ παλλικάρια.

[2] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 119.

[3] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 24 (after Lamprides Ζαγοριακά p. 172 ff.).

[4] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 30.

[5] *Id. ib.*, J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 24.

[6] T. Kind Τραγώδια τῆς νέας Ἑλλάδος Leipzig 1833 p. 13, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 594, W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 328 f.

[7] W. R. S. Ralston *The Songs of the Russian People*[2] London 1872 p. 228.

[8] W. R. S. Ralston *op. cit.*[2] p. 228, W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] i. 329.

[9] W. R. S. Ralston *op. cit.*[2] p. 229.

[10] J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 593 n. 2, W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] i. 329.

[11] E. Gerard *The Land beyond the Forest* Edinburgh and London 1888 ii. 13.

over her as she passes. The part of the Papaluga may also be enacted by Roumanian maidens, when there is no particular reason to suspect the Tziganes of being concerned in the drought. The custom of the Rain-maiden is also to be found in Servia, and I believe in Croatia.'

Sir James Frazer[1] notes:

'In Roumania the rain-maker is called Paparuda or Babaruda. She is a gypsy girl, who goes naked except for a short skirt of dwarf elder (*Sambucus ebulus*) or of corn and vines. Thus scantily attired the girls go in procession from house to house, singing for rain, and are drenched by the people with buckets of water. The ceremony regularly takes place all over Roumania on the third Tuesday after Easter, but it may be repeated at any time of drought during the summer.'

In Dalmatia those who take part in the procession are called *Prporushe* and their leader *Pripats*[2] or *Prpats*[3]. The origin of the word *Perperiá* has been much discussed. It is often derived from a Slavonic root meaning 'to flutter' and taken to denote a 'butterfly[4].' Butterflies were believed to spring from dew-drops[5], and this would suit the opening words of the rain-song: 'Perperià, all fresh bedewed,' etc.[6] But a butterfly, even if we identify it with the soul[7], has no essential connexion with the present form of rain-magic. More probable by far is Mr J. C. Lawson's[8] contention that *perpería* (for *periporeía*) began by meaning any 'procession round' the village, then acquired the special force of 'procession in time of drought,'

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 273 f. (citing *inter alios* W. Schmidt *Das Jahr und seine Tage in Meinung und Brauch der Romänen Siebenbürgens* Hermannstadt 1866 p. 17).

[2] W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] i. 330, Frazer *op. cit.* i. 274.

[3] W. R. S. Ralston *op. cit.*[2] p. 228, Frazer *op. cit.* i. 274.

[4] F. Miklosich *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen* Wien 1886 p. 243 *s.v.* perpera, perperica, Old Slav. *prêpera, *prêperica. Cp. B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 30 n. 4: 'Die bisherigen Erklärungsversuche befriedigen in keiner Weise, und es lohnt nicht sie anzuführen. Auch kann schwerlich zur Deutung des Namens Oikonomos' Mittheilung a. a. O. [S. K. Oikonomos in Bretos' Ἐθνικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον v. J. 1868, p. 107] beitragen, wonach man in Thessalien die aus den Puppen der Seidenraupen auskriechenden Schmetterlinge περπέρια (τά) und—die weiblichen—περπερίναις nennt.'

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 112, cp. Aristophanes of Byzantion *hist. an. epit.* 1. 36 p. 8, 10 ff. Lambros (cited *supra* ii. 646 n. 0).

[6] A. Passow *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 no. 311. 1 f. Περπεριὰ δροσολογιὰ | δρόσισε τὴν γειτονιά.

[7] *Supra* ii. 645 n. 4, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 829, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 63, 113, P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 190, 1906 iii. 332 f., Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 326.

[8] J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 24: 'But the most general, and, as I think, most correct form is περπερία (or περπερεία). With the ancient word περπερεία, derived from the Latin *perperus* and used in the sense of "boasting" or "ostentation," it can, I feel, have no connexion; and I suggest that it stands for περιπορεία, with the same abbreviation as in περπατῶ for περιπατῶ, "walk," and subsequent assimilation of the first two syllables.' Etc.

and lastly became the title of the leader in that procession. The Macedonian *Perperoûna*[1] and the Imbrian *Porpatéra*[2] are both expressly said to 'go their round.'

Another Bulgarian name for the chief performer is *Djuldjul*, corresponding with the Serbian *Dodola*[3]. The Serbian usage is as follows. A girl called the *Dodola* is stripped naked, but so wrapped up in grass, herbs, and flowers that nothing of her can be seen, not even her face. Escorted by other girls, she then passes from house to house. Before each house her comrades form a ring. She stands in the middle and dances alone. Out comes the goodwife and empties a bucket of water over her. But still she keeps dancing and whirling, while her companions sing[4]:

To God doth our Doda call, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!
That dewy rain may fall, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!
And drench the diggers all, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!
The workers great and small, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!
Even those in house and stall, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!

Sometimes they sing, not a prayer for rain, but a rain-charm of a simple order[5]:

We go through the village,
The clouds go across the sky;
We go faster,
Faster go the clouds;
They have overtaken us
And wetted the corn and the vine.

Or:

We go through the village,
The clouds go across the sky;
From the clouds fell a ring,—
Our leader seized it.

At Melenik in Makedonia, where the surrounding rustics speak Bulgarian, the corypheus is saluted as *Ntountoulé*[6]:

Hail, hail, Dudulé,
(Bring us) both maize and wheat,
Hail, hail, etc.

It should be added that, whereas in Serbia and Bulgaria the principal part in this performance is always assigned to a girl, in

[1] *Supra* p. 285 n. 2.
[2] *Supra* p. 286 n. 1.
[3] W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] i. 329 f.
[4] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 593 f.
[5] W. R. S. Ralston *op. cit.*[2] p. 228, W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] i. 330, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 273.
[6] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 119.

Makedonia and Dalmatia it is given to a boy or a young unmarried man[1]. The name *Dodola* is unfortunately of unknown origin[2].

As to the significance of the rites here noticed, W. Mannhardt[3] held that the leaf-clad girl personifies vegetation, and his lead is followed by Sir J. G. Frazer[4] and Mr J. C. Lawson[5]. W. R. S. Ralston[6], however, regarded her as representing the earth, and so do B. Schmidt[7] and G. F. Abbott[8]. The two lines of explanation are not widely divergent; indeed, they practically coincide. For in Greek lands the corn-mother seems to have been but a differentiated form of the earth-mother[9]. Accepting Ralston's interpretation, I think it not improbable that the girl clad in greenery, who is supposed to catch a ring falling from the clouds[10], really plays the part of the Earth married to the Sky amid a mock shower of fructifying rain[11]. Be that as it may, this at least is clear, that the drenching of the maiden with water is intended as a rain-charm, potent enough according to the principles of imitative magic, and that the company

[1] B. Schmidt *op. cit.* i. 30 n. 3, W. R. S. Ralston *op. cit.*[2] p. 227 f., J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 593 f., G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 118 ff., W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] i. 328 ff.

[2] For guesses see J. S. Stallybrass in J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 594 n. 2 ('Slav. dozhd is rain, and zhd represents either gd or dd; if this be the root, dodo-la may be a dimin.'), W. R. S. Ralston *op. cit.*[2] p. 229 ('The name of Dodola is by some philologists derived from *doït'* = to give milk, Dodola being looked upon as a bountiful mother, a type of teeming nature. Others connect it with Did-Lado, from the Lithuanian *Didis* = great, and Lado, the Slavonic Genius of the spring').

I risk yet another suggestion—Hellenic, not Slavonic. F. Bechtel in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1890 pp. 29—31 and in his recent work *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 64 has established the fact that the Aeolic name for Demeter was Δω-μάτηρ, with a clipped form Δώτις (first restored by J. G. J. Hermann in *h. Dem.* 122 for δὼς ἔμοιγ' ὄνομ' ἐστί of cod. M.). R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1882 i. 75 had already cited in this connexion the place-names Δώτιον πεδίον and Δωδώνη. O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1893 ii. 374 f. concludes that the North Achaeans in general originally worshipped the goddess under the title Δωμάτηρ. On this showing Dodona was the town of Δωδώ, a reduplicated *Δώ, cp. Sim(m)ias of Rhodes (*c.* 300 B.C.) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη·...Σιμμίας ὁ 'Ρόδιος· 'Ζηνὸς ἕδος Κρονίδαο μάκαιρ' ὑπεδέξατο Δωδώ.' The same reduplication might, I conceive, account for the Serbian *Dodo*, *Dodola*, etc.

[3] W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] i. 331.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 272, 274 f.

[5] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 25.

[6] W. R. S. Ralston, *op. cit.*[2] p. 228, *infra* p. 290 n. 1.

[7] B. Schmidt *op. cit.* i. 31.

[8] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 120.

[9] *Supra* i. 396 f.

[10] *Supra* p. 288.

[11] *Infra* § 9 (e) ii.

of maidens moving through the village is in like manner what it definitely claims to be—a cloud-charm[1].

Similar in character, but more obviously suggestive of a wedding, is the May-day ceremonial of the *Kledona*. Miss M. Hamilton[2] (Mrs G. Dickins) says of it:

'In Thessaly in the district of Karankunia[3] the day is dedicated to the blessing of the wells and springs, and the festival is called the *Kledona*[4], which means *omens*. Little girls go round singing in bands of five during the early morning, the smallest being dressed as a bride. Two carry a water-vessel, and the other two are bridesmaids. From the vineyards they take twigs, and drop these into the vessel along with tokens from the youths and maidens of the place. Then they visit all the wells and pour in half of the water, afterwards refilling the vessel, while they sing a petition for blessing on the waters and crops.'

I am indebted to Professor A. J. B. Wace for the following description of the rite as performed by the Vlachs at Midsummer:

'In the summer of 1910, while travelling in South-west Macedonia, I had the opportunity of seeing how the girls of the Vlach (Macedo-Roumanian) village of Sâmârină celebrated the festival of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist on 24th June (O.S.) with the custom of the *klidhone*[5] (sing. *klidhonă*) and other

[1] *Supra* p. 288. W. R. S. Ralston *op. cit.*[2] p. 228: 'The people believe that by this means there will be extorted from the "heavenly women"—the clouds—the rain for which thirsts the earth, as represented by the green-clad maiden Dodola.' Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 275: 'The words of the Servian song...taken in connexion with the constant movement which the chief actress in the performance seems expected to keep up, points [*sic*] to some comparison of the girl or her companions to clouds moving through the sky. This again reminds us of the odd quivering movement kept up by the Australian rain-maker, who, in his disguise of white down, may perhaps represent a cloud[1] ([1]See above, pp. 260 *sq.* This perpetual turning or whirling movement is required of the actors in other European ceremonies of a superstitious character. See below, vol. ii. pp. 74, 80, 81, 87. I am far from feeling sure that the explanation of it suggested in the text is the true one. But I do not remember to have met with any other).' Whatever the explanation of the flutter, the flutter accounts for the confusion of περιπορεία, περπερεία, περπερία, 'procession' (*supra* p. 287 n. 8), with περπέρια, περπερίναις, 'butterflies' (*supra* p. 287 n. 4).

[2] M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 164.

[3] Ἑστία 1890 p. 268.

[4] M. Hamilton *op. cit.* p. 158 on St John's Eve: 'The consultation of oracles belongs to the magic of the Eve. The usual ceremony in Greece is called *kledonas*, which is worked by the νερὸ ἀμίλητο—speechless water. A water-vessel is filled at the spring and carried to the house by some maiden without speaking. Into it are thrown tokens of all kinds, which are drawn out next morning, and from them each forms his conclusions as to future fortunes. Usually it is merely a case of marriage-questionings on the part of the village girls.' Etc.

[5] Prof. Wace appends a brief bibliography including L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie *The Women of Turkey and their Folk-lore* The Christian Women London 1890 p. 20 ('The procession of the *Perperuda*...is also an institution among the Vlach women...The third Thursday after Easter is the day chosen for this propitiation of the Water Deities.' 'The ceremony of the *Klithona*, observed by the Greeks on St. John's Eve, is also performed by the Vlach youths and maidens under the same name, but with

observances. On the eve of the festival (the evening of June 23rd O.S.) the girls collected in bands and went about the village singing songs from conduit head to conduit head, putting water in the crock containing the *klidhone* and pouring it out again. Finally, at the last conduit visited, the water is left in. The *klidhone* are trinkets, one contributed by each girl and tied up a with flower or sprig of basil or some other herb, so that each can easily recognise her own again, and are placed in an earthenware crock. The trinkets remain in the water over night; and the next day after church the bands of girls collect together again and go about the village with one of their number dressed up as a bride called *Romană*, singing songs as before and with the crock containing the *klidhone*. In the evening about sunset they go to a retired spot just outside the village, and joining hands and singing suitable songs pour away the water and take out the *klidhone*

Fig. 193.

one by one. They tell fortunes by the condition of the trinkets: for instance, if one has gone yellow, the omen is good; if black, the omen is bad. It seems possible that the dressing up of a girl as a bride and the visiting of the conduits is connected with a rain-charm[1]. This is in brief the custom at Sâmârină; but it was difficult

slight differences of detail'), p. 120 ff. (the *Klithona* on St John's Eve in Thessaly and Makedonia, *Perperià* during drought in the same districts), G. Weigand *Die Aromunen* Leipzig 1894 ii. 130 (*Pirpiruna* or *Dudula* in South Roumania, etc.), 136 f. no. 80 (a *Pirpiruna*-song in Vlach with German rendering), G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 pp. 53—57 (a minutely careful account of ὁ κλήδονας on St John's Eve and Day in Makedonia, with text and translation of the songs appropriate to the occasion), Cosmulei *Datiui, Crediințe, și Superstiții Aromânești*, p. 42 (St John's Day brides etc. among the Vlachs).

P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg i. E. 1913 p. 142 f. ('Das Fest des Κλήδονας') gives a good account of the festival as observed in western Asia Minor, in the Aegean islands, and in some parts of European Greece on June 24, the Birthday of St John the Baptist.

[1] Prof. Wace translates the *Pirpiruna*-song from G. Weigand *op. cit.* ii. 136 no. 80 (Kruševo) '*Pirpiruna* | *saranduna* | give rain, give, | that the fields may grow, | the fields and the vineyards, | the grasses and the meadows.'

to get any detailed information as the girls, especially the older ones, are shy, and only the smaller girls go through their observances in the light of day. The others prefer the screen of night, which shelters them from the prying eyes of the boys.'

G. F. Abbott[1] points out that this picturesque custom, which is now little more than a pastime, had once a serious purpose. Behind the water-jar with its sprigs of basil and talk of sweethearts lies the old-world endeavour to bring about fertility. The hydromancy presupposes rain-magic; and the little girl in her bridal veil, who goes the round of the conduits, is—if I am not much mistaken—the playful and unconscious representative of Mother Earth herself.

Another group of festivals that imply rain-magic is characterised by much mutual drenching of the celebrants with water, salt or fresh. For instance, off the coast of Lykia lies Megiste (*Kastellorizo*), an island destitute of springs and exposed to serious droughts. Miss M. Hamilton[2] (Mrs G. Dickins) has given a graphic account of the way in which its inhabitants keep the festival of Saint Elias (July 20):

'St Elias is considered lord of rain, and at the time of his festival in July a great amount of reciprocal drenching takes place. For many days before the feast the children throw each other clothed into the sea, and get drenched head to foot; they go round the roads calling aloud *τ' αἴ' Λία*, making the saint's name their cry, and drag along everyone whom they find dry. This they do with the impunity which comes from ecclesiastical support. On the feast-day no one can go dry through the streets, and sponge-fishers even drag people from their houses to the sea. The whole village is drenched as if with rain.'

Miss Hamilton[3] justly compares the chief celebration in Kypros:

'At Pentecost the seaports, such as Larnaka and Lemesso, are frequented by large assemblies of country people. Every one bathes in the sea, where they call it the Holy Shore (*Ἅγιος Γιάλος*). Then they take little boats and sail near to the shore all day long, amusing themselves with music and such pleasantries as mutual drenchings. It is unlucky not to get wet on this day, and they have the custom of sprinkling water all over their houses also. In inland districts they go to rivers and springs, and bathe and splash each other. The festival is officially called the Deluge (*Κατακλυσμός*), but in common talk the islanders speak of it as the festival of Aphrodite, for they cherish the memory of the goddess of Paphos.'

[1] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 53.

[2] M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 123, cp. p. 20. *Ead.* in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 354 (cited *supra* i. 182 f.).

[3] M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 153 f. (after A. Sakellarios *Τὰ Κυπριακά* Athens 1868 i. 702), cp. p. 124.

Dr J. Rendel Harris[1] has drawn attention to analogous rain-charms practised throughout Armenia and Syria:

'Amongst the Armenian people it is the custom, on a particular day in the year, to throw water over one another. The day of this exercise is the Feast of the Transfiguration, and the festival itself is called by the name of Vartevar. Although in its modern form the custom of water-throwing is little more than a sport of boys, the evidence is abundant that the throwing of water was originally a religious exercise, and that it goes back to very early times. Its religious character is attested by the fact that in the Armenian Churches there is an aspersion of the people by the priests on the Transfiguration festival; while the boys are throwing water out of doors the priests are throwing water indoors....The custom can be verified all over Armenia; we found it at Moush, at Pirvan, at Egin, at Harpoot, at Ourfa, and practically in every place where we made enquiry ... we were told that at Sivas, Erzeroum, and some other places, it was the custom to let a pigeon fly, *in remembrance of Noah*[2]. This is not done at Egin, nor could we verify it in other places visited. At Aintab we found that they not only threw water over one another, but that they made a special point of throwing water upon the graves....Upon enquiry from the Jacobite Syrians as to whether they had a Vartevar like the Armenians, the reply was in the affirmative, only they differed from the Armenians in keeping the custom upon the Feast of Pentecost instead of the Transfiguration....The more intelligent amongst the Armenians said that they thought the custom had come down to them from the worship of Anahid, which preceded their conversion to Christianity.'

Dr Rendel Harris[3] further notes that at any time of drought the Armenians may have recourse to the primitive practice of making a puppet and immersing it in water:

'At Egin, when rain is wanted, the boys take two sticks in the form of a cross, and with the addition of some old clothes and a cap they make a rain-dolly. This figure they carry round the town, and the people from the roofs of the houses throw water on it. They call the dolly the "Chi-chi Mama," which they interpret to mean "the drenched mother." As they carry the dolly about

[1] J. Rendel Harris in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 429 f. ('Annual Rain-Charm'), M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 121. *Vartevar*, *pace* Rendel Harris, is certainly derived from the Armenian *vart*, 'rose,' and must be regarded as a survival of the ancient Rosalia (P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg i. E. 1913 pp. 139 ff., 178 ff., M. P. Nilsson in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 1111 ff., cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1900 xx. 11 ff.).

[2] F. Macler in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 804 b: 'The festival of the Transfiguration (*Vardavar*) is called the Festival of Roses, after an old heathen festival which was celebrated on the same day. On the day preceding this festival, the commemoration of the Tabernacle of the Jews is held. On that day people sprinkle each other with water when they meet in the streets; and in certain provinces of Armenia pigeons are set free, either in recollection of the Deluge, or as a symbol of Astlik, the Armenian Venus.'

Was the famous type of Noah in the ark on coins of the Phrygian Apameia Kibotos (literature *supra* ii. 610 n. 9) occasioned by a local festival of this sort?

[3] J. Rendel Harris in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 431 f. ('Occasional Rain-charms'), M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 121.

they ask, "What does Chi-chi mother want?" The reply is, "She wants wheat, *boulgour*" (cracked wheat), &c. "She wants wheat in her bins, she wants bread on her bread-hooks, and she wants rain from God." The boys take up contributions at the rich houses. At Ourfa the children, in times of drought, make a rain-bride, which they call Chinché-gelin. They say this means in Turkish "shovel-bride." They carry the bride about and say, "What does Chinché-gelin want?" "She wishes mercy from God; she wants offerings of lambs and rams." And the crowd responds, "Give, my God, give rain, give a flood." The rain-bride is then thrown into the water. At Harpoot they make a man-doll and call it "Allah-potik." I cannot find out the meaning of the last half of this name. The doll is carried about with the question, "What does Allah-potik want?" "He wants rain from God; he wants bread from the cupboard; he wants meat from dish; he wants *boulgour* from bins; salt from the salt-cellar; money from the purse." Then they all cry out, "Give, my God, rain, a flood." At Trebizond, as we were told, they make a rain-dolly. The children dress it up as a bride and veil its face. They ask money from the people. I was unable to find out whether the dolly was thrown into the sea, which is what one would expect from parallel cases.'

Professor R. M. Dawkins[1] and Miss M. Hamilton[2] (Mrs G. Dickins) have shown that the universal Greek custom of immersing the cross and blessing the waters at Epiphany is not merely an ecclesiastical commemoration of Christ's baptism in the Jordan but also a popular rain-charm of the usual mimetic kind. Professor Dawkins[3] observes:

'At Epiphany a priest goes in procession to a spring, river, cistern, or to the sea, and immerses a cross three times. At the same time a white dove is released. The cross is fetched out by a man who dives for it.'

Miss Hamilton[4] records numerous local varieties of the custom. A few samples will suffice:

'At Athens an imposing procession goes from the church of St. Dionysios to the large reservoir on the slope of Lykabettos, and the bishop there performs a ceremony similar to that at the Piræus. Some of the city churches, too, celebrate the Blessing of the Waters, either within their walls or outside on an erected shrine. The seaports and island towns have great celebrations. At Syra, the chief commercial island, an urn of water is first blessed in the church, and then a procession marches down to the harbour, where all the boats and steamers are waiting. After the ceremony is finished, the ships are free to sail away. At Nauplia also the ceremony is interesting, and it differs in a few respects from the preceding. The archbishop in full regalia proceeds to the harbour, and amid a great assembly throws in the wooden cross, to which no ribbon is attached. The local fishermen, as divers, are stripped ready to find it, and a struggle

[1] R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 214.

[2] M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 pp. 112—127 ('Epiphany. The Blessing of the Waters and its connection with Rain-charms').

[3] R. M. Dawkins *loc. cit.*

[4] M. Hamilton *op. cit.* p. 112 ff.

ensues among them. When the cross is successfully found, all the surrounding people are sprinkled with the water. The successful diver has the right of visiting all the houses of the town to levy a contribution on that day. He may gain a large sum of money thereby, and sometimes companies are formed on the agreement that all the members shall share in the profits of the successful one. This commercial spirit prevails at Phaleron also.

The village of Lytochoro[1] in Thessaly gives an elaborate and curious version of this ceremony. The name of *Sichna* is given to the festival, on account of the tall standards used. Each church of the district possesses one of these *Sichna* with a gilt cross at the top, and on the Eve of Epiphany they are conveyed to the two central churches of the town. During the vigil which is held all wait for midnight, when the heavens are believed to open and the Holy Spirit descends upon the head of Christ. Then at dawn they leave the churches, taking the ikons of the saints and the flags and standards, and go to the river Lakkon to baptise the cross and bless the water. The priests line up on the banks, and round about are half-naked divers as at Nauplia. On the rising ground stand the citizens. At sunrise a song is sung calling on St. John to baptise the Christ Child, and a priest prays. Then three times the tall standards are bent and dipped in the water, and three times they are raised in the air, in imitation, it is said, of the trees by the Jordan banks. It is a common belief that all trees on Epiphany Eve bow down in adoration of Christ....

To continue the *Sichna*. The cross itself is cast into the river, and the divers struggle for it. The successful diver returns to town and gathers up contributions from the houses. All drink of the holy water, and after general blessings they march back in procession to the two churches, where Benediction is held. Next day the *Sichna* are restored for another year to their respective churches.

In Samos[2] Epiphany is celebrated in the following way. All the women send on Epiphany morning a vessel full of water to the church, and the priest blesses the water. The same day a servant is sent into the fields with this blessed vessel to sprinkle the ground and the trees, singing meanwhile the song of Christ's baptism.'

An Epiphany song from Imbros connects the Jordan water used for baptism with the rain which blesses the earth[3]:

'There came the day of lights and baptisms. There came great rejoicings and our Lord. Down to the river Jordan went [*leg.* Down by the river Jordan was sitting] our Lady the Panagia. She took water and washed herself, and with a gold kerchief dried herself, with the Gospels in her arms and the censer in

[1] Παρνασσός, 1882, p. 582.

[2] Σαμιακά, p. 48 [? E. Stamatiadis Σαμιακά].

[3] M. Hamilton *op. cit.* p. 126 f. citing Σύλλογος ix. 341 Ἤλθανε τὰ φῶτα κ' οἱ φωτισμοί | κ' ἡ χαρὰ μεγάλαις τ' Αὐφέντη μας. | Κάτω 's τὸν 'Ορδάνη τὸν ποταμόν | κάτταν ἡ κυρά μας ἡ Παναγία | Ἔπαιρνε νεράκι καὶ ἐνίβονταν | καὶ χρυσῷ μανδήλι' σφογγίζονταν | Μὲ τὰ Εὐαγγέλια 's τὴν ἀγκαλιά | καὶ τὰ θυμιατούρια 's τὰ δάκτυλα | Καὶ τὸν ἅγιο Γιάννη παρακαλεῖ. | Ἅγιο Γιάννη Αὐφέντη καὶ πρόδρομε, | Δύνασαι καὶ σώνεις καὶ προδρομᾶς | Διὰ νὰ βαπτίσῃς τὸν Νιὸ Χριστό. | Γιὰ κοντοκαρτέρει ὡς τὸ πουρνό | Γιὰ νἀναίβω [? ἀναβαίνω] 'πάνω 's τὸν οὐρανό | Γιὰ νὰ ῥήξω δρόσο κάτω 's τὴν γὴ | Νὰ δροσθῇ 'Αφέντης μὲ τὴν κυρά | Νὰ δροσθοὺν ἡ [*leg.* οἱ] βρύσεις μὲ τὰ νερά | Νὰ κατὰ πραϋνουν [*leg.* καταπραΰνουν] τὰ ζούζουλα | Καὶ νὰ καταπέσουν τὰ Γείδωλα.

her hands, and she called on St. John: "St. John, Lord and Forerunner, thou art mighty; thou savest and goest before to baptise the young Christ." "Wait for the dawn that I may go up into Heaven, and may throw down refreshment on the earth, that our Lord with our Lady may be refreshed, that the springs and waters may be refreshed, that the flocks may prosper and the idols fall."'

Even more explicit is another song from the neighbourhood of Mount Olympos, which represents the baptism in Jordan as accompanied by a deluge of rain[1]:

'At the river Jordan, the holy place, the Lord is baptised and saves the whole world. And a dove came down, white and feathery, and with its wings opened; it sent rain down on the Lord, and again it rained and rained on our Lady, and again it rained and rained on its wings.'

ii. Rain-magic in ancient Greece.

No description of a ceremony exactly resembling the rites of modern Greece has come down to us from classical times. But points of similarity are not wanting. Thus we have seen reason to conjecture that the early Greek rain-maker, probably clad in a sheep-skin to copy the fleecy clouds, worked his magic on the nearest hill[2]. Some such ritual was, we thought, presupposed by the Homeric epithet *nephelegeréta*[3] and by the Aristophanic chorus of Cloud-maidens[4], if not also by the Orphic hymn that bade the Clouds send showers to fertilise Mother Earth[5].

Usage, no doubt, differed from place to place. In Rhodes the Telchines are said to have been charlatans who by their magical arts could produce at will clouds, rain, hail, and snow. Unfortunately no details of their procedure are on record[6].

At Krannon in Thessaly drought was cured by the shaking of

[1] M. Hamilton *op. cit.* p. 127 citing Παρνασσός, 1882, p. 580; Laspopoulos, Ὄλυμπος καὶ οἱ κάτοικοι αὐτοῦ:—Στὸν Ἰορδάνη ποταμό, στὸν ἅγιο τὸν τόπο | ὁ Κύριος βαφτίζεται καὶ σώζ' οὖλον τὸ κόσμο. | Καὶ καταβάν' μιὰ πέρδικα, ἄσπρη καὶ πλουμπισμένη | μέ [*leg.* μὲ] τὰ φτερά της ἀνοιχτὰ καὶ βρέχει τὸν ἀφέντη | καὶ πάλιν ξαναβρέχεται καὶ βρέχει τὴν κυρά της | καὶ πάλιν ξαναβρέχεται καὶ βρέχει τὰ φτερά της.

[2] *Supra* pp. 31 f., 68.

[3] *Supra* p. 30 ff. Cp. i. 14 n. 1.

[4] *Supra* p. 69 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 70. Cp. Orph. *h. Not.* 82 ΝΟΤΟΥ, θυμίαμα λίβανον. 1 ff. λαιψηρὸν πήδημα δι' ἠέρος ὑγροπόρευτον, | ὠκείαις πτερύγεσσι δονούμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, | ἔλθοις σὺν νεφέλαις νοτίαις, ὄμβροιο γενάρχα· | τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ Διός ἐστι σέθεν γέρας ἠερόφοιτον, | ὀμβροτόκους νεφέλας ἐξ ἠέρος ἐς (so E. Abel for εἰς) χθόνα πέμπειν. | τοιγάρ τοι λιτόμεσθα, μάκαρ, ἱεροῖσι χαρέντα | πέμπειν καρποτρόφους ὄμβρους ἐπὶ μητέρα γαῖαν.

[6] Zenon of Rhodes *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 175 Müller) *ap.* Diod. 5. 55 λέγονται δ' οὗτοι (*sc.* οἱ Τελχῖνες) καὶ γόητες γεγονέναι καὶ παράγειν ὅτε βούλοιντο νέφη τε καὶ ὄμβρους καὶ χαλάζας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ χιόνα ἐφέλκεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς μάγους ποιεῖν ἱστοροῦσιν. ἀλλάττεσθαι (ἀλλάττειν codd. C.F.G. ex silentio Wesselingi) δὲ καὶ τὰς ἰδίας μορφάς, καὶ εἶναι φθονεροὺς ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν τεχνῶν.

a bronze car and the recital of a prayer for rain. Coins of the town show this car, always with an *amphora* or a fluted bowl resting upon it, and often with a raven or two perched on its wheels[1].

At Eleusis the first formal act of the yearly festival was the proclamation, on Boedromion 16[2], 'To the sea, initiates[3]!' On hearing this, the assembled multitude hurried down to bathe in the nearest salt water. Passing through a gate, which adjoined the Dionysion[4] in the south of the town and is possibly to be identified with the Itonian Gate[5], they made their way to two lagoons called the *Rheitoí*, sacred to Demeter and Kore respectively[6]. More than one notorious incident was connected with their wholesale immersion. It was said[7] that Phryne, who habitually wore a clinging *chitón* and scorned to use the public baths, nevertheless at the Eleusinia and at the Poseidonia laid aside all her garments, loosened her hair, and stepped into the sea before the whole concourse of people—a sight which inspired Apelles to paint his Aphrodite *Anadyoméne*[8]. Again, it was remembered that in 339 B.C., when the initiates had gone down to purify themselves in the sea, a shark carried off one —some said two—of their number[9]. This curious happening, whether fact or figment, seems to have provoked imitation. For we are told[10] that on another occasion, when an initiate was washing a pig in the harbour of Kantharos at the Peiraieus, a shark seized and bit off the lower half of his body. The Eleusinian bathe has been commonly regarded as a rite of purification[11], and as such

[1] *Supra* ii. 831 ff. figs. 788—792. S. W. Grose in the *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 203 no. 4566 pl. 171, 20 (=my fig. 791) says oddly 'insect on r. wheel.'

[2] Plout. *de glor. Ath.* 7, *v. Camill.* 19, *v. Phoc.* 6, Polyain. 3. 11. 2.

[3] On ἅλαδε, μύσται see Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 207, 214 ff., 244, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 152 f., P. Foucart *Les mystères d'Éleusis* Paris 1914 p. 314 ff., P. Stengel *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* München 1920 p. 182.

[4] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1. 2 no. 53 *a*, 34 ff. = Michel *Recueil d' Inscr. gr.* no. 77, 34 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 550, 34 ff. = *ib.*[3] no. 93, 34 ff. (Attic decree of 418/7 B.C.) καὶ τῆς τάφρο καὶ τῶ ὕδατος κρατεῖν τῶ ἐγ Διὸς τὸν μισθοσά|μενον, ὀπόσον ἐντὸς ῥεῖ τῶ Διονυσίο καὶ τῶν πυλῶν ἔ(ι) ἅλαδε ἐ[χ]σελα|ύνοσιν οἱ μύσται.

[5] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 215 n. 1, P. Foucart *op. cit.* p. 315.

[6] Paus. 1. 38. 1, Hesych. *s.v.* Ῥειτοί, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ῥειτά (citing Soph. *frag.* 936 Dindorf, 1089 Jebb), *et. mag.* p. 703, 13 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 1617, 7 ff.

[7] Athen. 590 F.

[8] Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 349 ff. nos. 1846—1863, A. Reinach *Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne* Paris 1921 i. 332 ff. nos. 425—445 (*id. ib.* p. 332 n. 1 dates the incident 'avant 340').

[9] Schol. Aischin. *in Ctes.* 130 p. 45 a 8 ff. Baiter—Sauppe.

[10] Plout. *v. Phoc.* 3.

[11] So already schol. Aischin. *in Ctes.* 130 p. 45 a 11 f. Baiter—Sauppe κατελθόντων τῶν μυστῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τὸ καθαρθῆναι, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Ῥειτοί·...ὅθεν τοὺς λουτροὺς ἁγνίζεσθαι τοὺς θιάσους.

compared with Christian baptism[1]. Other views, however, might be defended. G. Glotz has shown that to be plunged in the sea was a not infrequent form of popular ordeal[2]. Mrs A. Strong and Miss N. Jolliffe have much to say on 'Apotheosis by Water[3].' But in any case the resemblance of the ancient to the modern custom of a communal dip makes it probable that the opening rite at Eleusis, which came 'at the end of the long drought of summer and before the first rains of autumn[4],' served the purpose of a powerful rain-charm.

Again, on the closing day of the mysteries, Boedromion 23[5], two top-shaped bowls of terra cotta known as the *plemochóai* or 'flood-pourers' were first filled and then turned upside down, one towards the east, the other towards the west, with the addition of a mystic formula[6]. Since Kritias or Euripides in his *Perithous*[7] described these *plemochóai* as emptied into a cleft in the ground, it may fairly be suspected that at Eleusis as at Athens[8] an attempt was made to fertilise Mother Earth by means of an obvious rain-charm. What the mystic formula was, we do not know. Possibly it consisted in the enigmatic saying *kónx, ómpax*, the meaning of which is still to seek[9].

[1] *E.g.* Tertull. *de bapt.* 5 certe ludis Apollinaribus et Eleusiniis (so Fulvius Ursinus for *Pelusiis*) tinguuntur idque se in regenerationem et impunitatem periuriorum suorum agere praesumunt, Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 11 p. 373, 23 f. Stählin οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἄρα καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἄρχει μὲν τὰ καθάρσια, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ λουτρόν. κ.τ.λ. See further F. M. Rendtorff *Die Taufe im Urchristentum* Leipzig 1905, H. Windisch *Taufe und Sünde im ältesten Christentum* Tübingen 1908, R. Reitzenstein *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* Leipzig-Berlin 1929.

[2] G. Glotz *L'ordalie dans la Grèce primitive* Paris 1904 p. 11 ff. ('Les ordalies par la mer').

[3] E. Strong and N. Jolliffe in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliv. 103 ff.

[4] E. O. James in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1918 x. 563 a.

[5] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 242 ff.

[6] Athen. 496 A—B ΠΛΗΜΟΧΟΗ. σκεῦος κεραμεοῦν βεμβικῶδες ἑδραῖον ἠσυχῇ, ὃ κοτυλίσκον ἔνιοι προσαγορεύουσιν, ὥς φησι Πάμφιλος. χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύουσι Πλημοχόας· ἐν ᾗ δύο πλημοχόας πληρώσαντες, τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολάς, τὴν δὲ πρὸς δύσιν ἀνιστάμενοι ἀνατρέπουσιν, ἐπιλέγοντες ῥῆσιν μυστικήν. μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ τὸν Πειρίθουν γράψας, εἴτε Κριτίας ἐστὶν ὁ τύραννος ἢ Εὐριπίδης (*frag.* 592 Nauck[2]), λέγων οὕτως· 'ἵνα πλημοχόας τάσδ' εἰς χθόνιον | χάσμ' εὐφήμως προχέωμεν.'

[7] *Supra* n. 6.

[8] *Supra* pp. 179 ff., 188.

[9] Hesych. κόγξ, ὄμπαξ (C. A. Lobeck cj. κόγξ ὁμοίως, πάξ)· ἐπιφώνημα τετελεσμένοις. καὶ τῆς δικαστικῆς ψήφου ἦχος, ὡς ὁ τῆς κλεψύδρας. παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικοῖς βλόψ. The witty polemic of Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 775—783 hardly suffices to establish his emendation (which is printed as a certainty in both editions by M. Schmidt) and in any case should not absolve us from the duty of seeking an explanation for the formula. I should infer

But there is more definite evidence than this of a rain-ritual at Eleusis. Hippolytos[1] (*c.* 235 A.D.) mentions 'the great unspeakable mystery of the Eleusinians *hýe kýe*,' that is "rain—conceive." And Proklos[2] (438[3] A.D.) states that 'at the Eleusinian rites they looked up to the Sky and shouted *hýe*, "rain," then down to the Earth and added *kýe*, "conceive."' The words have at once the directness of primitive thought and the jingle of primitive magic[4]. Dr L. R. Farnell[5] is right when he comments:

'This genuine ore of an old religious stratum sparkles all the more for being found in a waste deposit of neo-Platonic metaphysic. The formula savours of a very primitive liturgy that closely resembled the famous Dodonaean invocation to Zeus the sky-god and mother-earth; and it belongs to that part of the Eleusinian ritual "quod ad frumentum attinet[6]."'

For, if the culminating act of the mysteries was the exhibition to the initiates of a corn-ear reaped in silence[7], we can well believe that rain-magic was essential to the performance.

from Hesychios' gloss that κόγξ, ὄμπαξ or the like was a purely onomatopoeic phrase—'splosh, splash!'—meant to imitate the sound of falling rain-drops. This might fitly terminate the naïve rain-magic of the 'flood-pourers.'

F. M. Cornford's 'Κόγξον πάξ, "Sound the conch—enough"' (Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 161 n. 2) is open to Lobeck's objection: 'quid ab Hierophantae persona magis alienum esse potest, quam hoc ludicrum vocabulum Pax? quod non minore audientium risu exceptum fuisset, quam si hodie aliquis sacrae cathedrae orator pro eo quod in fine concionis pronunciari solet Amen, diceret Basta!'

[1] Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 146 Duncker—Schneidewin τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐστὶ τὸ μέγα καὶ ἄρρητον Ἐλευσινίων μυστήριον ὗε κύε.

[2] Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 176, 26 ff. Diehl ὃ δὴ καὶ οἱ θεσμοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰδότες προσέταττον οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ προτελεῖν τοὺς γάμους, εἰς δὲ τούτους βλέποντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις ἱεροῖς εἰς μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβλέποντες ἐβόων 'ὗε' (so C. A. Lobeck for υἱὲ codd.), καταβλέψαντες δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν τὸ 'κύε' (so C. A. Lobeck for κύιε codd. Q.D.), διὰ τούτων ὡς πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τὴν γένεσιν εἶναι πάντων γινώσκοντες. *Infra* § 9 (e) ii.

[3] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] ii. 2. 1059.

[4] See R. Heim 'Incantamenta magica graeca latina' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1893 xix. 544 ff. (citing *e.g.* Varr. *rer. rust.* 1. 2. 27, Verg. *ecl.* 8. 80 f., Pelagon. 19, Marcell. *de med.* 15. 11) and, for a modern parallel, *supra* i. 413 n. 0.

The relation of such an 'uralte Wunschausdruck' to actual prayer is considered by F. Schwenn *Gebet und Opfer* Heidelberg 1927 pp. 1—8 ('Ein Stück der Liturgie von Eleusis').

[5] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 185.

[6] Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 20 in Cereris autem sacris praedicantur illa Eleusinia, quae apud Athenienses nobilissima fuerunt. de quibus iste (*sc.* Varro, cp. *frag.* 140 Funaioli) nihil interpretatur, nisi quod adtinet ad frumentum, quod Ceres invenit, et ad Proserpinam, quam rapiente Orco perdidit; et hanc ipsam dicit significare fecunditatem seminum... dicit deinde multa in mysteriis eius tradi, quae nisi ad frugum inventionem non pertineant. Farnell *op. cit.* iii. 358 gives a misleading reference and an erroneous text.

[7] Hipp. *ref. haeres.* 5. 8 p. 162 Duncker—Schneidewin (cited *supra* ii. 295 n. 2). Farnell *op. cit.* iii. 183 n.[a] takes the phrase ἐν σιωπῇ to go with the words before it, not with those after it, but admits that its position in the sentence is against him and can only plead that 'Hippolytus is not careful of the order of his words.' The same view had long

ago been expressed by C. Lenormant in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions* 1861 xxiv. 1. 374 f., who was followed by S. Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* 1903 xiv. 356 f. ('l'épi de blé, présenté en silence à la foule assemblée'), Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 139 n. 1 (*ἐπιδεικνύντες τοῖς ἐποπτεύουσι τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τελειότατον ἐποπτικὸν ἐκεῖ μυστήριον ἐν σιωπῇ, τεθερισμένον στάχυν* (so punctuated by Duncker—Schneidewin)), P. Foucart *Les mystères d'Éleusis* Paris 1914 p. 434 ('Cette explication me paraît beaucoup plus satisfaisante, et je n'aurais pas hésité à l'adopter s'il ne fallait admettre dans la phrase de saint Hippolyte une construction fautive. Après tout, mieux vaudrait s'y résigner, si l'on y gagnait une interprétation plus conforme au mode d'enseignement qui fut en usage dans l'initiation'). S. Reinach, however, in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 344 n. 1 pointed out that 'le silence est très souvent nécessaire à l'accomplissement de rites comme celui de couper une plante sacrée': accordingly in his *Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 ii p. xi he renders 'l'épi de blé, moissonné en silence.' Classical scholars in general have concurred in this opinion, *e.g.* Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 549 'an ear of grain reaped in silence,' M. P. Nilsson *A History of Greek Religion* trans. F. J. Fielden Oxford 1925 p. 108 'the reaping of a few ears in silence,' J. M. Edmonds *Lyra Graeca* London 1927 iii. 517 'an ear of corn reaped in silence.'

With regard to the significance of the rite, we are ill informed and widely diverse hypotheses have been propounded:

(1) The context in Hippolytos asserts that the Athenians in their Eleusinian usage were following the lead of the Phrygians, who spoke of God as 'a green ear reaped' (*supra* ii. 295 n. 2 *χλοερὸν στάχυν τεθερισμένον*). The allusion is to a Naassene hymn describing Attis in very similar terms (*supra* ii. 296 n. 4 *χλοερὸν στάχυν ἀμηθέντα*, cp. Firm. Mat. 3. 2 *amare* terram volunt (*sc.* Phryges) fruges, Attin vero hoc ipsum volunt esse quod ex frugibus nascitur, poenam autem quam sustinuit hoc volunt esse, quod falce messor maturis frugibus facit: mortem ipsius dicunt, quod semina collecta conduntur, vitam rursus, quod iacta semina annuis vicibus reconduntur (C. Halm cj. *renascuntur.* K. W. A. Reifferscheid cj. *redduntur.* C. Bursian cj. *recidivantur*)). But Attis never had any footing at Eleusis; and Hippolytos' attempt to find an Eleusinian counterpart of him ends in a sentence probably defective and certainly obscure (Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 8 p. 162 f. Duncker—Schneidewin *ὁ δὲ στάχυς οὗτός ἐστι καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ὁ παρὰ τοῦ ἀχαρακτηρίστου φωστὴρ τέλειος μέγας, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ὁ ἱεροφάντης, οὐκ ἀποκεκομμένος μέν, ὡς ὁ Ἄττις, εὐνουχισμένος δὲ διὰ κωνείου καὶ πᾶσαν παρῃτημένος τὴν σαρκικὴν γένεσιν, νυκτὸς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρὶ τελῶν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἄρρητα μυστήρια βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε λέγων· 'ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον Βριμὼ Βριμόν,' τουτέστιν ἰσχυρὰ ἰσχυρόν*).

(2) According to F. B. Jevons, the corn-ear exhibited at Eleusis implies a corn-totem in the remote past. 'Originally every ear of corn was sacred to the tribe which took corn for its totem....Then some one particular ear or sheaf of ripe corn was selected to represent the Corn-Spirit, and was preserved until the following year, in order that the worshippers might not be deprived during the winter of the presence and protection of their totem. The corn thus preserved served at first unintentionally as seed, and suggested the practice of sowing; and even when a larger and proper stock of seed-corn was laid in, the one particular sheaf was still regarded as the Corn-Mother, which, like the Peruvian Mother of the Maize, determined by her supernatural power the kind and quantity of the following harvest. In Eleusis this sheaf was dressed up as an old woman (*supra* i. 397 n. 4), and was preserved from harvest to seed-time in the house of the head-man of the village originally, and in later times in a temple. This sheaf was probably highly taboo, and not allowed to be touched or even seen except on certain occasions....This manifestation of the Corn-Goddess afforded not merely a visible hope and tangible promise that the sowing of the seed should be followed by a harvest of ripe corn, but in itself constituted a direct communion with the deity...' (F. B. Jevons *An Introduction to the History of Religion*[2] London 1902 p. 364 ff.). 'When, then, we find that in later times an ear of corn was exhibited, we may fairly infer that it was an ear of corn which was exhibited in the primitive agricultural rites, and that it was originally the embodiment of the Corn-Goddess' (*id. ib.*[2] p. 381). Cp. S. Reinach *Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 p. xi

'Recourant aux textes, nous y trouvons une trace certaine non seulement du culte, mais de l'adoration et de l'exaltation (au sens chrétien) de l'épi de blé.'

(3) Elsewhere Reinach treats the corn-ear as the offspring of a priest and a priestess, representing Zeus and Demeter, whose union ensured the fertility of the soil by means of sympathetic magic (S. Reinach in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 344 'Cet épi que montre l'hiérophante représente, à mon avis, le produit du mariage du prêtre et de la prêtresse qui constitue un des actes mystiques les plus importants du rituel; le prêtre et la prêtresse, dans cet épisode, figurent le dieu céleste et la déesse chthonienne—en langage mythologique, Zeus et Déméter—dont l'union assure la fécondité des champs'). A very similar account of the rite is given by Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 548 ff. and Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 138 ff., who further equate the corn with the child Brimos. Now the union of Zeus and Demeter, impersonated by the hierophant and the priestess, is certainly attested by several late authorities (Tertull. *ad nat.* 2. 7 cur rapitur sacerdos Cereris, si non tale Ceres passa est? (J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 94 n. 4 thinks that here Demeter is not to be distinguished from her daughter), Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 15. 1 ff. p. 13, 2 ff. Stählin (cited *supra* i. 392 n. 5), Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 20 f., 37 (cited *supra* i. 393 n. 0), Asterios bishop of Amaseia (dated *c.* 330—*c.* 410 A.D. by W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 1429) *hom.* 10 *encomium in sanctos martyres* (xl. 324 B Migne) *οὐ κεφάλαιον τῆς σῆς θρησκείας τὰ ἐν* Ἐλευσῖνι *μυστήρια καὶ δῆμος* Ἀττικὸς *καὶ ἡ* Ἑλλὰς *πᾶσα συναίρει, ἵνα τελέσῃ ματαιότητα; οὐκ ἐκεῖ τὸ καταβάσιον τὸ σκοτεινὸν καὶ αἱ σεμναὶ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου πρὸς τὴν ἱέρειαν συντυχίαι μόνου πρὸς μόνην; οὐχ αἱ λαμπάδες σβέννυνται, καὶ ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἀναρίθμητος δῆμος τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζουσι τὰ ἐν τῷ σκότῳ παρὰ τῶν δύο πραττόμενα;* schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 497 C p. 913 a 37 ff. *ἐτελεῖτο δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Δηοῖ καὶ Κόρῃ, ὅτι ταύτην μὲν* Πλούτων *ἁρπάξειε, Δηοῖ δὲ μιγείη Ζεύς· ἐν οἷς πολλὰ μὲν ἐπράττετο αἰσχρά, ἐλέγετο δὲ κ.τ.λ.*, Psellos *τίνα περὶ δαιμόνων δοξάζουσιν* Ἕλληνες; p. 39 f. (cited *supra* ii. 132 n. 2)). It is probable that in early days this union was a real one, the hierophant having actual intercourse with the priestess, but that later it became merely symbolic, the hierophant using an application of hemlock as an antaphrodisiac (Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 8 p. 164 Duncker—Schneidewin cited *supra* p. 300 n. 0 (i), with the remarks of Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 139 n. 1). But though the ceremonial marriage of the hierophant (Zeus) with the priestess (Demeter) has some claim to be regarded as fact, yet it must be admitted that not one of the ancient writers called in evidence describes the offspring of this marriage as an ear of corn. At most we can say that in the Sabazian myth Zeus became by Deo *Brimó* or Demeter the parent of Pherephatta or Kore (*supra* i. 392 ff.). It might also be maintained—the hypothesis is not extravagant—that Kore was at Eleusis represented by a bunch of wheat-ears, possibly arranged in the form of a corn-daughter or harvest-maiden (*supra* i. 397 n. 4 pl. xxviii).

(4) F. M. Cornford 'The ΑΠΑΡΧΑΙ and the Eleusinian Mysteries' in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 153—166 likewise identifies *τεθερισμένον στάχυν* with Kore. His argument may be briefly resumed as follows. The *ἀπαρχαί* or 'first-fruits,' sent by the Greek states to Eleusis, were in accordance with ancestral custom stored in underground granaries (P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880 iv. 225 ff. line 10 ff. pl. 15 = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1. 2 no. 27 *b*, 10 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 71, 10 ff. = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 22 ff. no. 9, 10 ff. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 4, 10 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 83, 10 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 76, 10 ff. (an Athenian decree of *c.* 423/2 B.C. found at Eleusis) *οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ σιρὸς τρῆς* Ἐλευσῖν|ι *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ὅπο ἂν δοκῆι τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς καὶ τῶι ἀρ[χ]ιτ|έκτονι ἐπιτέδειον ἔναι ἀπὸ τῶ ἀργυρίο τῶ τοῖν θεοῖν. τὸ[ν δὲ κα]|ρπὸν ἐνθαυθοῖ ἐμβάλλεν ὃν ἂν παραλάβοσι παρὰ τῶν δεμάρ[χον], | ἀπάρχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸς χσυμμάχος κατὰ ταὐτά*). Such a granary might be called *μέγαρον* (Hesych. *s.v. μέγαρα*, Phot. *lex. s.v. μάγαρον*, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1387, 17 ff.) or *φρέαρ* (*h. Dem.* 99 *Παρθενίῳ φρέατι*, Paus. 1. 39. 1 *φρέαρ...Ἄνθιον καλούμενον*, 1. 38. 6 *φρέαρ...καλούμενον* Καλλίχορον (cp. *h. Dem.* 272), [which, however, were wells for water. A.B.C].). The purpose of the custom was 'to put these specimens of grain that was to be used for seed into fertilising contact with the sacred store' (p. 163). In the autumn, at the Eleusinia,

the *ἀπαρχαί* were taken up from the subterranean store-house. The best part of them, made into a *pelanós*, was offered in sacrifice, the rest would be sold (the Athenian decree already quoted continues 36 ff. *θύεν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶ πελανῶ καθότι ἂν Εὐμολπίδαι [ἐχσ]ε[γῶ]νται, τρίττοιαν δὲ βόαρχον χρυσόκερον τοῖν θεοῖν ἑκα[τέρ]|[αι ἀ]πὸ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν καὶ τῶι Τριπτολέμοι καὶ τῶι [θε]|ῶι καὶ τεῖ θεᾶι καὶ τῶι Εὐβόλοι ἱερεῖον ἑκάστοι τέλεον καὶ | τεῖ Ἀθεναίαι βῶν χρυσόκερον· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας κριθὰς καὶ πυρὸς ἀπ|οδομένος τὸς ἱεροποιὸς μετὰ τᾶς βολᾶς ἀναθέματα ἀνατιθέν|αι τοῖν θεοῖν, ποιεσαμένος ἁτ᾽ ἂν τοι δέμοι τῶι Ἀθεναίον δοκῆ|ι, καὶ ἐπιγράφεν τοῖς ἀναθέμασιν, ἃτι ἀπὸ τῶ καρπῶ τᾶς ἀπαρχῆ|ς ἀνεθέθε, καὶ ἑλλένον τὸν ἀπαρχόμενον*)—presumably not to be eaten, but to be mixed with the grain for sowing. The *ἀπαρχαί* thus became veritable 'starting-points' of the *κύκλος γενέσεως*. All this was aptly expressed in mythological parlance. Kore is carried off and wedded to Plouton in his underground abode. 'She re-emerges as the potential mother of the new crop' (p. 163). And 'When we are told that the final revelation to the Eleusinian epoptae was a *στάχυς τεθερισμένος*,...is it possible that we may see in this *στάχυς* the epiphany of Kore herself as represented by the *ἀπαρχαί*?' (p. 162). Lastly, the 'redistribution of the *ἀπαρχαί*...is reflected in the myth of Triptolemos, charged by Demeter with the dispersal of the seed-corn to all the civilised world' (p. 164).

(5) Count Goblet d' Alviella *Eleusinia* Paris 1903 pp. 71—73 holds that the nature of the deities worshipped at Eleusis facilitated the coming of higher hopes for a future life. Demeter received into her bosom both the sown corn and the buried dead. She would extend her protection not only to the former but also to the latter—witness her name Δημήτρειοι (Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 28 *καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς Ἀθηναῖοι Δημητρείους ὠνόμαζον τὸ παλαιόν*). Kore too, the very personification of the sown corn, descended every autumn into the underworld only to come up again in the springtime young and fresh as ever. Thus the grain was taken as a fit emblem of human existence, and in Attike was sown on graves (Cic. *de legg.* 2. 63 nam et Athenis iam ille mos a Cecrope, ut aiunt, permansit, ocius terra humandi: quam cum proximi iniecerant, obductaque terra erat, frugibus obserebatur, ut sinus et gremium quasi matris mortuo tribueretur, solum autem frugibus expiatum ut vivis redderetur). Similarly in Egypt Osiris or the Osirised dead was assimilated to wheat or barley germinating in the earth when watered from above. Indeed it seems likely that in *s.* ix—viii B.C. such Egyptian beliefs found their way to Eleusis, lending point and precision to the hopes already inspired by the Greek agrarian cult. 'Le rite final de l'époptie, c'est-à-dire la présentation de l'épi de blé, moissonné en silence, que l'hiérophante exhibait aux néophytes comme le dernier mot des Mystères, ne constituait, sans doute, à l'origine, qu'un rite agricole; il n'y avait rien à y changer pour en faire un symbole de palingénésie humaine' (p. 72).

(6) P. Foucart, the father of this Egyptising hypothesis, in his final work on the subject *Les mystères d'Éleusis* Paris 1914 p. 432 ff. would identify the cut corn, not with Kore, but with Dionysos, who had of old been associated with Demeter (Plout. *quaestt. de Arati signis frag.* 7. 1 Dübner *ap.* schol. Arat. *phaen.* 1068 *διὸ καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τῇ Δημήτρᾳ συγκαθιέρωσαν, αἰνιττόμενοι τὸ γόνιμον τῆς ὑγρότητος*) and at Eleusis played Theos to her Thea (but see, for other possibilities, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 536—539. A.B.C.), he being the Greek equivalent of Osiris as she of Isis (P. Foucart *op. cit.* p. 90 ff.). On this showing the presentation of the corn-ears to the Eleusinian mystics was a rite derived from Egypt, where harvesters were wont to set up the first ears reaped, beating their breasts before the sheaf and calling aloud upon Isis (Diod. 1. 14 *μαρτύριον δὲ φέρουσι τῆς εὑρέσεως τῶν εἰρημένων καρπῶν τὸ τηρούμενον παρ αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀρχαίων νόμιμον· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν κατὰ τὸν θερισμὸν τοὺς πρώτους ἀμηθέντας στάχυς θέντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κόπτεσθαι πλησίον τοῦ δράγματος καὶ τὴν Ἶσιν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο πράττειν τιμὴν ἀπονέμοντας τῇ θεῷ τῶν εὑρημένων κατὰ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς εὑρέσεως καιρόν*, cp. Firm. Mat. 2. 6 f. defensores eorum volunt addere physicam rationem, frugum semina Osirim dicentes esse, Isim terram, Tyfonem calorem: et quia maturatae fruges calore ad vitam hominum colliguntur et divisae a terrae consortio separantur et rursus adpropinquante hieme seminantur, hanc volunt esse mortem Osiridis, cum fruges recondunt so K. W. A. Reifferscheid for *reddunt* cod. J. F. Gronovius cj. *condunt*, F. Oehler

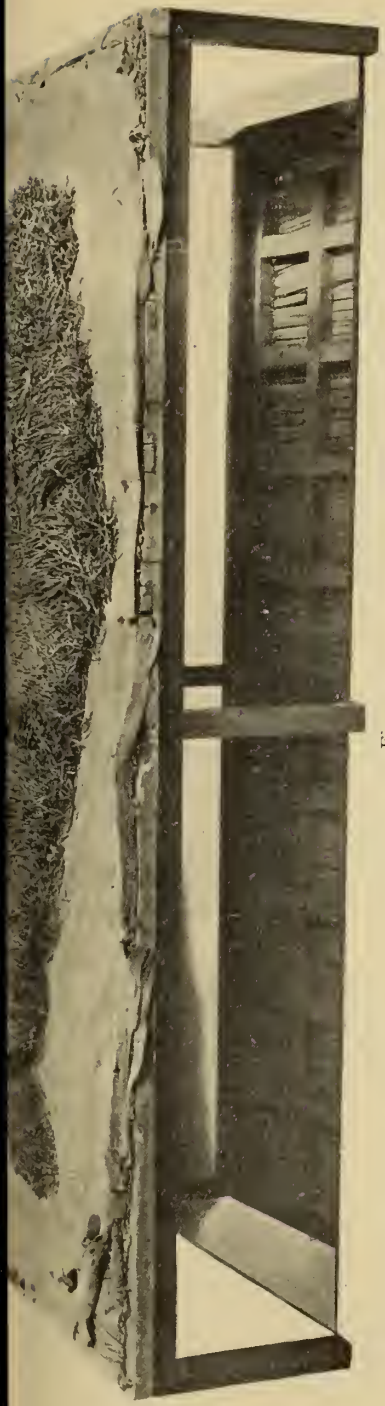


Fig. 194.

Fig. 195.

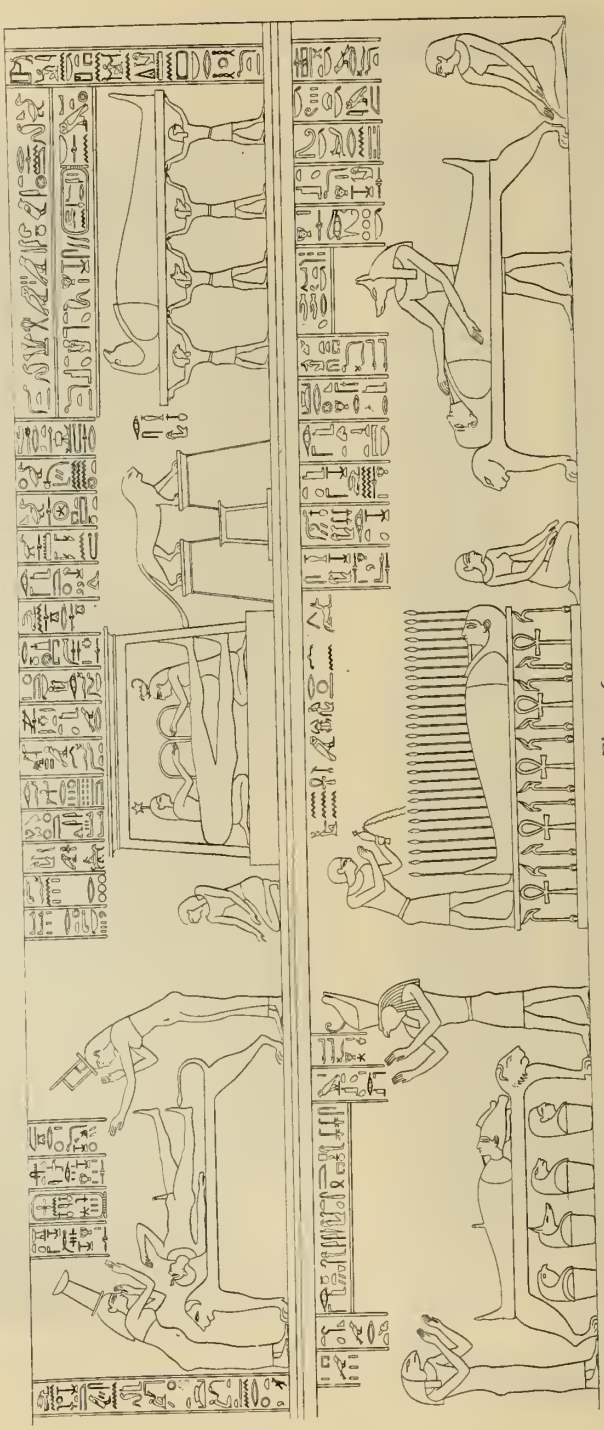


Fig. 106.

cj. *recidunt*), inventionem vero, cum fruges genitali terrae fomento conceptae annua rursus coeperint procreatione generari. pone hanc veram esse sacrorum istorum rationem... cur plangitis fruges terrae et crescentia lugetis semina?) as they mourned for Osiris, probably in the dirge called Μανερῶς (A. Rusch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 1048 ff.). Foucart pursues the theme of corn as an emblem of Osiris, and draws attention to the curious 'Osiris beds' found in 1905 by the late Theodore Davis, in a tomb dating from the reign of Amenhotep iii (1412—1376 B.C., according to H. R. Hall), and now preserved in the Museum at Cairo (T. M. Davis *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou* London 1907 p. 45, J. E. Quibell *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu* Le Caire 1908 p. 35 no. 51022 pl. 16, p. 36 no. 51023). Quibell says of no. 51022: 'This object consists of a wooden frame, on which was laid a papyrus mat: over this was stretched a double cover of coarse cloth, stitched down the side: on this a bed of clay was placed, of the shape of the body of Osiris, and in it barley planted. When the plants had grown to a height of about 0 m. 15 cent. a doubled cloth was laid over them and the whole was lapped round with a series of strips of cloth'; etc. My fig. 195 is from a fresh photograph. Similarly in 1898—1899 V. Loret found in the tomb of Maherpra, fan-bearer under Hatshepsut (reign 1501—1479 B.C., according to H. R. Hall), a frame of cedar-wood, on which is stretched a thick mat of reeds covered by three layers of linen. On the linen is drawn in black ink the profile of Osiris (1.42^{m} high). The contour is filled in with a mixture of earth, barley-grains, and a gummy fluid. The grains had sprouted to a length of 6—8 centimetres (G. Daressy *Fouilles de la vallée des Rois* Le Caire 1902 p. 25 f. no. 24061 pl. 7 = my fig. 194, A. Wiedemann 'Osiris végétant' in *Le Muséon* Nouvelle série 1903 iv. 111—123, H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1924 ii—iv p. vii fig. 115). Again, in the 'Innermost Treasury' of the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen (1360—1350 B.C., according to H. R. Hall) the late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter discovered 'a mock figure representing the regermination of Osiris' (H. Carter *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen* London 1933 iii. 39, 61 pl. 64, A and B). Carter says: 'This object... comprises a wooden frame moulded in the form of that god, hollowed out, lined with linen, filled with silt from the Nile bed, and planted with corn....This was moistened; the grain germinated, and the inanimate form became green and living; thus symbolizing the resurrection of Osiris and of the deceased. This life-size effigy was completely wrapped in linen winding-sheets and bandaged in the like manner as a mummy.' Foucart further notes that in the Saitic period an Osiris-figure made of Nile-mud and filled with corn-grains was occasionally placed between the legs of the mummy: the sprouting of the corn would typify the resurrection of the god (A. Erman *Die ägyptische Religion* Berlin 1905 p. 188, *id. A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 187).

(7) This aspect of Osiris-worship has been more fully exploited by Sir James Frazer and Prof. A. Moret. Frazer *Golden Bough*^{3}: Adonis Attis Osiris^{3} ii. 89 ff. describes *inter alia* the decoration of a chamber dedicated to Osiris in the Ptolemaic temple of Isis at Philai (cp. *supra* ii. 773 n. o): 'Here we see the dead body of Osiris with stalks of corn springing from it, while a priest waters the stalks from a pitcher which he holds in his hand. The accompanying inscription sets forth that "this is the form of him whom one may not name, Osiris of the mysteries, who springs from the returning waters"' (Champollion Le jeune *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* Paris 1835 i. 6 pl. 90 south wall of the hall of Osiris (second and third registers = my fig. 196), Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 705 f. pl. 261, 31 f., E. A. Wallis Budge *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* London—New York 1911 i. 58 fig., A. Moret *Kings and Gods of Egypt* New York—London 1912 p. 84 ff. fig. 7 f. pl. 11, *id.* in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 75b, *id. Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne* Paris 1926 p. 104 fig. 23, H. Haas *op. cit.* p. vii fig. 155). Frazer *op. cit.* ii. 89 n. 2 adds: 'Similarly in a papyrus of the Louvre (No. 3377) Osiris is represented swathed as a mummy and lying on his back, while stalks of corn sprout from his body' (Lanzone *op. cit.* p. 801 f. pl. 303, 2 (=my fig. 197)). A. Moret *La mise à mort du dieu en Égypte* Paris 1927 deals in detail with 'La passion d'Osiris, dieu agraire' (p. 17 ff.), 'Rites de la moisson' (p. 19 ff.: illustrations of Diod. 1. 14; evolution of the Osirian fetish *stat*,

'that which is drawn along,' later *mert* 'bride' or *mert stat*, from a portable granary (?)), 'Les larmes d'Isis et la crue' (p. 31 f.), 'Rites des semailles' (p. 32 ff.), 'Fécondation de la terre par des statues' (p. 35 ff.), with an appendix 'Sur le culte particulier de la gerbe en Égypte' (p. 54 ff.: corn-maidens in ancient and modern Egypt, after Miss W. S. Blackman 'Some occurrences of the Corn-arûseh in ancient Egyptian tomb paintings' in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1922 viii. 235 ff.). Now Frazer *op. cit.* ii. 89 f. expressly compares the corn-stalks that represent the resurrection of Osiris on Egyptian monuments with the reaped ear of corn exhibited to the worshippers at Eleusis. But he nowhere makes the mistake of supposing, as Foucart did, that the latter custom was derived from the former. They were analogous rites, that is all.

(8) Thus the way is left clear for the conclusion enunciated years ago by Dr L. R. Farnell. All the evidence, he says, goes to prove that among the sacred things reverentially displayed at Eleusis there was a corn-token. 'And,' he continues, 'it may have also served as a token of man's birth and re-birth, not under the strain of symbolic interpretation, but in accordance with the naive and primitive belief in the unity of man's life with the vegetative world' (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 184). *N.B.* the occasional use of καλάμη in the sense of 'old, withered body' (*Od.* 14. 214 f., Aristot. *rhet.* 3. 10. 1410 b 13 ff., *Anth. Pal.* 11. 36. 5 f. (Philippos), Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 250. 3 ff. = *oracl. ap.* Polyain. 6. 53, Loukian. *Alex.* 5).

Fig. 197.

In this connexion special interest attaches to two finds from the west of the classical area and to one literary record in the east.

An Apulian *amphora*, formerly in the Barone collection, then in the Museo Campana, and now at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 241 ff. no. 428), has the following designs: *A* (i) Zeus, with Hermes as charioteer, in a car drawn by four horses, and Dionysos (wrongly restored) in a car drawn by two panthers or lynxes, enter the Gigantomachy, led by a Fury between them. (ii) Within a *herôion*, surrounded by conventional figures bearing garlands and gifts, are seen five stalks of bearded wheat. *B* (i) A young warrior is wreathed by Nike between two of his companions. (ii) A domestic scene of man, woman, and maid—perhaps the homecoming of the successful warrior. The vase has been published and discussed by G. Minervini *Monumenti antichi inediti posseduti da Raffaele Barone* Napoli 1852 i. 99 ff. (mystical interpretation) pls. 21 and 22, 1—5 (= my pl. xxx), F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 31 ff. with 2 figs. (follows Minervini), *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1066 fig. 1308 ('Adoration des épis à Éleusis'!), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 216 f. pl. iii, *b* ('the first-fruits or oblations consecrated to the local Apollo or Demeter or Persephone'), R. Pagenstecher *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler* Strassburg 1912 pp. ix fig., 100 (E. Fehrle cp. A. Dieterich *Mutter Erde* Leipzig—Berlin 1905 p. 48 f.), P. Wolters 'Die goldenen Ähren' in the *Festschrift für James Loeb* München 1930 pp. 123—125 figs. 13 and 14 (photographic) (the old Attic custom of sowing grain on the fresh-made grave, cp. Demetrios of Phaleron *ap.* Cic. *de legg.* 2. 63 nam et Athenis iam ille mos a Cecrope, ut aiunt, permansit, ocius terra humandi: quam cum proximi iniecerant, obductaque terra erat, frugibus obserebatur, ut sinus et gremium quasi matris mortuo tribueretur, solum autem frugibus expiatum ut vivis redderetur). The point to notice is that, in the lower register of the obverse, the *herôion* instead of containing the customary representation of the dead (H. B. Walters *History o*

2

1

An *amphor*

(1) A *herôion* containing five stalks of bearded wheat,
(2) A young warrior, wreathed by Nike, between two
(3) The whole vase. (4) Head of Kore.

ograd :

by conventional figures bearing garlands and gifts.
ons. A domestic scene (his homecoming ?).
5) Palmette.

See page 306 *n.* o (8).

Three gold ears of barley found in a grave near Syracuse and now in the Loeb collection at Murnau.

See page 307 *n.* 0.

The Eleusinian formula *hýe kýe* occurs in an extended version on the inner surface of three curved terra-cotta blocks, which together made up a well-mouth outside the Dipylon gate at Athens[1]. This

Ancient Pottery London 1905 i. 476 f. fig. 106, ii. 158) substitutes a small crop of wheat. Cp. an Apulian *hydría* in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 175 no. F 353) on which the *herôion* contains a large acanthus-plant in lieu of a *stéle*, and an Apulian *kratér* formerly in the Coghill collection (J. Millingen *Peintures antiques de vases grecs de la collection de Sir John Coghill Bart* Rome 1817 p. 42 f. pls. 49 and 51, 2, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 17, 1 and 18, 2) on which the *herôion* has within it nothing but a bay-branch.

In a grave near Syracuse was found (*c.* 1900) a veritable triumph of the goldsmith's art, which I am able here to re-publish (pl. xxxi), thanks to the kind offices of Dr A. H. Lloyd. It has already been figured by S. P. Noe *The Coinage of Metapontum* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 32) New York 1927 p. 9 and, more adequately, by P. Wolters 'Die goldenen Ähren' in the *Festschrift für James Loeb* München 1930 pp. 111—129 pl. 16 and figs. 1—15, *id.* 'Gestalt und Sinn der Ähre in antiker Kunst' in *Die Antike* 1930 vi. 284—301 pl. 1 and figs. 1—10, who refers it to the fourth or third century B.C. The jewel itself, now in the Loeb Collection at Murnau, consists of three superb ears growing on a single stalk. Wolters, accepting the opinion of Prof. G. Gentner, says: 'Dargestellt sind Weizenähren; wahrscheinlich die des Binkel- oder Igel-Weizens, Triticum compactum...Heutigen Tags werden noch verschiedene Varietäten in Sizilien gebaut. Möglich wäre allerdings auch, dass ein besonders kurzähriger Hartweizen vorläge, von dem hauptsächlich die Varietät Triticum durum affine, ebenfalls in Sizilien gebaut wird; sie ist vermutlich identisch mit dem *πυρὸς τριμηναῖος* Theophrasts und heisst im heutigen Sizilien Timilia oder Tremilia.' Sir R. H. Biffen, however, has informed me (Jan. 14, 1930) that these gold ears are barley, not bearded wheat, and certainly not a cross between the two. He notes that some details in the arrangement of the shields at the base of the ear are not true to nature. And he adds that the ears represented on Greek coins are regularly, not wheat, but barley (e.g. the *hordeum hexastichon* on coins of Metapontum (F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 54 pl. 9, 1, p. 56 pl. 9, 24, p. 58 pl. 9, 35)). In any case we are at once reminded of the 'golden harvest' sent by the Metapontines to Delphoi (Strab. 264 *οὓς οὕτως ἀπὸ γεωργίας εὐτυχῆσαί φασιν ὥστε θέρος χρυσοῦν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθεῖναι*). This, though very different in intention, must have been very similar in technique.

Finally, it is not, I think, irrelevant to compare a well-known incident in the Gospel narrative. When certain Greeks, proselytes of the gate attending a Jewish festival, came to Philip of Bethsaida saying 'Sir, we would see Jesus,' Philip sought out Andrew and together with him told Jesus. Thereupon Jesus made answer: 'The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit' (John 12. 20 ff.). The Master here hints at his own impending Passion as the supreme example of the law that Life must be reached through Death. That much is certain. But, in view of the fact that the fourth Gospel was written primarily for Greek readers, it is further probable that these profound words were meant to convey some message specially appropriate to the Greeks. And, if so, it is at least possible that the symbolism employed aimed at recalling the great lesson taught by the hierophant to the mystics of Eleusis.

[1] F. Lenormant *Monographie de la Voie Sacrée Éleusinienne* Paris 1864 p. 85 ff. no. 30, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 573, E. Pottier *ib.* n. 682 (first recognition of Men), P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 78 ff. no. 2 (with facsimile of the inscription. 'H. de chaque brique, $0^{m}\cdot42$; ép., $0^{m}\cdot04$; diamètre probable du puits, $0^{m}\cdot80$; h. des lettres, de $0^{m}\cdot05$ à $0^{m}\cdot07$. Sur le bord supérieur de chaque brique, deux lettres rapprochées ΦΧ').

deeply incised inscription reads:

ΟΠΑΝΟΜΗΝΧΑΙΡΕΤΕΝΥΝΦΑΙΚΑΛΑΙΥΕΚΥΕΥ
ΠΕΡΧΥΕ

ὁ Πάν, ὁ Μήν, χαίρετε Νύνφαι καλαί. ὖε, κύε, ὑπέρχυε[1].

Pan, Men, and ye fair Nymphs, all hail!—
Rain! Conceive, conceive abundantly!

The association of Men with Pan and the Nymphs is noteworthy. The same triad appears on a votive relief of Pentelic (?) marble found in or near Athens (fig. 198)[2], which might almost serve as an illustra-

Fig. 198.

[1] A mistake for *ὑπέρκυε*. H. Güntert, however, in his interesting treatise *Über Reimwortbildungen im arischen und altgriechischen* Heidelberg 1914 p. 217 f. holds that *ὑπέρχυε* was a new formation from *χέω* on the analogy of *ὖε κύε* and under the influence of *κέχυται, χυτός*, etc. In any case we can hardly infer, with F. Lenormant, that this word formed part of the original Eleusinian formula.

[2] P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 77 f. no. 1 fig. 5, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2731 with fig. 10, Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 248 f. no. 1444, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1248[2]=no. 1254[10] with Text v. 22 f. by E. Löwy, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 443 no. 1444 pl. 72 (=my fig. 198).

tion of our text. For it arranges the divinities in the same order—Men in the centre between Pan on the left and a sample Nymph on the right. Pan and the Nymphs are natural protectors of grottoes, springs, and the like. Men is present partly because he was assimilated to Hermes[1], partly because in his own character of moon-god[2] he would be responsible for the dew[3], which in Attike meant so much to the cultivator of the thirsty ground. We may take it, then, that the owner of this particular well sought to ensure his water-supply by a silent and undemonstrative invocation of appropriate deities, coupled with the old magical cry 'Rain! Conceive, conceive abundantly!'

That cry was addressed to the divine Sky above and to the divine Earth below. No names were used, but it is probable that these powers had long been anthropomorphic. I should venture to identify them with the nameless Theos and Thea of Eleusinian inscriptions[4], who elsewhere emerge into clearer light and more

[1] *Supra* ii. 285 n. 0. [2] *Supra* i. 193 fig. 142, 642 fig. 501, 731 fig. 540.

[3] W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2765.

[4] (1) An Athenian decree of *c.* 423/2 B.C., found at Eleusis, mentions in line 38 (cited with context *supra* p. 302 n. 0 (4)) gifts τοῖν θεοῖν (*sc.* Demeter and Kore), Τριπτολέμῳ, τῷ Θεῷ, τῇ Θεᾷ, τῷ Εὐβούλῳ, τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ.

(2) The votive relief of Lysimachides, found in 1885 during the excavation of the 'Ploutonion' at Eleusis (D. Philios in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886 p. 19 ff. pl. 3, 1, A. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1008 fig. 4380, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 135 f., 258 pl. 1, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 554 ff. no. 1519 pl. 88, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 412 no. 2), renders in the style of 350—300 B.C. a *Totenmahl* or hero-feast inscribed (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1620 *b*) Θεᾶι Θεῶι | Λυσιμαχίδης ἀνέθηκε. The dead man, here represented as a chthonian Zeus (cp. Zeus *Epitéleios Philios supra* ii. 1162 f. fig. 970), holds *rhytón* and bowl. His consort, the chthonian goddess, has apparently a *hypothymís* or garland for the neck. Beside them are seated the Eleusinian deities Demeter (sceptre) and Persephone (wreath with leaves added in paint, pair of torches burning). Demeter's seat is round and consists in four courses of stone, perhaps meant for the well-mouth of Kallichoron (Kallim. *h. Dem.* 15, Nik. *ther.* 486, Apollod. 1. 5. 1).

(3) The fragmentary relief of Lakrateides, the greater part of which was found on the site of the same 'Ploutonion' (D. Philios in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886 p. 24 ff. pl. 3, 2, O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 3, 4 n. 1, R. Heberdey 'Das Weihrelief des Lakrateides aus Eleusis' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 111—116 pl. 4 (collotype of fragments), H. von Prott in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 256—266 (on Θεός, Θεά at Eleusis), J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 487—507 pl. IH′—K′ (restoration = my fig. 200), D. Philios 'Τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι Λακρατείδιον ἀνάγλυφον' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1905 xxx. 183—198 with two figs. and a careful line-drawing of the fragments (= my fig. 199), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 135 ff. pl. 2, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 348 no. 1, A. W. Lawrence *Later Greek Sculpture* London 1927 pp. 46, 124 pl. 79, *id. Classical Sculpture* London 1929 p. 310), was dedicated *c.* 100—90 B.C.—the dedicator being presumably the *thesmothétes* of 97/96 B.C. (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 1047, 41 Λακρατείδης Σωστράτου Ἰκαριεύς, cp. the *Pythaïstés* of 106/105 B.C. in *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 955, 7 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 711 *D*[2], 7 Σώστρατος Λακρατείδου Ἰ[κ]αριεύς). It bears an inscription, which has been variously completed. (*a*) R. Heberdey *loc. cit.* p. 115:

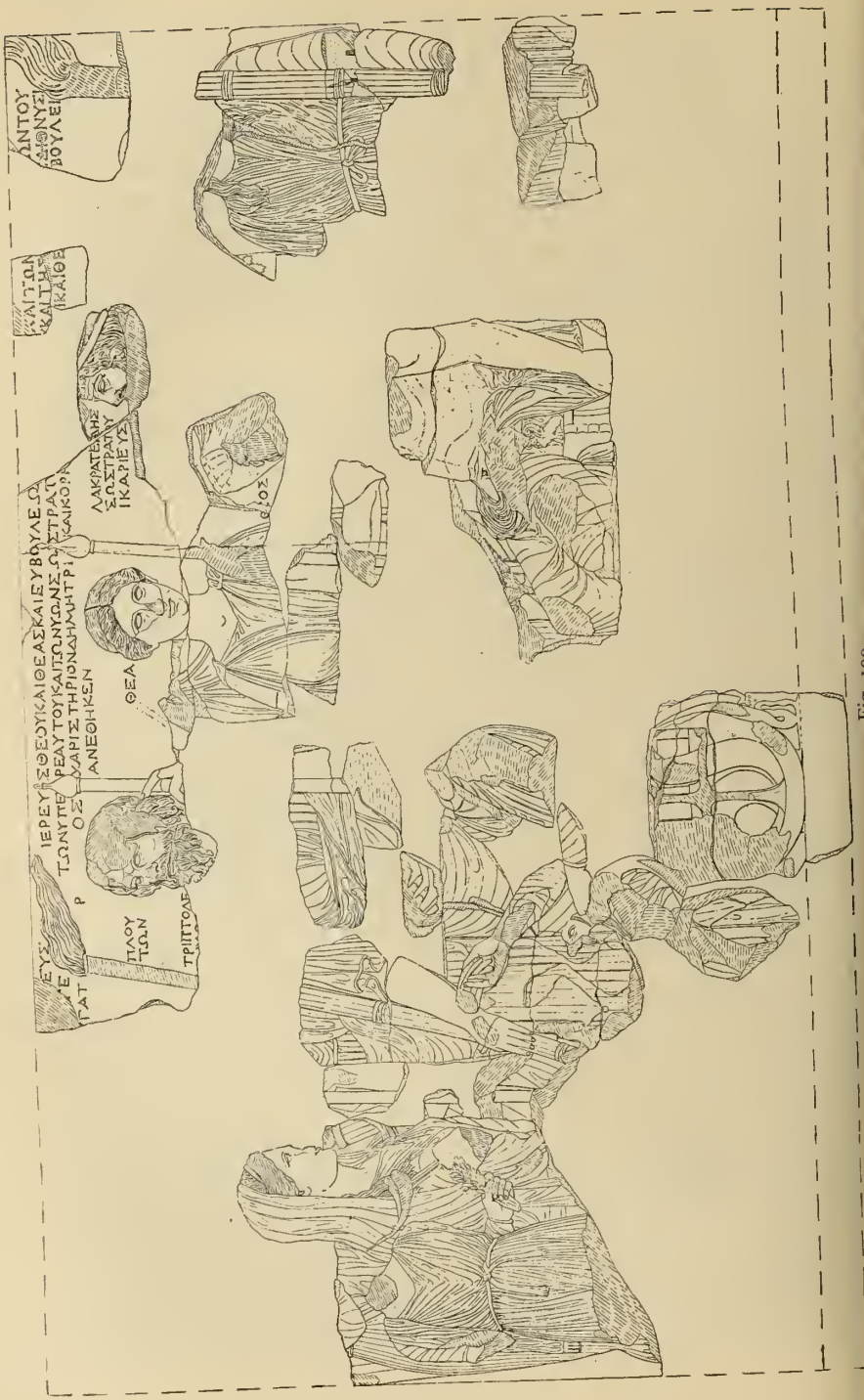

ΑΝΤΟΥ
ΑΙΩΝΥΣΙ
ΒΟΥΛΕ
ΚΑΛΛΙΤΩΝ
ΚΑΛΛΙΤΗΣ
ΚΑΙΘΕ
ΛΑΚΡΑΤΕΙΔΗΣ
ΣΩΣΙΓΡΑΤΟΥ
ΙΚΑΡΙΕΥΣ
ΙΕΡΕΥΣΘΕΟΥΚΑΙΘΕΑΣΚΑΙΕΥΒΟΥΛΕΩ
ΤΩΝΥΤΕΡΕΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΠΟΝΥΩΝΣΩΣΙΓΡΑΤ
ΟΣΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝΚΑΜΗΤΡΙ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ΘΕΑ
ΙΟΣ
ΙΤΟΥ
ΤΩΝ
ΤΡΙΤΤΟΑΕ

Fig. 199.

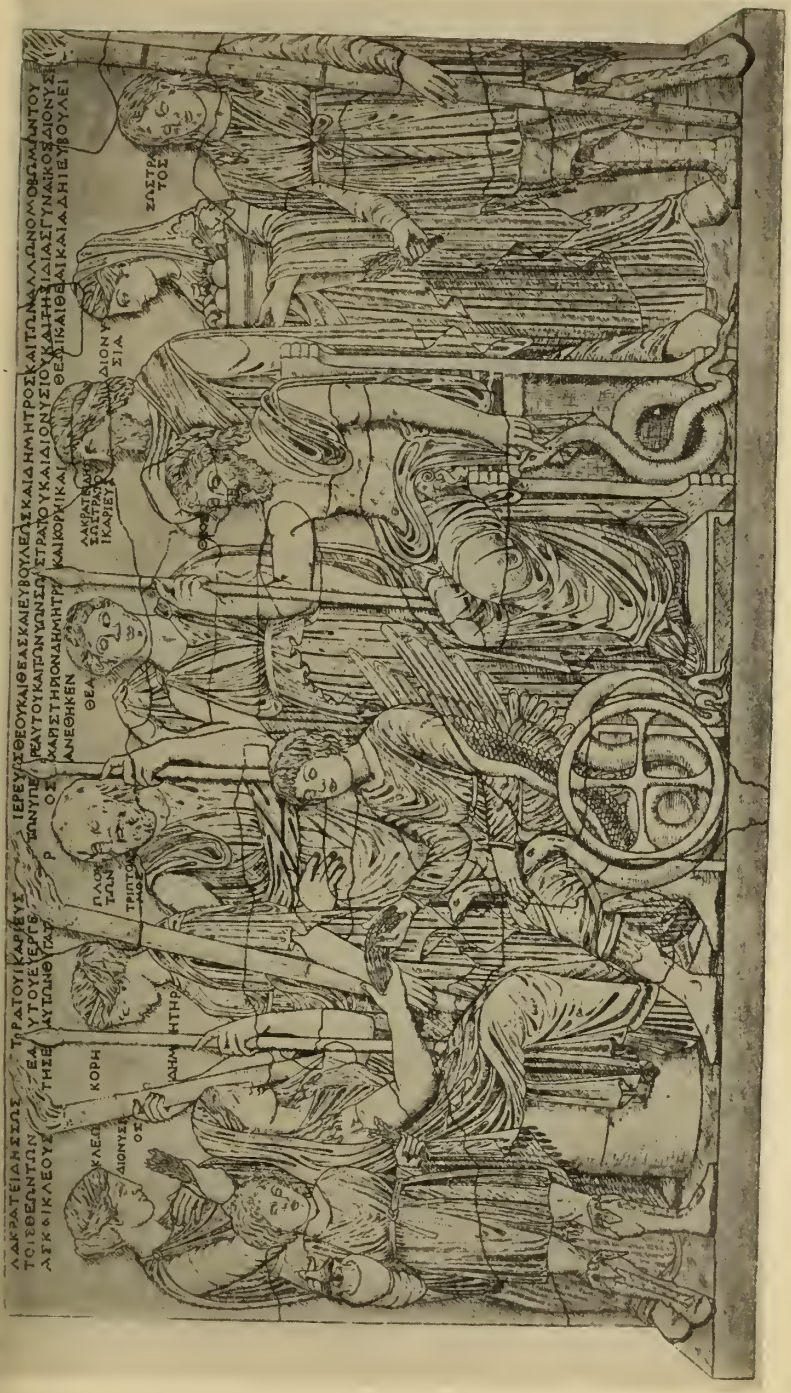

ΛΑΚΡΑΤΕΙΔΗΣΤΟΣ ΤΡΑΤΟΥΚΑΡΙΕΥΣ ΙΕΡΕΥΣΘΕΟΥΚΑΙΘΕΑΣΚΑΙΕΥΒΟΥΛΕΑΣΚΑΙΑΗΜΗΤΡΟΣΚΑΙΤΩΝΑΛΛΩΝΘΕΩΝΤΟΥ
ΤΟΙΣΘΕΟΙΣΙΝ ΕΑ ΥΤΟΥΕΓΕΡΘ ΩΝΥΜΟΣ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΩΝΥΙΩΝΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΚΑΙΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΚΑΙΤΗΣΙΔΙΑΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
ΑΓΑΘΩΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙ ΤΗΣΕ ΑΥΤΟΙΣΘΕΟΙΣΙΝ ΟΣ ΚΑΡΠΟΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΚΑΙΚΟΡΑΙΚΑΙΘΕΑΙΚΑΙΑΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΒΟΥΛΕΙ
ΚΛΕΑ ΚΟΡΗ ΔΗΜΗΤΗΡ ΠΛΑΣΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΣ ΘΕΑ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ ΣΛΑΣΤΡΑ ΤΟΣ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ

Fig. 200.

specific function as Zeus and Ge. Eubouleus was *ab origine* an appellation of the former[1], Demeter and Persephone a bifurcation of the latter[2].

Other evidence of rain-magic in Attike is of very doubtful value, though it may be granted that in a district notoriously 'light-soiled[3]' the rain-maker must sometimes have been in request.

[Λακρατείδης Σωστράτου 'Ικαρι]εὺς ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ καὶ Θεᾶς καὶ Εὐβουλέω[ς καὶ Διογένους] καὶ τῶν [συμβώμ]ων τοῦ | ['Αθηναίων δήμου εὐερ]γετῶν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Σωστράτ[ου καὶ Διονυσίο]υ καὶ τῆς [γυναικὸ]ς Διονυσί|[ας (filiation, deme) καὶ τῆς θυ]γατρὸς χαριστήριον Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη[ι καὶ Θε]ῶι καὶ Θε[âι καὶ Εὐ]βουλεῖ | ἀνέθηκεν. (*b*) J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.* pl. ΙΗ′—Κ′: [Λακρατείδης Σωστράτου 'Ικαρι]εὺς ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ καὶ Θεᾶς καὶ Εὐβουλέω[ς καὶ Δήμητρος] καὶ τῶν [ἄλλων ὁμοβώμ]ων τοὺ|[τοις θεῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εὐερ]γετῶν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Σωστράτ[ου καὶ Διονυσίο]υ καὶ τῆς [ἰδίας γυναικὸ]ς Διονυσί|[ας καὶ Κλεοῦς τῆς ἑαυτῶν θυ]γατρὸς χαριστήριον Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη[ι καὶ Θε]ῶι καὶ Θε[âι καὶ "Αιδηι Εὐ]βουλεῖ | ἀνέθηκεν. Svoronos p. 495 adds that the fourth line may have started with καὶ Τριπτολέμωι, for which there would be space above the head of Kleo. (*c*) D. Philios in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1905 xxx. 186: [Λακρατείδης Σωστράτου 'Ικαρι]εὺς ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ καὶ Θεᾶς καὶ Εὐβουλέω [s. . . . . .] καὶ τῶν [συμβώμ]ων του|[.... θεῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εὐερ]γετῶν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Σωστράτ[ου καὶ Διονυσίο]υ καὶ τῆς [γυναικὸ]ς Διονυσί|[ας τῆς (filiation, deme, *e.g.* Κλείτου 'Ικαριέως) θυ]γατρὸς χαριστήριον Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη[ι καὶ Θε]ῶι καὶ Θε[âι καὶ Εὐ]βουλεῖ | ἀνέθηκεν. The centre of the relief is occupied by an assemblage of the Eleusinian powers. Theos (Θεός), in the guise of Zeus, is seated, sceptre in hand, on a throne, the arm of which rests on a small Sphinx. Thea (Θεά), a matronal figure, lifting the back fold of her *péplos*, stands at his side. Further to the left, Plouton (Πλού|τωνα) leans on a sceptre and looks toward the group of Kore and Demeter. The former stands, holding a pair of torches. The latter sits, with a veil over her head. Her left hand holds a sceptre; her right, a bunch of corn-ears. These she presents to Triptolemos (Τριπτόλε|μο[s]), who receives them as he sits on his serpent-car. In the background is seen the dedicator (Λακρατείδης | Σωστράτου | 'Ικαριεύς). The remaining persons are harder to identify. Those who take them to be divine regard the long-haired youth on the right as Eubouleus bearing a vine-branch in one hand, a torch in the other, the female behind Demeter as a personification of Eleusis (so O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1892 xvii. 127, R. Heberdey *loc. cit.* p. 116), and the boy carrying myrtles in front of her as Iakchos (A. N. Skias in the 'Εφ.'Αρχ. 1901 p. 34) or Ploutos (R. Heberdey *loc. cit.* p. 116). But, in view of the fact that Eubouleus (see D. Philios in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1905 xxx. 188 ff.)—not to mention Ploutos—is sufficiently represented by Plouton, there is more to be said for the view (J. N. Svoronos, D. Philios) that the flanking figures are purely human and belong to the family of Lakrateides—Sostratos with vine-branch and torch on the right, Dionysia and her son Dionysios with myrtles on the left.

(4) Two lists of Athenian officials, dating from the period 117—129 A.D. (W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 334), mention as *kosmetés* or 'marshal' of the *épheboi* (F. Preisigke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1490 ff.) a certain priest of Theos and Thea ((*a*) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i Add. no. 274 *b*, 4 ff. = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii no. 1108, 4 ff. κο(σ)μη|τεύοντος ἱερέως Θεοῦ καὶ Θεᾶς Εἰ(ρη)να(ίου) Παιαν|ιέως. (*b*) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 274, 3 ff. = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii no. 1109, 3 ff. κοσμητὴς | ἐφήβων ἱερεὺς Θε|οῦ καὶ Θεᾶς Εἰρήναι|ος) Παιανιεύς (on) as an arbitrary sign for an identical patronymic see Larfeld *op. cit.* Leipzig 1902 ii. 2. 535 f.)).

M. P. Nilsson in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1935 xxxii. 81 ff. supports the usual identification of ὁ θεός and ἡ θεά with Plouton and Persephone.

[1] *Supra* i. 669 n. 2, 717 n. 3, ii. 131, 258 n. 3, 259 n. 0, 1076, 1105.

[2] *Supra* i. 396 f.

[3] Thouk. 1. 2, Alkiphr. *epist.* 3. 35, schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 75.

Miss J. E. Harrison's[1] recognition of a rain-making scene on a 'Dipylon' jug from Athens (fig. 201)[2], though plausible, is far from certain[3]. And little importance can be attached to Marinos' statement that Proklos was an adept in Chaldean charms, who by spinning his *ýnix* aright caused a downpour and so freed Attike from drought[4].

Lastly, the lapidary tradition perpetuated a belief (originating when and where?) that polished green quartz or 'plasma,' if worn during religious rites, would conciliate the gods and ensure a good shower on the thirsty fields[5]. A stone resembling water might well cause water to fall.

Fig. 201.

[1] J. E. Harrison in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 322 n. 1, *ead. Themis*[2] p. 76 ff. fig. 10 (*b*).

[2] J. P. Droop in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 81 ff. fig. 2 *b* (=my fig. 201).

[3] *Supra* i. 512 n. 0. I was there inclined to accept Miss Harrison's hypothesis. But it is undeniably frail. The alleged rattles are perhaps not rattles at all; and, if they are, they may represent thunder rather than rain (C. Clemen in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1914 xvii. 157 f.). The shield need not be on the altar; and, if it is, the scene may be one of *Palládion*-worship, or even of mere hoplolatry (cp. *supra* ii. 544 ff.).

[4] *Supra* i. 264 n. 6.

[5] Orph. *lith.* 267 ff. (*supra* i. 357 n. 4) καὶ γλαφυρὴν κομίσας ἐαρόχροον (Salmasius cj. ἀερόχροον, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 115 Persae aëri similem, quae ob id vocatur aërizusa, Dioskor. 5. 159 (160) p. 818 Sprengel λίθος ἴασπις...ἀερίζων, Dionys. *per.* 724 ἠερόεσσαν ἴασπιν, Psell. *de lapidum virtutibus* p. 17 Bernardus ἡ ἴασπις...ἔστι δέ τις καὶ ἀεροειδής. But Aglaïas of Byzantion πρὸς τὰς ἀρχομένας ὑποχύσεις 19 Dübner (in the Didot ed. of the *Poetae bucolici et didactici* Parisiis 1851 p. 97) describes haematite as λίθος εἰαριήτης, cp. schol. Nik. εἰαρίτης λίθος (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 196 D)) αἴ κεν ἴασπιν | ἱερά τις ῥέξῃ, μακάρων ἰαίνεται ἦτορ, | καί οἱ καρφαλέας νεφέλαις κορέσουσιν ἀρούρας· | ἥδε γὰρ αὐχμηρῇσιν ἄγει πολὺν ὄμβρον ἀρούραις. Similarly in the epitome entitled Ὀρφέως λιθικὰ κηρύγματα p. 141, 15 ff. Abel λίθος ἴασπις, ὁ καὶ πᾶσι πρόδηλος. χρήσιμος δὲ καὶ οὗτος, ὡς φασι, ταῖς ἀρούραις πρὸς εὐφορίαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑετόν, ὡς λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες, ἐξ ἀνομβρίας κατάγειν ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς δύναται καὶ ἀποτρέπειν ἐπιληψίας, καθὼς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μαρτυροῦσι and in Damigeron *de lapidibus* 13 p. 173, 19 ff. Abel *Lapis Iaspis*....Perfectus est tantum consecratus et caste portatus iste lapis. Imbrium enim est perfector et invocatus imbres facit.

iii. Rain-magic in the cult of Zeus.

Primitive rain-magic was in Greece commonly taken up into the cult of Zeus. The epic appellative *nephelegeréta* implies that already in the second millennium B.C. Zeus was conceived as a rain-making magician[1]. And a like inference may be drawn from his constant epithet *aigíochos*[2]. Indeed, in more than one passage of the *Iliad* we can detect a literary reminiscence of the weather-maker's devices; for instance, in Agamemnon's ominous words—

> The day shall come when holy Ilios,
> Priam, and Priam's folk (stout spearman he),
> Shall be destroyed, and Zeus the son of Kronos,
> Seated on high, dwelling in light divine,
> Shall shake his darkling *aigís* at them all,
> Wroth for this guile[3].—

or, later, in the poet's description of the fighting over Patroklos—

> Then Kronos' son caught up his tasselled *aigís*,
> Gleaming, and hid Mount Ide under cloud,
> Lightened and thundered and made quake the ground[4].

Clearly, to shake the *aigís* is to cause a storm—a thoroughly magical procedure.

If it may be assumed that such poetic phraseology was founded on cult-usage, the actual rain-maker was probably the priest of Zeus impersonating his god. It is tempting to interpret in that sense a curious statement in the *Aeneid*. Virgil, concerned to derive Roman antiquities from Greece, is hinting apparently at a supposed connexion between the *Arx* and the *Arcades*[5], when he makes Evander say to Aeneas *à propos* of the wooded Capitol—

> This grove, this hill with leafy top some god—
> We know not who[6]—inhabits. My Arcadians
> Believe that they have seen the very Jove
> Oft shake the darkling *aegis* in his hand
> And call the rain-clouds[7].

[1] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1, iii. 30 ff., 296. [2] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1.

[3] *Il.* 4. 164 ff. ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἰρὴ | καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο, | Ζεὺς δέ σφι Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος, αἰθέρι ναίων, | αὐτὸς ἐπισσείῃσιν ἐρεμνὴν αἰγίδα πᾶσι | τῆσδ' ἀπάτης κοτέων. Cp. *Il.* 15. 229 f. where Zeus lends his *aigís* to Apollon and says: ἀλλὰ σύγ' ἐν χείρεσσι λάβ' αἰγίδα θυσανόεσσαν, | τῇ (with variant τὴν) μάλ' ἐπισσείων φοβέειν ἤρωας Ἀχαιούς.

[4] *Il.* 17. 593 ff. καὶ τότ' ἄρα Κρονίδης ἔλετ' αἰγίδα θυσανόεσσαν | μαρμαρέην, Ἴδην δὲ κατὰ νεφέεσσι κάλυψεν, | ἀστράψας δὲ μάλα μεγάλ' ἔκτυπε, τὴν (Zenodotos read γῆν) δὲ τίναξε.

[5] Solin. 1. 1 quam (*sc.* Romam) Arcades quoniam habitassent in excelsa parte montis, derivatum deinceps, ut tutissima urbium arces vocarentur.

[6] *Supra* i. 711 ff. (Vediovis, the youthful Iupiter).

[7] Verg. *Aen.* 8. 351 ff. 'hoc nemus, hunc,' inquit, 'frondoso vertice collem, | quis deus

Virgil may, of course, be drawing upon sources no longer accessible to us. And presumably he was familiar with the fact that in Arkadia the priest of Zeus *Lýkaios* regularly made rain for his neighbours[1]. Pausanias, speaking of the spring Hagno on Mount Lykaion[2], says:

'If there is a long drought, and the seeds in the earth and the trees are withering, the priest of Lycaean Zeus looks to the water and prays; and having prayed and offered the sacrifices enjoined by custom, he lets down an oak branch to the surface of the spring, but not deep into it; and the water being stirred, there rises a mist-like vapour, and in a little the vapour becomes a cloud, and gathering other clouds to itself it causes rain to fall on the land of Arcadia[3].'

It would seem then that on Mount Lykaion the magical practice was preceded by a prayer, which—as M. H. Morgan[4] has observed—

incertum est, habĭtat deus; Arcades ipsum | credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem | aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.' Serv. *ad loc.* 'ipsum credunt se vidisse Iovem' in hoc scilicet nemore. sane ad illud adludit quod primi dicuntur Iovi templa [et rem divinam] fecisse—[Aeacus enim primus in Arcadia templum Iovi constituisse dicitur]—nec enim longe sunt a Iove Olympico: unde eos dicit Iovem vidisse, et quod ipsi sunt *προσέληνοι*, ut [ait] Statius 'Arcades astris lunaque priores' (Stat. *Theb.* 4. 275): licet dicat Sallustius Cretenses primos invenisse religionem, unde apud eos natus fingitur Iuppiter (Sall. *hist.* 3. 60 Dietsch, 63 Kritz. Cp. Myth. Vat. 3. 3. 9).

J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 842 comments: 'Arkadische Siedler an der Küste Latiums gehören immerhin in den Bereich der Möglichkeit,' cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 196, 202 f. But H. Last in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1928 vii. 364 f. and H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 311 rightly recognise that the whole story of Evander on Italian soil is a piece of pseudo-mythology based on misleading etymologies (*Palatinus* = *Pallanteion*, *Lupercalia* = *Lykaia*, etc.).

[1] *Supra* i. 65, 76 f., 87.

[2] On the identification of this spring see Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 383 and Bölte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2210. It is now known as *Κορίτες*—a name given to small stone, or more often wooden, troughs, through one of which the water at present runs. The inhabitants of the district declare that here there was once a regular river (*νερὸ ποτάμι*), but that, when the son of Hellenopoula was drowned in it, they dammed it up with twelve woolly fleeces and twelve caldrons, each caldron having forty handles. When in 1903 K. Kourouniotes was digging beside the spring, they believed that the water would burst out again. He found near by the ruins of a large ancient cistern (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1904 p. 162). Perhaps we have here a lingering belief in the water-magic of the sacred spring.

[3] Paus. 8. 38. 4 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer.

[4] M. H. Morgan 'Greek and Roman Rain-Gods and Rain-Charms' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1901 xxxii. 95: 'The prayer, though offered by the priest of Zeus, was obviously offered not to Zeus, but to Hagno, the nymph of the spring (*προσευξάμενος ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ*). The sacrifice (*καὶ θύσας*) may have been offered to Zeus, but Pausanias gives us no information on this point.'

When Diotima as priestess of Zeus *Lýkaios* (*supra* ii. 1167) postponed the plague at Athens for a decade by means of prayer (schol. Aristeid. p. 468, 15 ff. Dindorf *ἡ δὲ Διοτίμα ἱέρεια γέγονε τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς τοῦ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ. αὕτη δέ, μελλούσης τῆς νόσου, ἧς Θουκυδίδης μέμνηται, ἐπισκήπτειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εὐξαμένη ἐκώλυσεν αὐτὴν εἰσελθεῖν* (so cod. B. *ἐπελθεῖν* cod. D.) *ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτη*), she must be assumed to have prayed to her namesake deity. See further T. Zielinski in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 43.

was apparently directed to that old-world sanctity, the sacred spring.

Similarly in Thessaly magic was eked out by prayer. When the men of Krannon in time of drought shook their bronze car, they likewise 'prayed the god for rain[1].' And 'the god' concerned was almost certainly Zeus.

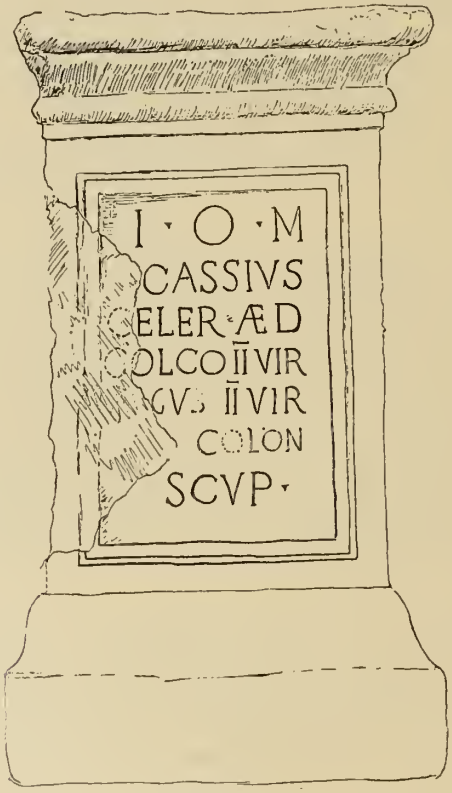


Fig. 202.

[1] Theopomp. *frag.* 85 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 292 Müller) = *frag.* 267 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 593 Jacoby) *ap.* Antig. Karyst. *hist. mir.* 15 ἐν δὲ Κράννωνι τῆς Θετταλίας δύο φασὶν μόνον εἶναι κόρακας· διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προξενιῶν (so A. E. von Locella for προξένων) τῶν ἀναγραφομένων τὸ παράσημον τῆς πόλεως (καθάπερ ἐστὶν ἔθιμον πᾶσι προσπαρατιθέναι) ὑπογράφονται δύο κόρακες ἐφ' ἁμαξίου χαλκοῦ, διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε πλείους τούτων ὠφθαι. ἡ δὲ ἅμαξα προσπαράκειται διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν—ξένον γὰρ ἴσως ἂν καὶ τοῦτο φανείη—· ἔστιν αὐτοῖς < ἅμαξα (*ins.* F. Jacoby) > ἀνακειμένη χαλκῆ, ἣν ὅταν αὐχμὸς ᾖ σείοντες ὕδωρ αἰτοῦνται τὸν θεόν, καί φασι γίνεσθαι. τούτου δέ τι ἰδιώτερον (F. J. Bast cj. ἰδιαίτερον) ὁ Θεόπομπος λέγει· φησὶν γὰρ ἕως τούτου διατρίβειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ (so F. Jacoby for τῷ) Κράννωνι ἕως ἂν τοὺς νεοττοὺς ἐκνεοττεύσωσιν, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντας τοὺς μὲν νεοττοὺς καταλείπειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀπιέναι (so C. Müller for ἀνιέναι). Cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κράνων. *Supra* ii. 831 ff. figs. 788—792, iii. 296 f.

Other cults that gave the sanction of religion to the rites of rain-magic were the worship of Zeus *Aktaîos* on Mount Pelion in Thessaly and the worship of Zeus *Polieús* on the Akropolis at Athens. The ritual of the former presupposed a procession of rain-makers clad in sheep-skins by way of copying the clouds[1]. The ritual of the latter included the significant action of the *Hydrophóroi*, who poured water over axe and knife at the Dipolieia[2].

The vitality of such usages is amazing. I conclude with an instructive example noted by Sir A. J. Evans[3] in the Balkans:

'Ibrahimovce itself is a small Bulgarian village, but it contains a monument of antiquity, interesting in itself, and of greater interest in its connexion with a local cult which has at least all the superficial appearance of being a direct inheritance from Roman times. Lying on its back on the village green was a large block, which proved on examination to be a Roman altar, erected to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, by an Ædile of a Colonia, of which we learn no more than that its name began with CO..., who was also Duumvir of the Colony of Scupi.

'To my astonishment, I learnt that this monument of Roman municipal piety towards the "cloud-compeller" is still the object of an extraordinary local cult. I was informed by one of the inhabitants that in time of drought the whole of the villagers, both Christian and Mahometan, with a local Bey at their head, go together to the stone, and, having restored it to its upright position, pour libations of wine over the top, praying the while for rain. The language of the villagers is at present a Slavonic dialect, and the name of Jove was as unknown to them as the inscription on the stone was unintelligible. Nevertheless, it was difficult not to believe that in this remote Illyrian nook some local tradition of the cult of Jupiter Pluvius had survived all historic changes.'

(b) Prayers to Zeus for rain.

Marcus Aurelius has preserved the Athenian equivalent of our prayer 'In the time of Dearth and Famine.' It runs as follows:

> Rain, rain, dear Zeus,
> On Athens' tilth and Athens' plains[4].

[1] *Supra* pp. 31 f., 68 f.

[2] *Infra* pp. 583, 603 ff.

[3] Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1885 xlix. 1. 104 f. fig. 48 (=my fig. 202), *id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 19 n. 44.

[4] Marc. Ant. *comment.* 5. 7 εὐχὴ Ἀθηναίων· Ὗσον, ὗσον, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων. ἤτοι οὐ δεῖ εὔχεσθαι, ἢ οὕτως, ἁπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως. On the rhythmical arrangement of the prayer see T. Bergk *Poetae lyrici Graeci*[4] Lipsiae 1882 iii. 684, E. Norden *Die antike Kunstprosa* Leipzig 1898 i. 46. Bergk *loc. cit.* cj. κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν Πεδιαίων. J. M. Edmonds *Lyra Graeca* London 1927 iii. 516 prints κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηνῶν | καὶ<κατὰ>τῆς Πεδιῶν (=Πεδιέων, cp. Πειραιῶς).

The address ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ is appropriate to a simple, not to say primitive, prayer (*supra* ii. 1167. Cp. also Strattis Φοίνισσαι *frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 781 Meineke) *ap.* Poll. 9. 123 f. εἶθ' ἥλιος μὲν πείθεται τοῖς παιδίοις | ὅταν λέγωσιν "ἔξεχ', ὦ φίλ' ἥλιε"=Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἐξέχειν and Aristoph. Νῆσοι *frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1110 Meineke) *ap.* Souid. *s.v.*

A parallel to this was published by A. Körte[1]. Near *Tschukurhissar*, a village in Phrygia, he found an inscribed marble *stéle* now used as the doorstep of a house. The inscription (fig. 203), so far as it can be restored, gives us three or four passable hexameters and is dated in the consulship of Salvius Iulianus and Calpurnianus (*sic*) Piso, that is, in 175 A.D. We may render it:

Wet thou the ground
That with thick crops and corn it may abound.
Zeus Kronos' son, thus Metreodoros prays
And victims fair before thine altar slays.

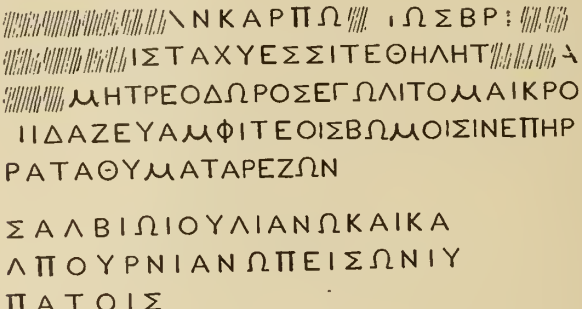


Fig. 203.

Alkiphron, a later contemporary of Lucian[2], pens a graphic little sketch of an Attic village distressed by lack of rain. His description takes the form of a letter from Thalliskos to Petraios:

'The drought is now on. Not a cloud above the horizon. What we want is a real downpour; for the absolute dryness of the soil shows the fields to be suffering from thirst. It would seem that our sacrifices to the Rain-god have been addressed in vain to deaf ears. And yet all the inhabitants of our village fairly vied with each other in their offerings. We contributed, according to our ability or our abundance, one man a ram, another a he-goat, a third a boar. The poor man brought a cake, the poorer still a pinch of frankincense. Nobody could manage a bull, since we who occupy the thin-soiled part of Attike are not well off for cattle. However, the money we spent has done us no good. It looks as

ἐξέχειν τὸν ἥλιον and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 881, 42 ff. *λέξεις ἄρα | ὥσπερ τὰ παιδί' "ἔξεχ', ὦ φίλ' ἥλιε."* Athen. 619 B *ἡ δὲ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ᾠδὴ φιληλιάς, ὡς Τελέσιλλα (frag. 2 Bergk[4]) παρίστησιν.* In Aristoph. *vesp.* 88 *φιληλιαστής* there is of course a sly reference to Philokleon's second childhood).

[1] A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 421 f. no. 33 [*βρέχε γαῖ]αν, | καρπῶ [ὅπ]ως βρί[θῃ καὶ ἐν]ὶ σταχύεσσι τεθήλῃ. | τ[αῦτ]ά [σε] Μητρεόδωρος ἐγὼ λίτομαι, Κρο[ν]ίδα Ζεῦ, | ἀμφὶ τεοῖς βωμοῖσιν ἐπήρρατα θύματα ῥέζων. Σαλβίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ καὶ Καλπουρνιανῷ Πείσωνι ὑπάτοις* (a would-be ablative absolute on the analogy of the Latin formula).

[2] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 826.

though Zeus has turned his attention to foreigners and is neglecting the folk at home[1].'

Of course the god that could send the rain was also the god that could stop the rain. An epigram by Asklepiades of Samos (*s.* iii B.C.) tells how a lover, wet to the skin at his loved one's door, appealed to Zeus for a cessation of the deluge[2].

(c) The relation of rain to Zeus.

Apart from general phrases such as 'Zeus rains[3],' 'Zeus drizzles[4],'

[1] Alkiphr. *epist.* 3. 35 *αὐχμὸς τὰ νῦν· οὐδαμοῦ νέφος ὑπὲρ γῆς αἴρεται. δεῖ δὲ ἐπομβρίας· διψῆν γὰρ τὰς ἀρούρας τὸ κατάξηρον τῆς βώλου δείκνυσι. μάταια ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ἀνήκοα τέθυται τῷ Ὑετίῳ. καίτοι γε ἐξ ἀμίλλης ἐκαλλιερήσαμεν πάντες οἱ τῆς κώμης οἰκήτορες, καὶ ὡς ἕκαστος δυνάμεως ἢ περιουσίας εἶχε συνεισηνέγκαμεν, ὁ μὲν κριόν, ὁ δὲ τράγον, ὁ δὲ κάπρον, ὃ πένης πόπανον, ὁ δὲ ἔτι πενέστερος λιβανωτοῦ χόνδρους· ταῦρον δὲ οὐδείς, οὐ γὰρ εὐπορία βοσκημάτων ἡμῖν τὴν λεπτόγεων τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατοικοῦσιν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὄφελος τῶν δαπανημάτων· ἔοικε γὰρ πρὸς ἑτέροις ἔθνεσιν ὁ Ζεὺς ὢν τῶν τῇδε ἀμελεῖν.*

[2] *Anth. Pal.* 5. 166. 5 f. (Asklepiades) *τῇδε* (J. F. Dübner cj. *τῷ δὲ* H. Stadtmüller cj. *παιδί*) *τοσαῦτ' ἐβόησα βεβρεγμένος· 'ἄχρι τίνος, Ζεῦ; | Ζεῦ φίλε, σίγησον· καὐτὸς ἐρᾷν ἔμαθες.' Supra* ii. 1167 n. 4. Cp. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 533. 1 (Dionysios of Andros) *καὶ Διὶ καὶ Βρομίῳ με διάβροχον οὐ μέγ' ὀλισθεῖν*, where 'Zeus' means rain and 'Bromios' wine.

[3] *Il.* 12. 25 f. (*supra* ii. 1 n. 4), *Od.* 14. 457 f. *ὗε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς | πάννυχος*, Hes. *o.d.* 415 f. (*supra* ii. 1 n. 4), 488 f. *τῆμος Ζεὺς ὗοι τρίτῳ ἤματι μηδ' ἀπολήγοι, | μήτ' ἄρ' ὑπερβάλλων βοὸς ὁπλὴν μήτ' ἀπολείπων*, Alkai. *frag.* 34. 1 Bergk[4], 157. 1 Edmonds, 90. 1 Diehl *ὗει* (A. Hecker cj. *νίφει*, J. M. Edmonds cj. *νεύει*) *μὲν ὁ Ζεύς ap.* Athen. 430 A, Theogn. 25 f. *οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς | οὔθ' ὕων πάντεσσ' ἀνδάνει οὔτ' ἀνέχων* (quoted by Apostol. 4. 14 d, cp. E. Legrand—J. Chamonard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 286 f. no. 89 = *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* iv. 14 f. no. 49 (*c*) a round pillar of white marble at *Atli Hisar* near Synnada recording, in letters of *s.* iii A.D., the dedication of a statue of Kynegia, wife of Gera(i)os, who had transferred to the temple of *Νέος Ἡρακλῆς* an *aletós*, reconstructed by her husband, to serve as a protection against rain: 4 ff. *καὶ α[ἰ]ετὸν | ἐδωρήσατο πόλι τό ποτε κίμενον εἶσα Γέραος, νῦν δ' | εἰς νέον ἤγαγε Ἡρακλέην Διὸς ὗοντος* (would-be hexameters!), Liban. *apol. Socr.* 78 (v. 57, 1 ff. Foerster) *ἀλλὰ τοῦ Διὸς οὐχ ὗοντος καὶ πάλιν ἔξω τοῦ μετρίου βοῶμεν ὡς ἀδικούμενοι καὶ τί ποιῶν δίκαιος ἂν ἦν περὶ τὴν γῆν λέγομεν. καὶ ταύτας τὰς κατηγορίας οὐκ ἠγνόει Θέογνις ὁ Μεγαρεύς. κ.τ.λ.*), and perhaps Menand. *frag. incert.* 306 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 299 Meineke) *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 387, 40 f. (but see *supra* ii. 3 n. 2).

Cp. Aristoph. *nub.* 1278 ff. *κάτειπέ νυν, | πότερα νομίζεις καινὸν ἀεὶ τὸν Δία | ὗειν ὕδωρ ἑκάστοτ', ἢ τὸν ἥλιον | ἕλκειν κάτωθεν ταὐτὸ τοῦθ' ὕδωρ πάλιν;* Silenos of Chios (on whom see F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 56) *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 100 n.* Müller, *Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 211 f. Jacoby) *ap.* schol. E. M. T. *Od.* 1. 75 *Σιληνὸς δὲ ὁ Χῖος ἐν δευτέρῳ Μυθικῶν Ἱστοριῶν—ἔστι δὲ δύο βιβλία—Ἀντίκλειάν φησι τὴν Ὀδυσσέως μητέρα ἐγκύμονα ὁδεύουσαν παρὰ τὸ Νήριτον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰθάκης ὄρος, ὕσαντος πολὺ τοῦ Διὸς ὑπ' ἀγωνίας καὶ φόβου καταπεσοῦσαν τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἀποτεκεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταύτης τῆς ὀνομασίας τυχεῖν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὗσεν ὁ Ζεύς* (a story repeated by Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 786, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1871, 21 ff., Eudok. *viol.* 61, 727, and 918, Natalis Comes *myth.* 9. 1 (p. 934 ed. Parisiis 1605), cp. schol. Vind. 56 *Od.* 1. 21), Paus. 1. 24. 3 *ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα ἱκετευούσης ὑσαι οἱ τὸν Δία, εἴτε αὐτοῖς ὄμβρου δεῆσαν Ἀθηναίοις, εἴτε καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι συμβὰς αὐχμός* (*supra* ii. 21 n. 4).

[4] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 45 p. 164 Kayser (Apollonios recalls a Roman girl to life) *καὶ εἴτε σπινθῆρα τῆς ψυχῆς εὗρεν ἐν αὐτῇ, ὃς ἐλελήθει τοὺς θεραπεύοντας—λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ψεκάζοι μὲν ὁ Ζεύς, ἡ δὲ ἀτμίζοι ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου—εἶτ' ἀπεσβηκυῖαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνέθαλψέ τε καὶ ἀνέλαβεν, ἄρρητος ἡ κατάληψις τούτου γέγονεν οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν.*

'the shower of Zeus[1],' 'water from Zeus[2],' etc. there is good evidence to prove that the Greeks of the historical period regarded rain as essentially connected with this god. Philosophers and grammarians even made a misguided attempt to derive his name in its dialect form *Deús*[3] from the verb *deúein*, 'to moisten,' because he moistened the ground with his rain or gave living creatures the dampness without which none could live[4].

[1] Διὸς ὄμβρος: *Il.* 5. 91, 11. 493, 12. 286 (of snow), *Od.* 9. 111, 358, Hes. *o.d.* 626, 676, Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 49 (of hail), Aristoph. *ran.* 246, Theokr. 17. 78, Nonn. *Dion.* 3. 215, 42. 292, 47. 591. Cp. Liban. *monod. de templ. Apoll. Daphn.* 9 (iv. 318, 2 ff. Foerster) ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ὄμβρων ἡνίας ἔχων ὕδωρ ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὴν φλόγα καὶ ταῦτα Λυδῶν ποτε βασιλεῖ δυστυχήσαντι σβέσας πυράν; copied by his pupil Io. Chrys. *in S. Babylam, c. Iulianum, et c. gentiles* 20 (xlix. 564 f. Migne).

[2] Hdt. 2. 13 εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφι ὕειν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλ' αὐχμῷ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῷ οἱ Ἕλληνες αἱρεθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ δή σφί ἐστι ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφὴ ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μοῦνον, Plat. *legg.* 761 A τῶν ἐκ Διὸς ὑδάτων, 844 A τὰ ἐκ Διὸς ἰόντα...νάματα, *Critias* 111 C τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὕδωρ ἐκαρποῦτο ἐκ Διός, Theophr. *hist. pl.* 2. 6. 5 ἐπιζητεῖ δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ ναματιαῖον ὕδωρ ἢ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Διός, 7. 5. 2 ἀγαθὰ δὲ τὰ ἐκ Διός (*sc.* ὕδατα), 8. 7. 3 τὰ ναματιαῖα συμφέρειν μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ Διός, *caus. pl.* 1. 19. 5 γινομένων ὑδάτων ἐκ Διός, 2. 6. 1 ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ Διὸς ὑδάτων, 3. 8. 3 διὰ τὴν σπάνην τῶν ἐκ Διός (*sc.* ὑδάτων), 3. 9. 5 μὴ ἐπιγινομένων τῶν ἐκ Διός (*sc.* ὑδάτων), Ap. Rhod. 2. 1120 f. τὸ δὲ μυρίον ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ | λῆξεν ἅμ' ἠελίῳ, Plout. *quaestt. nat.* 2 ἆρα οὖν κοῦφόν ἐστι τὸ ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ καὶ ἀερῶδες, καὶ πνεύματι μεμιγμένον ὁδηγεῖταί τε καὶ ἀναπέμπεται ταχέως εἰς τὸ φυτὸν ὑπὸ λεπτότητος;

[3] *Supra* ii. 344 n. 0. Cp. F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *Ach.* 911 ἴττω Δεύς.

[4] Cornut. *theol.* 2 p. 3, 10 f. Lang παρὰ δέ τισι καὶ Δεὺς λέγεται, τάχα ἀπὸ τοῦ δεύειν τὴν γῆν ἢ μεταδιδόναι τοῖς ζῶσι ζωτικῆς (σωματικῆς codd. X. L.) ἰκμάδος, *et. mag.* p. 409, 2 f. ἢ παρὰ τὸ δεύω τὸ βρέχω, δεύσω, Δεὺς καὶ Ζεύς· ὑέτιος γὰρ ὁ θεός (αἴτιος γὰρ ὑετοῦ cod. V.), Eustath. *in Il.* p. 153, 34 f. δεύω τὸ βρέχω Δεὺς καὶ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀήρ. On the summit of Mt Tmolos was a place called Γοναὶ Διὸς Τετίου and later Δεύσιον, whence K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 281 inferred the existence of an appellative Δεύσιος= Τέτιος; but see *supra* ii. 957 n. 2.

The notion that the name of Zeus implies moisture has been revived in modern times. I possess the abstract of a paper written by Prof. T. G. Tucker of Melbourne and dated June 3, 1912, but not—so far as I know—published, in which the following propositions were advanced. Religion begins with the obtaining of food and drink. Where there is insufficient moisture, there is not enough to eat. Hence the earliest religious efforts of Mediterranean man aimed at rain-making, or rather water-getting. His *numina* were practically all concerned with human maintenance—the Earth-mother and her cognates with the food-supply, the rest with the water-supply. **Dĭēus* in particular was the 'Moistener,' the 'Wetter,' not the 'Shiner' [*supra* i. 1 ff., 14 ff., 776], cp. διϝερός 'wet,' διϝαίνω 'I moisten.' Thus Πάν-διων is the equivalent of Πάν-δροσος; the festivals Διῖα, Πάνδια, Διάσια, Διπόλια all involved rain-making ceremonies (as did the Τστήρια, from **ὑστήρ*=**ὑδ-τήρ*, 'rain-maker,' in spite of Athen. 95 F—96 A ὅτι δ' ὄντως Ἀφροδίτῃ ὗς θύεται μαρτυρεῖ Καλλίμαχος (*frag.* 100[h] no. 1 Schneider) ἡ Ζηνόδοτος ἐν ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι (*frag.* 2 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 183 Jacoby)) γράφων ὧδε· "Ἀργεῖοι Ἀφροδίτῃ ὗν θύουσι, καὶ ἡ ἑορτὴ καλεῖται Τστήρια"); and *Iū(p)piter* (*Diespiter*) stands beside the fountain-goddess *Iūturna* (*Diuturna* [Latte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1349]). Various cult-epithets of Zeus are cited in support of this interpretation, not only Ὄμβριος, Τέτιος, Ἱκμαῖος, but also Νάιος (cp. νᾶμα [*supra* i. 369 n. 2, ii. 351 n. 0, 869 n. 0]), Πανομφαῖος ('of the Voice' [*supra* ii. 1097 n. 2, 1211], but originally 'of the Rain.' The composite root **enebh-* has for Ablaut-grades **nebh-*, **ombh-*, **m̥bh-* in νέφος, ὀμφαλός, ἀφρός. The ὀμφαλός was a 'rain-gathering' stone, cp. ὄμβρος), Ὀλύμπιος (Ὄλυμπος meant

But, though rain was always referred to Zeus[1], its exact relationship to him was variously conceived.

'Cloud-collector,' so that *νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς* in a sense *was* the mountain—just as the Mexican rain-god Tlaloc was also Mt Popocatepetl. The Mysian flute-player Olympos [P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 860 ff.] whistled for the wind. A Cretan Olympos was 'teacher' of Zeus [Ptol. Hephaist. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 147 b 38 f. Bekker] in control of the rain-power. On this showing *τὰ Ὀλύμπια* would be ceremonies of cloud-gathering), Μαιμάκτης (not 'Raging' [Plout. *de cohib. ira* 9 *διὸ καὶ τῶν θεῶν τὸν βασιλέα Μειλίχιον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Μαιμάκτην, οἶμαι, καλοῦσι· τὸ δὲ κολαστικὸν ἐρινυῶδες καὶ δαιμονικόν, οὐ θεῖον δὲ οὐδὲ Ὀλύμπιον*, Harpokr. *s.v.* *Μαιμακτηριών· ...ὠνόμασται δὲ ἀπὸ Διὸς Μαιμάκτου. Μαιμάκτης δ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνθουσιώδης καὶ ταρακτικός, ὡς φησι Λυσιμαχίδης* (Λυσιμάχης cod. Ven.) (Lysimachos of Alexandreia *frag.* 22 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 341 Müller)) *ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι μηνῶν· ἀρχὴν δὲ λαμβάνοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μηνὶ ὁ ἀὴρ ταράττεται καὶ μεταβολὴν ἴσχει* = Souid. *s.v.* Μαιμακτηριών. *Aliter* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Μαιμακτηριών· ... *ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μαιμάξεως τῆς περὶ τὴν ἄμπελον· μαιμάξαντες γάρ, ὅ ἐστιν ὀρμήσαντες, ἐτρύγησαν ἄμπελον καὶ οἶνον ἐποίησαν.* H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2242 f. notes that the 'Raging' god might be appeased (Hesych. *Μαιμάκτης· Μειλίχιος, Καθάρσιος*) and cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 77, 12 ff. cited *supra* i. 176 n. 2], but 'Giving Increase.' The root **mak̂-* meant 'enlargement' (*μακρός*), 'increase,' 'benefit,' 'blessing' (*μάκαρες θεοί* = *ὄωτῆρες ἐάων*, cp. *macte esto*). The reduplication is of a common type (*δαιδάλλω* etc.). Zeus Μαιμάκτης was probably developed from human **μαιμακτῆρες*, whose rain-making rites **μαιμακτήρια* gave their name to the month Μαιμακτηριών. With this **mak̂-* goes *φαρμακοί* for **φαρσ-μακ-οί*, 'promoters of bearing (or produce),' cp. Φερσεφόνεια. The by-form **magh* is found in *μηχανή* [Zeus Μηχανεύς: *supra* ii. 1144 n. 2, *infra* § 9 (h) i], *Maius* the month of increase, Iupiter *Maius* [Macrob. *Sat.* i. 12. 17 sunt qui hunc mensem ad nostros fastos a Tusculanis transisse commemorent, apud quos nunc quoque vocatur deus Maius qui est Iuppiter, a magnitudine scilicet ac maiestate dictus. See further Link in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 613 f.], etc.), Φαλακρός (Zeus Φαλακρός [*supra* ii. 875 n. 2, 1226] or rather Φάλακρος was god 'of the Swelling Tips' on plants, fruit-trees, oaks, and beeches. The compound *φαλ-* + *ἄκρος* has for its first element the *φαλ-* (**bhal-* **bhl̥-*) of *φάλης*, *φαλλός* (the 'growth-making,' a magic instrument), etc., as in the case of Hermes Φαλάνθης [*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1606 *Λυσικλῆς Ναυκλέους* | ['Ε]*ρμεῖ Φαλανθεῖ ἀνέθηκεν*, where however the god's epithet may be Φαλανθεύς, an ethnic from Mt Phalanthon in Arkadia: see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2237], who makes the flower or bloom of things to grow, cp. Hesych. *Ἐριφύλλιον* (A. Meineke cj. *Ἐρίφυλλον*)· *τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆ*), *Λαφύστιος* (If this title of Zeus [*supra* ii. 899 n. 1, 904 n. 1] had anything to do with *λαφύσσειν*, 'to devour,' it meant 'who enables men to gorge,' not 'who gorges himself'; but the connexion is somewhat doubtful). It is contended also that *Νίκη* (later *Νείκη* [but this is merely a Byzantine mis-spelling]), the attribute of Zeus, meant 'Bearing' or 'Winning'—originally what the season 'brings' or 'bears' for you, what you 'win' or 'carry off' in the way of produce,—being thus in form akin to *ἐνεῖκαι* [Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 251 notes that the root *enek̂-* had reduced forms *eîk̂-* and *nek̂-*, cp. Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 506 f. *s.v.* 'nanciscor'] and in sense comparable with *Fors*, *Fortuna* (*fero*) [*supra* i. 272].

Prof. Tucker's reading of Greek religion is simple and so far attractive. But the etymologies on which he relies vary in value from the certain (*e.g.* Ὄμβριος) or highly probable (*e.g.* Νάιος) to the highly improbable (*e.g.* *ὀμφαλός*) or impossible (*e.g.* Ὄλυμπος), and I doubt whether any tenable position can be constructed out of such miscellaneous materials.

[1] *E.g.* Eur. *Tro.* 78 f. (cited *supra* ii. 1 n. 6), Hdt. 2. 13 *πυθόμενοι γὰρ* (*sc.* *οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι*) *ὡς ὕεται πᾶσα ἡ χώρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖσι ἄρδεται κατά περ ἡ σφετέρη, ἔφασαν Ἕλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πεινήσειν. τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφι ὕειν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλ' αὐχμῷ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῷ οἱ Ἕλληνες αἱρεθήσονται·*

Matron, a parodist of Homer in the days of Alexander the Great[1], dubbed it 'the child of Zeus[2].'

Orphic writers spoke of it as 'the tears of Zeus[3].' Ovid's story

οὐ γὰρ δή σφί ἐστι ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφὴ ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μοῦνον, Isokr. *Bus.* 13 τῶν γὰρ ὄμβρων καὶ τῶν αὐχμῶν τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὁ Ζεὺς ταμίας ἐστίν, ἐκείνων δ' ἕκαστος (*sc.* τῶν Αἰγυπτίων) ἀμφοτέρων τούτων αὐτὸς αὑτῷ κύριος καθέστηκεν, Theophr. *char.* 18 Jebb καὶ εἰ ποιήσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς ὕδωρ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ βελτίω ἔσεσθαι, 22 Jebb καὶ τῷ Διὶ ἀγανακτεῖν, οὐ διότι οὐχ ὕει, ἀλλὰ διότι ὕστερον. See further M. H. Morgan 'Greek and Roman Rain-Gods and Rain-Charms' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1901 xxxii. 83 ff.

In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 175 and in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 267 I drew attention to the remarkable term ζήνιον ὕδωρ used for 'rain-water' in the magical papyri (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 26 pap. Par. 222 ff. = K. Preisendanz *Papyri Graecae magicae* Leipzig—Berlin 1928 i. 78 no. 4, 222 ff. a lecanomantic prescription σκέψις· ἐπειδάν ποτε βούλει | σκέψασθαι περὶ πραγμάτων, λαβὼν ἄγγος χαλκοῦν, | ἢ λεκάνην ἢ φιάλην, οἵαν ἐὰν βούλῃ, βάλε ὕδωρ | —ἐὰν μὲν τοὺς ἐπουρανίους θεοὺς κλήζῃ, ζήνιον, | ἐὰν δὲ τοὺς ἐπιγείους, θαλάσσιον, ἐὰν δὲ Ὄσιριν ἢ τὸν | Σάραπιν, ποτάμιον, ἐὰν δὲ νέκυας, πηγαῖον—κατέ|χων ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι σκεῦος, ἐπιβαλὼν ἔλαιον ὁμφά|κινον καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς ἐπικύπτων ἐν τῷ σκεύει λέγε τὸν | λόγον τὸν ὑποκείμενον καὶ προσκαλοῦ, ὃν βούλει θεόν, | καὶ ἐπερώτα, περὶ οὗ θέλεις, καὶ ἀποκριθήσεταί σοι | καὶ ἐρεῖ σοι περὶ πάντων. κ.τ.λ., C. Wessely *Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* Wien 1893 p. 41 pap. Lond. 629 f. (F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 83 ff. no. 121 omits the fragment) σκελλ' ι[σ]χαδα γ φοινικος οστα γ̄ νικολαου | και αρτ' αγμ[ατ]α γ και ζηνιου υδατος και κ... in a list of magical ingredients). H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 p. 628 says rightly '**ζήνιον** (= δῖον, i.e. ὄμβριον) ὕδωρ,' but would have done better to print '**Ζήνιον** ὕδωρ' with a capital letter as Dr H. Stuart Jones prints it in the latest edition of Liddell and Scott. The choice of the new form Ζήνιον in preference to the older and better-established Δῖον [*supra* i. 3 f.] probably implies the usual attempt to connect Ζεύς, Ζῆνα, etc. with ζῆν [*supra* i. 11 n. 5, 28 n. 8, ii. 259 n. 0, 855 n. 2]. Rain as the seminal fluid of the sky-god was indeed *aqua viva* (M. Ninck *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten* Leipzig 1921 p. 25 ff. See also S. Eitrem *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (*Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter.* II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1914 No. i) Kristiania 1915 p. 115). Ζήνιον ὕδωρ would have the further merit of rounding off fitly a hexameter verse.

[1] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 204, E. Diehl in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 2298 ff.

[2] Matron *frag.* 2. 3 f. (*Corpusc. poes. ep. Gr. ludib.* i. 91 Brandt) *ap.* Athen. 64 c βολβίνας θ', αἳ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου εἰσὶν ἀοιδοί (G. Kaibel cj. γενέθλη or νεοσσοί, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff cj. ἐδωδή. But A. Ludwich with more probability reads ἀοιδή, which C. B. Gulick renders 'theme of Olympian Zeus's song'), | ἃς ἐν χέρσῳ θρέψε Διὸς παῖς ἄσπετος ὄμβρος, | κ.τ.λ. Cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1053, 10 ff., who after quoting the same passage from Matron continues ἐν τούτοις γὰρ Διὸς υἱὸν τὸν ὑετὸν εἰπὼν συντελεῖ τι ἐς τὸ νοεῖν ποταμὸν Διιπετῆ τὸν ἐξ ὑετοῦ, ὃν Ζεὺς ἀὴρ δοκεῖ γεννᾶν. Eustathios appears to be hinting at an etymological connexion between ὑετός and υἱός.

[3] Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 8 p. 360, 10 ff. Stählin οὐχὶ καὶ Ἐπιγένης (a grammarian of the Alexandrine age, on whom see L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 64 f.) ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ὀρφέως ποιήσεως τὰ ἰδιάζοντα παρ' Ὀρφεῖ ἐκτιθέμενός φησι... "δάκρυα Διός" τὸν ὄμβρον δηλοῦν, κ.τ.λ.; = Orph. *frag.* 253 Abel, 33 Kern. Similarly the Pythagoreans called the sea Κρόνου δάκρυον (Aristot. *frag.* 191 Rose (196 Rose[2]) *ap.* Porph. *v. Pyth.* 41, Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 32, Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 8 p. 360, 20 f. Stählin): *supra* ii. 557 n. 1.

The Esthonians speak of a '"Wind mother," who "weeps" when the rain falls during a storm, and "dances" in whirlwinds' (U. Holmberg *Finno-Ugric Mythology* Boston 1927 p. 232).

that the Kouretes sprang from a heavy rain-shower[1] is paralleled by the anonymous statement that they sprang from the tears of Zeus[2]. And Herakleitos the Stoic (*s.* i A.D.?[3]) interprets the blood-rain sent by Zeus in the *Iliad*[4] to portend the death of Sarpedon[5] as the tears, not indeed of Zeus, but of the *aithér*[6]—which amounts to the same thing[7].

Artists of Roman date represent rain as falling in large gouts or drops from the hand of Zeus. A bronze coin of Ephesos, issued by Antoninus Pius, shows Zeus enthroned on Mount Koressos, with a thunderbolt held in his left hand and a shower descending from his right upon the recumbent figure of Mount Peion[8]. To the example

Fig. 204.

Fig. 205.

Fig. 206.

in the British Museum (*supra* i. 134 fig. 100) must be added others in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris (fig. 204)[9] and in the Löbbecke (fig. 205)[10] and Gréau (fig. 206)[11] collections—all apparently from the same dies. Again, an engraved chalcedony of the Graeco-Roman

[1] Ov. *met.* 4. 281 ff. te quoque, nunc adamas, quondam fidissime parvo, | Celmi, Iovi largoque satos Curetas ab imbri | ... | praetereo. The section is discussed by W. Vollgraff *Nikander und Ovid* Groningen 1909 i. 141. See also O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1598.

[2] Schol. Plat. *symp.* 960 b 26 ff. ἀπὸ τῶν Κορυβάντων, οἳ καὶ τροφεῖς καὶ φύλακες καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι μυθολογοῦνται. τινὲς δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Κούρησιν εἶναι φασίν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῆς Ῥέας ὀπαδούς, ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Διὸς δακρύων γεγενημένους· ὧν ἀριθμὸν οἱ μὲν θ', οἱ δὲ ι' λέγουσιν. Cp. schol. R. Aristoph. *vesp.* 8 τελετὴ δέ τις ἦν τῶν Κορυβάντων. ἔνιοι δὲ ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων τοῦ Διὸς ἐγένοντο, πάντες δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι τῆς Ῥέας μὲν ὀπαδοὺς αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι, φύλακας δὲ τοῦ Διός.

[3] C. Reinhardt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 508.

[4] *Il.* 16. 458 ff. [5] *Infra* p. 478.

[6] Herakleitos the Stoic *quaest. Hom.* p. 64, 1 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν φόνιον ὄμβρον ἀλληγορικῶς εἶπεν αἱθέρος δάκρυα, Διὸς μὲν οὖ—ἄκλαυστος γάρ—, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπεράνω τόπων ὡσπερεὶ θρήνοις μεμιγμένου καταρραγέντος ὑετοῦ.

[7] *Supra* i. 27 ff. [8] *Supra* i. 134, ii. 962 n. 2.

[9] O. Benndorf *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1906 i. 56 fig. 18*b* (= my fig. 204).

[10] A. Löbbecke in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890 xvii. 10 no. 2 pl. 1, 17 (= my fig. 205), O. Benndorf *op. cit.* i. 56 fig. 18*a*.

[11] H. Cohen *Description des médailles grecques de M. J. Gréau* Paris 1867 no. 1767 pl. 4, O. Benndorf *op. cit.* i. 56 fig. 18*d* (= my fig. 206).

period, formerly in the Castellani collection and now in the British Museum (fig. 207)[1], has Zeus in a car drawn by a pair of eagles. His left hand holds one of the reins, his right lets fall a shower of drops. Above and below are Sagittarius and Pisces, which—as H. B. Walters[2] observes—stand for two of the rainy winter months. The god so figured would presumably have been called Iupiter *Pluvius*[3] or *Pluvialis*[4] by the Romans. No other certain representa-

Fig. 207.

Fig. 208.

tion of him is known[5]. But it is probably he who appears on the column of Marcus Aurelius in connexion with the campaign against the Quadi[6] (174 A.D.).

For our knowledge of that famous episode we are mainly

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 92 no. 591, *ib.*[2] p. 144 no. 1267 pl. 18. See also O. Keller *Thiere des classischen Alterthums in culturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* Innsbruck 1887 p. 275 'wo Zeus mit zwei Adlern fährt[372] wie der Jehova des Psalmisten, der im Wettersturm mit Keruben (Greifengespann) einherfährt[373] [[373] Psalm 18, 11]' with p. 452 n. 372. My fig. 207 (scale $\frac{2}{1}$) is from a cast kindly supplied by Mr H. B. Walters.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 144.

[3] Tib. 1. 7. 25 f. te (*sc.* Father Nile) propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres, | arida nec Pluvio supplicat herba Iovi. The last five words are cited, but wrongly attributed to Ovid, by Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 4. 2. 2. Stat. *Theb.* 4. 758 f. tu (*sc.* Hypsipyle) nunc ventis Pluvioque rogaris | pro Iove. *Anth. Lat.* 395. 46 Riese (in a description of December) Pluvio de Iove cuncta madent.

[4] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 324 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5641 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3043 (found at Naples) Iovi | Pluvia[li]. See further Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] i. 190 n. 2, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 120 n. 10.

[5] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 426 fig. describes the obverse design of a *denarius* struck by L. Cornelius Lentulus *c.* 49—47 B.C. at Ephesos (?) as 'Tête nue et barbue de Jupiter Pluvius à droite' (my fig. 208 is from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum). But this description, presumably suggested by the fact that the reverse type shows the cult-statue of Artemis *Ephesia*, is highly conjectural. And other conjectures have been made. Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 120 pl. Cornelia 3, 6 says: 'Caput senile barbatum Herculis, ut credidit Ursinus, Jovis Olympii, ut sentit Vaillantius, ut nobis videtur, Jovis Eleutherii sive Liberatoris.' H. A. Grueber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 467 pl. 110, 15 has merely: 'Head of Jupiter r., with long beard.'

Equally illusory is the coin said to bear the legend ΖΕΥϹ ΟΜΒΡΙΟϹ (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1222, xi. 1261)—perhaps a misreading of ΖΕΥϹ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟϹ.

[6] On this great Germanic tribe see the monograph of H. Kirchmayr *Der altdeutsche Volkstamm der Quaden* Wien 1890 (pp. xv, 173 with 13 figs.) and L. Schmitz in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 689, M. Schönfeld *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* Heidelberg 1911 p. 181 f. *s.v.* 'Quadi,' Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 878, R. Much in Hoops *Reallex.* iii. 431 f. *s.v.* 'Quaden.'

dependent on the account given by Cassius Dio (*c.* 210—222 A.D.), or—to speak more strictly—on an abridged version of it made by the monk Ioannes Xiphilinos of Trapezous for the Byzantine emperor Michael vii Parapinakes (1071—1078 A.D.). The epitome[1] reads:

'So Marcus subdued the Marcomani and the Iazyges after many hard struggles and dangers. A great war against the people called the Quadi also fell to his lot and it was his good fortune to win an unexpected victory, or rather it was vouchsafed him by Heaven. For when the Romans were in peril in the course of the battle, the divine power saved them in a most unexpected manner. The Quadi had surrounded them at a spot favourable for their purpose and the Romans were fighting valiantly with their shields locked together; then the barbarians ceased fighting, expecting to capture them easily as the result of the heat and their thirst. So they posted guards all about and hemmed them in to prevent their getting water anywhere; for the barbarians were far superior in numbers. The Romans, accordingly, were in a terrible plight from fatigue, wounds, the heat of the sun, and thirst, and so could neither fight nor retreat, but were standing in the line and at their several posts, scorched by the heat, when suddenly many clouds gathered and a mighty rain, not without divine interposition, burst upon them. Indeed, there is a story to the effect that Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, who was a companion of Marcus, had invoked by means of enchantments various deities and in particular Mercury, the god of the air, and by this means attracted the rain[2].

[This is what Dio says about the matter, but he is apparently in error, whether intentionally or otherwise; and yet I am inclined to believe his error was chiefly intentional. It surely must be so, for he was not ignorant of the division of soldiers that bore the special name of the "Thundering" Legion,—indeed he mentions it in the list along with the others[3],—a title which was given

[1] Dion Cass. 71. 8—10 trans. E. Cary.

[2] Dion Cass. 71. 8 *...νέφη πολλὰ ἐξαίφνης συνέδραμε καὶ ὑετὸς πολὺς οὐκ ἀθεεὶ κατερράγη· καὶ γάρ τοι λόγος ἔχει Ἀρνοῦφίν τινα μάγον Αἰγύπτιον συνόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ ἄλλους τέ τινας δαίμονας καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἀέριον ὅτι μάλιστα μαγγανείαις τισὶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὸν ὄμβρον ἐπισπάσασθαι.*

[3] *Ib.* 71. 9 *οἶμαι δὲ τὸ πλέον ἐκών· καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὔ, ὅστις οὐκ ἠγνόει τὸ τάγμα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ κεραυνοβόλον ἰδίως καλούμενον (ἐν γὰρ τῷ τῶν λοιπῶν καταλόγῳ καὶ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει), ὅπερ κ.τ.λ.* The reference is to 55. 23 *καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ τὸ κεραυνοφόρον.* But neither *κεραυνοφόρον*, 'bearing a thunderbolt,' nor *κεραυνοβόλον*, 'hurling a thunderbolt,' is a correct rendering of the Latin epithet leg. xii *fulminata* (E. Ritterling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 1710), which must mean either 'struck by a thunderbolt' (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* vi. 1533, 10 ff.) or 'hurled like a thunderbolt, quick as a thunderbolt' (*ib.* p. 1531, 48 ff.). The latter interpretation, which is commonly assumed as correct (cp. Rufin. *hist. eccl.* 5. 5. 4 legionem...vocitatam...fulmineam, anon. *notitia dignitatum in partibus orientis* 38. 14 (ed. O. Seeck Berolini 1876) praefectus legionis duodecimae fulmineae (*fulmine* codd. C. V. *fulminae* codd. P. M. *fulminatae* edd.)), is supported only by Stat. *silv.* 2. 7. 93 ff. sic natum Nasamonii Tonantis | post ortus obitusque fulminatos | angusto Babylon premit sepulcro with F. Vollmer's note *ad loc.* The former is in accord with the normal usage of *fulminatus*, and presupposes that on some definite occasion the legion was literally struck by lightning—a manifest token of divine favour (*supra* ii. 8 ff., 22 ff., 33 ff.).

it for no other reason (for no other is reported) than because of the incident that occurred in this very war[1]. It was precisely this incident that saved the Romans on this occasion and brought destruction upon the barbarians, and not Arnuphis, the magician; for Marcus is not reported to have taken pleasure in the company of magicians or in witchcraft. Now the incident I have reference to is this: Marcus had a division of soldiers (the Romans call a division a legion) from Melitene; and these people are all worshippers of Christ. Now it is stated that in this battle, when Marcus found himself at a loss what to do in the circumstances and feared for his whole army, the prefect approached him and told him that those who are called Christians can accomplish anything whatever by their prayers and that in the army there chanced to be a whole division of this sect. Marcus on hearing this appealed to them to pray to their God; and when they had prayed, their God immediately gave ear and smote the enemy with a thunderbolt and comforted the Romans with a shower of rain. Marcus was greatly astonished at this and not only honoured the Christians by an official decree but also named the legion the "Thundering" Legion. It is also reported that there is a letter of Marcus extant on the subject. But the Greeks, though they know that the division was called the "Thundering" Legion and themselves bear witness to the fact, nevertheless make no statement whatever about the reason for its name.

Dio goes on to say that] when the rain poured down, at first all turned their faces upwards and received the water in their mouths; then some held out their shields and some their helmets to catch it, and they not only took deep draughts themselves but also gave their horses to drink. And when the barbarians now charged upon them, they drank and fought at the same time; and some, becoming wounded, actually gulped down the blood that flowed into their helmets, along with the water. So intent, indeed, were most of them on drinking that they would have suffered severely from the enemy's onset, had not a violent hail-storm and numerous thunderbolts fallen upon the ranks of the foe. Thus in one and the same place one might have beheld water and fire descending from the sky simultaneously; so that while those on the one side were being drenched and drinking, the others were being consumed by fire and dying; and while the fire, on the one hand, did not touch the Romans, but, if it fell anywhere among them, was immediately extinguished, the shower, on the other hand, did the barbarians no good, but, like so much oil, actually fed the flames that were consuming them, and they had to search for water even while being drenched with rain. Some wounded themselves in order to quench the fire with their blood, and others rushed over to the side of the Romans, convinced that they alone had the saving water; in any case Marcus took pity on them. He was now saluted *imperator* by the soldiers, for the seventh time; and although he was not wont to accept any such honour before the senate voted it, nevertheless this time he took it as a gift from Heaven, and he sent a despatch to the senate.'

This passage together with other ancient allusions to the same event has in modern times given rise to a lively, not to say acrimonious, controversy[2]. The upshot of the matter appears to be as

[1] In reality the name goes back to the time of Augustus (see D. Vaglieri in Ruggiero *Dizion. epigr.* iii. 335, E. Ritterling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 1710).

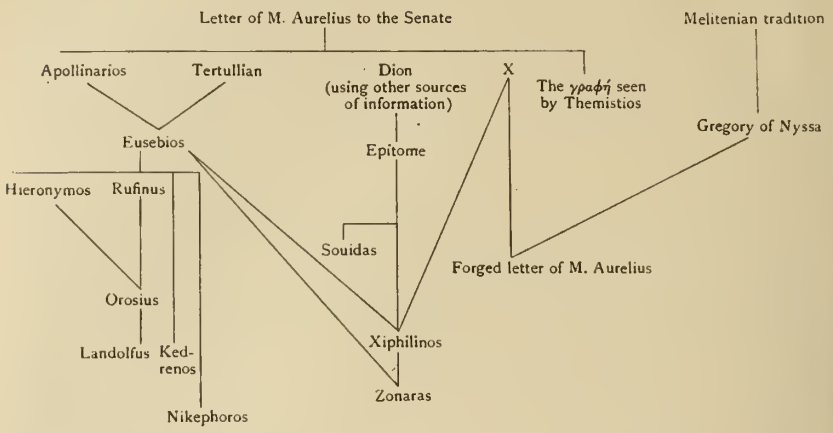
follows. A certain historic happening lent itself to two different interpretations, the one Christian, the other pagan, in character. The kernel of fact was the rescue of the Roman army from dire straits by means of a timely rain-storm, which on the one hand refreshed the fainting legionaries and on the other did serious damage to the enemy. The dramatic escape of his troops was expressly mentioned by the emperor in a letter to the senate and was by him attributed

[2] I subjoin a *précis* of the positions taken up by the various disputants:

E. Petersen 'Das Wunder an der Columna M. Aurelii' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1894 ix. 78—89 collects and criticises most of the evidence for the alleged miracle. He cites as literary sources Apollinarios *ap.* Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 5. 5. 4, Tertull. *apol.* 5, *ad Scap.* 4, Dion Cass. 71. 8—10 (including Xiphilinos, who is followed by Zonar. *epit. hist.* 12. 2 and Kedren. *hist. comp.* 250 C—D (i. 439 Bekker)), Iul. Capit. *v. M. Ant. philos.* 24. 4, Euseb. *chron.* p. 172 Schoene (= *Chron. Pasch.* 260 D—261 A (i. 486 f. Dindorf) and *vers. Armen.* ann. Abr. 2188), Themist. *or.* 15 p. 191 B, Oros. 7. 15. 7—11, Claud. *de VI cons. Honor.* 339 ff., and a forged letter of M. Aurelius (printed as an appendix to Iust. Mart. (ed.[3] J. C. T. Otto Ienae 1876 i. 1. 246 ff.). Recent texts by A. Harnack in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1894 p. 878 ff. and by J. Geffcken in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1899 iii. 253—269). Dion's account (helpful rain, renewed fight, hail and thunderbolts destroying the foe) is distinguished from the Christian version, in which (1) lightning plays as big a part as rain, (2) both being due to the prayers of Christians in the Twelfth Legion, (3) hence called κεραυνοβόλος; (4) a letter of M. Aurelius recognises these services of the Christians and (5) prohibits their persecution. Since Apollinarios gives (2) and (3), but not (4) and (5), and since the *legio fulminata* had already acquired its name under Augustus, it is clear that Aurelius' letter either never existed or existed only as a Christian forgery. Granted, however, that (4) and (5) are an addition to the story, we have yet to reckon with (1)+(2)+(3) as an independent version. Dion and Themistios are in general agreement, though the latter makes the emperor Antoninus Pius, not M. Aurelius, and says that he had seen the incident represented in a γραφή (Themist. *loc. cit.* καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ ἐν γραφῇ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἔργου, τὸν μὲν αὐτοκράτορα προσευχόμενον ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι, τοὺς στρατιώτας δὲ τὰ κράνη τῷ ὄμβρῳ ὑποτιθέντας καὶ ἐμπιπλαμένους τοῦ νάματος τοῦ θεοσδότου). Now this γραφή may well have been the extant column of M. Aurelius. In short, it appears that both Dion and Themistios are describing the column, but describing it wrongly. The Romans were not catching the rain in order to drink it, but using their shields as umbrellas in the attempt to protect themselves against it. The winged god, hovering like a cloud, is a simple personification of Rain, comparable with Ovid's Notus (*infra* p. 333) and not at once suggestive of any figure in Greek or Roman mythology. The Christians, accepting him as a mere personification, would further note the cruciform shield-signs of the legionaries and misinterpret the attitude of the barbarians, kneeling to prevent the Romans from crossing the river, as that of Christians at prayer. Finally, in the adjacent scene of enemy-defences fired by a thunderbolt they would see the punitive lightning and its effect upon the foe.

A. Harnack 'Die Quelle der Berichte über das Regenwunder im Feldzuge Marc Aurel's gegen die Quaden' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1894 pp. 835—882 adds to the list of sources Landolfus Sagax *hist. Rom.* 8. 144 p. 314 Droysen (in the *Monumenta Germaniae historica.* Auctores antiquissimi. Tomus ii Berolini 1879) = *hist. miscell.* 10. 16 p. 217 Eyssenhardt, who *c.* 1000 A.D. copied out Orosius; Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos *hist. eccl.* 4. 12 (cxlv. 1004 B ff. Migne), who writing early in *s.* xiv is, like Kedrenos, indirectly dependent on Eusebios (K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 p. 291); Souid. *s.v.* Ἀρνουφις, who in part at least follows Dion; and—of more importance—*oracl. Sib.* 12. 187 ff. Geffcken, a passage composed *c.* 250 A.D., and Greg. Nyss. *or. in xl mart.* 2 (xlvi. 757 C ff. Migne),

who seems to be preserving a Cappadocian oral tradition of the same event. Accordingly Harnack constructs the following *stemma*:



Apollinarios, who was bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia and probably wrote only one or two years after the event, Tertullian, who composed his *apologeticus* in 197 A.D., and Dion, an exact contemporary of Tertullian, are independent of each other, but all three go back to a genuine letter of the emperor to the Senate—a document used by the author of the extant forged letter. Tertullian implies that this genuine letter, perhaps ironically, spoke of the prayers of the Christian soldiers as having brought down the rain (*apol.* 5 at nos e contrario edimus protectorem, si litterae M. Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur). Christians of the east soon quoted the letter, putting their own construction upon it, and Dion half-polemically retorts with the story of the mage Arnouphis. Later writers refer to the prayers of the emperor himself. Petersen's hypothesis of the scene on the column as misconceived both by pagans and by Christians is unacceptable ('die Überlieferung, wie sie Apollinaris, Tertullian und Dio bieten, kann nicht auf die bildliche Darstellung zurückgeführt werden'). We are forced to admit the historicity of the thirst which brought the Roman army into dire straits, the sudden relief effected by a rain-storm, the prayers of the Twelfth Legion, the Christianity of part of that Legion, the letter of the emperor, and its mention of the prayers of the Twelfth Legion.

L. D(uchesne) 'Le miracle de la Légion Fulminante' in the *Bulletin critique* 1894 xv. 476 and P. H. Grisar 'Il prodigio della legio fulminata e la Colonna di Marco Aurelio' in *La Civiltà Cattolica* 1895 i. 202 ff. are in substantial agreement with Harnack.

A. von Domaszewski 'Das Regenwunder der Marc Aurel-Säule' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1894 xlix. 612—619 would completely discredit the Christian tradition. He holds with Petersen that the column shows, not the rescue of the Roman army from death by thirst, but the bursting of a thunderstorm. He notes that the column places this storm at the beginning of the war, whereas the Christian tradition places its marvel at the close; and that all the legions had the lightning on their shields and the eagle on their standards simply as a symbol of Iupiter *Optimus Maximus*, protector of the army. He contends that Apollinaris was no contemporary of M. Aurelius, but as like as not was Eusebios himself(!); that during the war with the Marcomanni the *legio XII fulminata* was stationed in Melitene to guard the crossing of the Euphrates; and that, to judge from sepulchral inscriptions of *s.* iii, no Christians would have been likely to enlist voluntarily in the Roman army. Finally, he accepts Petersen's conclusions with regard to the origin of the whole legend.

K. Weizsäcker *Einleitung zu der akad. Preisverteilung, Tübingen 6. Nov. 1894* also

agrees with Petersen. Dion Cass. 71. 10 was in part a Christian forgery by Xiphilinos. Had the emperor's letter really ascribed the miracle to the prayers of Christians, the sequel would have been very different. The figment was but a Christian anticipation of final victory.

A. von Domaszewski 'Die Chronologie des bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum 166—175 n. Chr.' in the *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 1895 v. 123 returns to the charge....'Dies ist das Kriegsjahr 171, und in dieses Jahr fällt das Regenwunder. Ein echter Bericht darüber ist bei Dio erhalten 71, 8. Er ist an falsche Stelle ins Jahr 174 gerückt, um der sicher christlichen Interpolation des Capitels 71, 10 willen.' *Ib.* n. 2 'Von Kampf oder Abwehr ist keine Rede, so wenig bei Dio 71, 8. Es betet niemand. Der Wolkenbruch ist ein Naturereignis. Der Regengott ist Notus, genau wie Ovid ihn schlildert' [*sic*].

Th. Mommsen 'Das Regenwunder der Marcus-Säule' in *Hermes* 1895 xxx. 90—106 steers a mid course between Skylla and Charybdis. The alleged marvel is neither pure fiction (Petersen and Domaszewski) nor absolute fact (Harnack). Domaszewski's chronology is wrong: the miraculous rain must be dated in the summer of 174, not 171. Equally wrong is Domaszewski's assumption that Dion Cass. 71. 10 is a Christian interpolation. The imperial letter cited by Tertullian was genuine and did actually tell—though without Dion's extravagant rhetoric—how a great thunderstorm saved the Romans, man and beast, when they were perishing of thirst, and did much damage to their foes. This reliable literary tradition agrees well enough with the scene represented on the column. The lightning is there omitted because the principal agent was the rain, and the rain appears as a divine figure intervening to rescue the Roman host ('Die Darstellung des Regengottes ist eine so eigenartige und so ungewöhnliche, dass der Bildhauer unzweifelhaft damit die officielle Auffassung des Vorganges, den Regen *παρὰ θεοῦ* hat zur Anschauung bringen wollen. Wenn die Blitze vermisst werden, von denen der Kaiserbrief wahrscheinlich auch sprach, so ist die Ursache einfach die, dass, wenn als leitende Gottheit der Jupiter fulminator dargestellt worden wäre, der Regen zur Nebensache werden musste und das Wunder seine Sonderart eingebüsst hätte'). The emperor attributed his victory to God (Dion Cass. 71. 10 *ὡς καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ λαμβάνων*, Euseb. *chron.* p. 172 Schoene = *Chron. Pasch.* 261 A (i. 487 Dindorf) *ὄμβρος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγένετο*), not to a specific god, and made no mention of Christian prayers. Later writers particularised according to their own beliefs. Pagans would naturally think of magic (Lamprid. *v. Ant. Heliogab.* 9. 1 per Chaldaeos et magos) and suggested Arnouphis (Dion Cass. 71. 8 f., Souid. *s.v.* *Ἀρνουφις*) or Iulianus (Souid. *s.vv.* *Ἀρνουφις*, *Ἰουλιανός* (i. 2. 1007, 14 ff. Bernhardy)). Christians of course thought otherwise. Tertullian supposes an answer to the prayers of Christian soldiers (*apol.* 5 Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri). Apollinaris was really an early writer (not a mere invention of Eusebios, as Domaszewski would have it), but one of little credibility—witness his blunder about the origin of the name *κεραυνοβόλος* (Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 5. 5. 4: *supra* p. 325 n. 3, p. 326 n. 1).

E. Petersen resumes the fight with a second article, 'Blitz- und Regenwunder an der Marcus-Säule' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1895 l. 453—474, adding three photographic cuts. He now admits that he was mistaken in regarding the Christian tradition with all its five points (*supra* p. 327 n. 2) as having arisen merely from a misunderstanding of the column. He does not deny the existence of an imperial letter, but treats the one cited by Christian authors as a forgery ('Nur den Brief, auf welchen sich die christlichen Autoren, besser *sofern* sie sich darauf beziehn, habe ich für gefälscht erklärt'). He launches a sharp attack against both the method and the results of Harnack's investigation, and he certainly scores some successes. For instance, according to Euseb. *chron.* p. 172 Schoene *vers. Armen.* ann. Abr. 2188 and Hieron. *in* Euseb. ann. Abr. 2189 M. Aurelius was not present in person at the rain-storm, but only his legate Pertinax, and this is borne out by the evidence of the columnar relief. Petersen goes on to give a more exact description of the scenes on the column. He shows that the Romans were represented first as suffering from drought, then as drinking, and later still as trying to protect themselves against the storm, while their foes were overwhelmed by the flood. The notion that the enemy was

simultaneously struck by lightning was prompted by another incident, recorded by Iul. Capit. *v. M. Ant. philos.* 24. 4 and portrayed on the column, the destruction of a wooden tower by a thunderbolt. Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 5. 5. 2 spoke of a single flash (*σκηπτός*) before the rain, as does Xiphilinos *ap.* Dion Cass. 71. 9 (*κεραυνός*). But Dion Cass. 71. 10 already turns this into numerous flashes (*κεραυνοὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι*) with the downpour. And Greg. Nyss. *or. in xl mart.* 2 (xlvi. 760 A—B Migne) has both *βροντὰς ἐξαισίους...καὶ ἀστραπὰς φλογώδεις* and also *τῶν σκηπτῶν τὴν συνέχειαν* amid a deluge of rain. Tertullian, the Sibylline oracle, and Themistios mention the rain only, thereby preserving the true tradition. Themistios' *γραφή* may have been the extant column, but was probably some more accessible representation now lost.

Next appeared the great official publication E. Petersen—A. von Domaszewski—G. Calderini *Die Marcus-Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom* München 1896 with text and two vols. of 128 photographic pls. (*supra* ii. 106 n. 1). In the text Petersen sketches the history of the column (pp. 1—20), Mommsen traces the course of the war against the Marcomanni (pp. 21—28), Calderini deals with the architecture of the column (pp. 29—38), Petersen describes its sculpture (pp. 39—104), and von Domaszewski—still differing from Mommsen in regard to chronology—discusses the historical and geographical aspects of the relief (pp. 105—125). On pls. 17, B+18, A the enemy's siege-tower, struck by a thunderbolt, collapses, while the emperor looks on at the fallen foe. On pls. 22, A, B+23, A (=my pl. xxxii) the Romans, advancing in the formation known as *agmen quadratum*, are overtaken by the rain-storm. The cattle in their midst are thrown into confusion: one ox has fallen, another springs over it. A soldier in the uppermost row raises hand and eyes to heaven; and next moment down comes the rain. Another soldier, behind the artillery-wagon (*carroballista*), is giving his horse a drink. We gather that here it is a case of heat and thirst rather than of hostile attack, and that the rain is helping the Romans. It does not, for artistic reasons, reach those in the foreground; and most of those in the top tier are raising their shields to serve as umbrellas (nos. 22, 23), not buckets. But one man at least (no. 20) is drinking the rain. Then comes the personification of the storm, a bearded pathetic face recalling that of Neilos in the Vatican. From his hair and beard, from his outstretched wings and arms, as in Ovid's conception of Notus (*met.* 1. 264 ff.), the rain is streaming, to the detriment not of the Romans but of the enemy. In the mountain-gorges we see horses struggling with the flood—a flood not actually shown—or collapsing in it, while barbarians great (no. 40) and small (nos. 38, 41) lie dead and weapons are swept into a heap. On pls. 20, B+21, A one of the soldiers (no. 6) has his helmet decorated with a griffin in relief, from which detail von Domaszewski (p. 112 f. with fig.) infers the presence of the *legio XV Apollinaris*, a Cappadocian legion. The inference is brave. However that may be, the treatment of the whole episode is realistic. We must certainly conclude that the Roman army was parched with thirst and relieved by a sudden downpour, which proved too much for the foe.

J. Geffcken 'Das Regenwunder im Quadenlande' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1899 iii. 253—269 begins by passing in review the previous disputants in this 'antik-moderne Streitfrage' (pp. 253—258) and ends by reconstructing the probable course of events (pp. 258—269). M. Aurelius himself witnessed the 'Blitzwunder,' his general the 'Regenwunder.' The emperor wrote to the Senate a straightforward unrhetorical letter, in which he made no mention of Christians. Apollinaris was the source of Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 5. 5. 1—4 (apart from one Eusebian gloss *διὰ πίστεως ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο συνεστώσης*). He gave a wrong explanation of the *legio fulminata*, but a right account of the single lightning-flash followed by the rain. An antichristian ripost attributed both flash and rainfall to the prayers of the emperor (Iul. Capit. *v. M. Ant. philos.* 24. 4 fulmen de caelo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extorsit suis pluvia impetrata, cum siti laborarent, *oracl. Sib.* 12. 196 ff. Geffcken *ὁπόταν μέγα σῆμα θεοῖο | οὐρανόθεν προφανῇ καί τ' ἄνδρας χαλκοκορυστάς | τρυχομένους σώσειε δι' εὐσεβίην βασιλῆος· | αὐτῷ γὰρ θεὸς οὐράνιος μάλα πάνθ' ὑπακούσει· | εὐξαμένῳ* (so C. Alexandre for *εὐξάμενος* codd. Q.V.H.) *βρέξει* (Wilamowitz cj. *βρέξαι*) *παρακαίριον* (so C. Alexandre for *παρὰ καιρὸν* codd. Q.V.H.) *ὄμβριον ὕδωρ*). Dion, a superstitious narrator and himself the author of a book on dreams

Reliefs from the Column of Marcus Aurelius at Rome:
Iupiter *Pluvius* and the rain-storm.

See page 330 *n.* 0.

to divine interposition[1]. Later tradition went further and busied itself over an attempt to discover whose prayers had been thus signally answered. Christians asserted that it was the prayers of converts from Melitene belonging to the 'Thundering' Legion[2]. Pagans retorted that it was the prayer of the emperor himself, whose piety was well-pleasing to the 'Thunderer,'[3] or else the

and portents (Dion Cass. 72. 23: W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 796 n. 11), referred the rain to the magic arts of Arnouphis. Christians retorted with the assertion that the emperor had prayed, yes, but had prayed in vain. If it be asked where this statement is made, Geffcken points us to the forged letter in which M. Aurelius says ἐξετάσας οὖν ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐμὸν πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ πολεμίων κατέδραμον εἰς τὸ θεοῖς εὔχεσθαι πατρῷοις· ἀμελούμενος δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν μου θεωρήσας τῆς δυνάμεως παρεκάλεσα τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένους Χριστιανούς, κ.τ.λ. This document, sometimes dated as late as *s.* xii A.D., belongs to a much earlier period: it perhaps emanated from Asia Minor at the beginning of *s.* iv ('Auf Kleinasien deutete Mommsen hin, hier mag es, Galerius' Edikt benutzend, in der bösen Zeit entstanden sein, als Licinius mit neuer Verfolgung drohte, als das Schicksal der 40 Legionare den christlichen Osten erregte, als Konstantin die *Gebete* der Geistlichkeit für sich in Anspruch nahm—ein letztes Stück Apologie angesichts der letzten grossen Gefahr')—a hypothesis consistent with its diction and structure, not to mention an apparent allusion to its contents in Rufin. *hist. eccl.* 5. 5 tradunt historiae cum siti eius (*sc.* M. Aurelii) periclitaretur exercitus aestuantem et quaerentem quid facto opus esset, reperisse in legione quadam milites Christianos. Euseb. *chron.* p. 172 Schoene (= *Chron. Pasch.* 260 D—261 A (i. 486 f. Dindorf) and *vers. Armen.* ann. Abr. 2188) followed S. Iulius Africanus rather than Apollinaris: hence his omission of the story as to the name *legio fulminata*. Gregory of Nyssa too omitted that story, but believed that the soldiers came from Melitene. His account (*or. in xl mart.* 2 (xlvi. 757 C ff. Migne)) was not, as Harnack claimed, a local tradition, but a rhetorical and in part ridiculous amplification of Dion's description. The pagans too could exaggerate. Themistios, Gregory's contemporary, professes to quote the very words of the imperial prayer (*or.* 15 p. 191 B ἀνασχὼν τὼ χεῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, ταύτῃ, ἔφη, τῇ χειρὶ προὐτρεψάμην σε καὶ ἱκέτευσα τὸν ζωῆς δοτῆρα, ᾗ ζωὴν οὐκ ἀφειλόμην, cp. *or.* 34. 21). Claudian, the last of the heathen to tell the tale, after describing the storm in a crescendo of high-falutin' phrases (*de VI cons. Honor.* 342 ff. laus ibi nulla ducum; nam flammeus imber in hostem | decidit; hunc dorso trepidum fumante ferebat | ambustus sonipes [!]; hic tabescente solutus | subsedit galea liquefactaque fulgure cuspis | canduit [! !] et subitis fluxere vaporibus enses [! ! !]) attributes these remarkable effects either to Chaldaean magic or, preferably, to Marcus' blameless life—a conclusion more improving than impressive.

In fairness to British scholarship it should be added that, long before the start of this continental controversy, a full list of the sources had been got together and critical notes appended by H. Fynes Clinton *Fasti Romani* Oxford 1850 ii. 23 ff.

[1] So Th. Mommsen (*supra* p. 329 n. 0). Cp. Dion Cass. 71. 8 ὑετὸς πολὺς οὐκ ἀθεεὶ κατερράγη, 71. 10 ἐδέξατό τε αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ λαμβάνων, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλεν, Euseb. *chron.* p. 172 Schoene (= *Chron. Pasch.* 261 A (i. 487 Dindorf) ὄμβρος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγένετο and *vers. Armen.* ann. Abr. 2188 pluvia missa est (venit a Deo)), p. 173 Schoene (= Hieron. *in* Euseb. ann. Abr. 2189 pluvia divinitus missa est).

[2] Apollinarios *ap.* Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 5. 5. 4, Greg. Nyss. *or. in xl mart.* 2 (xlvi. 757 C ff. Migne), Xiphilinos *ap.* Dion. Cass. 71. 9, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 250 C—D (i. 439 Bekker).

[3] Iul. Capit. *v. M. Ant. philos.* 24. 4 (*supra* p. 330 n. 0), *oracl. Sib.* 12. 196 ff. Geffcken (*supra* p. 330 n. 0), Themist. *or.* 15 p. 191 B (*supra* pp. 327 n. 2, 331 n. 0), Claud. *de VI cons. Honor.* 349 f. seu, quod reor, omne Tonantis | obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.

incantation of some magician in the imperial retinue, Arnouphis the Egyptian[1] or Iulianus the Chaldaean[2]. But it can hardly be maintained that the great commemorative column, which aims at furnishing a realistic representation of the incident, figures either the God of the Christians or the Hermes *Aérios* (Thoth[3]) invoked by

[1] Dion Cass. 71. 8 f. (*supra* p. 325 n. 2), Souid. *s.vv.* Ἀρνουφις, Eudok. *viol.* 177.

[2] Souid. *s.vv.* Ἀρνουφις, Ἰουλιανός (i. 2. 1007, 14 ff. Bernhardy). Cp. Lamprid. *v. Ant. Heliogab.* 9. 1 (*supra* p. 329 n. 0), Claud. *de VI cons. Honor.* 348 f. Chaldaea mago seu carmina ritu | armavere deos.

[3] The Egyptian Thoth from the time of Herodotos, if not earlier, had been equated with the Greek Hermes (Hdt. 2. 67, 2. 138. More explicitly Aristoxenos of Tarentum περὶ ἀριθμητικῆς *frag.* 81 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 289 Müller) *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1 *prooem. coroll.* 6 p. 20, 8 f. Wachsmuth Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ Ἑρμοῦ φασὶν εὕρημα, ὃν καλοῦσι Θώθ). He appears in late Greek mystical and magical texts as Hermes Τρισμέγιστος (*supra* ii. 611) with Tat, a shortened form of his Egyptian name (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 792, G. Roeder in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 862), as his son (*supra* ii. 943 n. 0. Hermes *Trisme̓gistos* κόρη κόσμου *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 49. 44 p. 387, 1 f. Wachsmuth = Stob. *Herm.* exc. 23. 32. 6 (i. 458, 24 f. Scott) ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτῷ διάδοχος ὁ Τάτ, υἱὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ παραλήπτωρ τῶν μαθημάτων τούτων (A. Meineke cj. τούτου or would insert Ἑρμοῦ before ὁμοῦ. W. Scott inserts τούτου after ὁμοῦ and omits τούτων)). On the Egyptian antecedents of this title Τρισμέγιστος see R. Pietschmann *Hermes Trismegistos nach ägyptischen, griechischen und orientalischen Überlieferungen* Leipzig 1875, W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 793, P. Boylan *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt* Oxford 1922 pp. 118 f., 129, 182, W. Scott *Hermetica* Oxford 1924 i. 5 n. 1.

The appellative Ἀέριος is not elsewhere used of Hermes; but it might easily be attached to him in his capacity of ψυχοπομπός, since it was common Pythagorean doctrine that the *aér* was full of souls (Diog. Laert. 8. 32 εἶναί τε πάντα τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἔμπλεων· καὶ ταύτας δαίμονάς τε καὶ ἥρωας ὀνομάζεσθαι· ...εἶς τε τούτους γίνεσθαι τούς τε καθαρμοὺς καὶ ἀποτροπιασμοὺς μαντικήν τε πᾶσαν καὶ κληδόνας καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, Philon *de gigantibus* 2 οὓς ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι δαίμονας, ἀγγέλους Μωϋσῆς εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν· ψυχαὶ δέ εἰσι κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα πετόμεναι). The *Testament of Benjamin*, a Greek translation of a Hebrew or Aramaic original dating from *s.* i B.C. (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 583 f.), calls Beliar τὸ ἀέριον πνεῦμα (*Test. Benj.* 3. 4 p. 217 Charles ὁ γὰρ φοβούμενος τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὸν πλησίον (so cod. *c.* codd. *a. b. d. e. f. g.* and S[1] add αὐτοῦ) ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος (so cod. *c.* τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος codd. *b. d. e. f.* τοῦ ἐναερίου πνεύματος cod. *g*) τοῦ Βελίαρ οὐ δύναται πληγῆναι). And a passage in the late Platonic *epinomis* shows how readily such daemonic powers might be associated with Hermes (*epinom.* 984 D—E μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ ὑπὸ τούτοις ἑξῆς δαίμονας, ἀέριον δὲ (D. F. Ast cj. ἀέριόν τι) γένος, ἔχον ἕδραν τρίτην καὶ μέσην, τῆς ἑρμηνείας αἴτιον, εὐχαῖς τιμᾶν μάλα χρεὼν χάριν τῆς εὐφήμου διαπορείας).

In this connexion we may venture to compare Eph. 2. 2 κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας and 6. 12 πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις with the wording of a fourth-century invocation of Hermes: Ἑρμῆ κοσμοκράτωρ, ἐνκάρδιε, κύκλε σελήνης, | στρογγύλε καὶ τετράγωνε, λόγων ἀρχηγέτα γλώσσης, | πειθοδικαιόσυνε, χλαμυδηφόρε, πτηνοπέδιλε, | αἰθέριον δρόμον εἰλίσσων ὑπὸ τάρταρα γαίης, | πνεύματος ἠνίοχε, κ.τ.λ. (F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 78 no. 46, 401 ff. = K. Preisendanz *Papyri Graecae magicae* Leipzig—Berlin 1928 i. 194 f. no. 5, 401 ff., cp. A. Dieterich *Abraxas* Leipzig 1891 p. 63 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1339 n. 4, F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 i. 98 ff.). The same hymn in a third-century papyrus reads παντοκράτωρ instead of κοσμοκράτωρ (Kenyon *op. cit.* i. 105 no. 121, 668 ff. = Preisendanz ii. 30 no. 7, 668 ff.). Ephesos had long been a hot-bed of magic (*supra* ii. 410 n. 0 Ἐφέσια γράμματα).

Arnouphis. We should rather suppose that the sculptor was endeavouring to personify and portray the actual rain-storm. Details of his new artistic type were presumably borrowed from Ovid's[1] description of the South Wind as a winged figure with water streaming from his beard and pinions. But the face is that of Iupiter, and in view of the close parallelism between the column of Marcus Aurelius and the column of Trajan[2], which in a like position had placed Iupiter fulminant[3], we are practically compelled to identify this novel personage with Iupiter *Pluvius*[4].

Rain, then, was conceived sometimes as the child of Zeus, sometimes as the tears of Zeus, sometimes as water falling from the hand of Zeus—a conception which the Romans shared with the Greeks. One other image is notorious. Aristophanes in a line already cited[5] spoke of rain as the water of Zeus passed through a sieve.

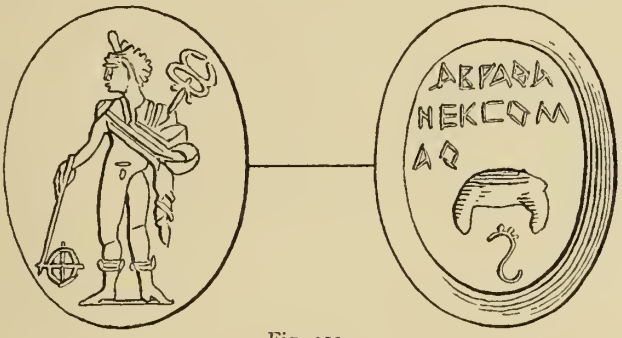


Fig. 209.

W. Scott *Hermetica* Oxford 1924 i. 32 n. 1, with Frontispiece, describes a sectile pavement at the west end of the Duomo in Siena, which shows *Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus* | *contemporaneus Moysi*. Hermes is here an elderly man with long hair and beard. He wears a high pointed hat or mitre and hands an open book to a turbaned Egyptian (?) in the presence of a hooded Italian (?). But we have no reason to think that the Hermes invoked by Arnouphis would have been represented as a winged deity with rain dropping from his pinions. 'Gnostic' amulets, *e.g.* fig. 209 from a specimen in my collection (material, bloodstone: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), give variations of the usual type.

[1] Ov. *met.* i. 264 ff. madidis Notus evolat alis, | terribilem picea tectus caligine voltum. | barba gravis nimbis; canis fluit unda capillis; | fronte sedent nebulae; rorant pennaeque sinusque. | utque manu late (*lata* cod. ϵ^1) pendentia nubila pressit, | fit fragor: hinc (*et* codd. A.ϵ.λ.) densi funduntur ab aethere nimbi. The rain-god of the column bears so close a resemblance to Ovid's Notus that A. von Domaszewski did not hesitate to call him by that name (*supra* p. 329 n. 0). The source of *met.* i. 244—312 is unknown (W. Vollgraff *Nikander und Ovid* Groningen 1909 i. 104).

[2] E. Courbaud *Le bas-relief romain à représentations historiques* Paris 1899 p. 185 f.

[3] *Supra* i. 60 fig. 34.

[4] This is in fact the common identification (*e.g.* W. Ramsay in Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* i. 441, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 300. no. 23 f.).

[5] Aristoph. *nub.* 373 καίτοι πρότερον τὸν Δί' ἀληθῶς ᾤμην διὰ κοσκίνου οὐρεῖν (*supra* ii. 2).

The line in question is put into the mouth of Strepsiades, an old-fashioned and simple-minded peasant, and must not be discounted as a mere Aristophanic jest. At most Aristophanes has combined two separate notions current among the lower classes in his day.

That rain was explained as Zeus making water is likely enough. Not only is this homely notion common to the unsophisticated folk of Asia[1] and Europe[2] in general, but it survives

[1] G. W. Steller *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka* Frankfurt und Leipzig 1774 p. 64 f. 'den Regen erklären sie ebenmässig, dass es der Urin von Billutschei und seinen Geistern, denen Gamuls wäre, wo aber der Billutschei genug uriniret, so ziehe er ein ganz neues Kuklanke oder Kleid von Rospomak-Fellen, wie ein Sack gemacht, an, weil nun an diesem Staatskleide Fransen von roth gefärbten Seehund-Haaren und allerhand bunten Riemlein Leder, so glauben sie sicherlich, sie sähen selbes in der Luft unter der Gestalt des Regenbogens: die Natur nun in dieser Farben-Schönheit zu imitiren, zieren sie ihre Kuklanken mit eben dergleichen bunten Haaren aus, welche Mode also aus der kamtschadalischen Physik und dem Regenbogen seinen Ursprung hat cited by W. Schwartz in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1875 vii. 403 'Den Hagel (*sic*) erklären die Kamtschadalen ebenmässig, dass es der Urin von Billutschei (dem Himmelsgotte) wäre.' U. Holmberg in *The Mythology of all Races: Finno-Ugric, Siberian* Boston 1927 p. 444 states, on the authority of N. P. Pripuzov, that 'Both the Yakuts and Buriats call the rainbow also "the urine of the she-fox."'

I. Goldziher *Mythology among the Hebrews and its historical development* trans. R. Martineau London 1877 p. 73 f. 'The clearest evidence of a worship of the rainy sky and the storm among the Arabs is furnished by the name Ḳuzaḥ, to which storms and rainbows were attributed [*ib.* pp. 169, 423].... But it is probable that this name Ḳuzaḥ is derived from the signification "mingere," which belongs to the corresponding verb (used specially of beasts), and that it is due to a mythological conception of the Rain.' R. Eisler in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 132 n. 0 and in his *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 385 n. 0, accepting this derivation, would connect Kuzah with the Idumaean god Κόζε [Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 15. 7. 9 Κοστόβαρος τῷ γένει μὲν Ἰδουμαῖος, ἀξιώματος τῶν πρώτων παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ προγόνων ἱερατευσάντων τῷ Κοζέ· θεὸν δὲ τοῦτον Ἰδουμαῖοι νομίζουσιν with the remarks of C. Steuernagel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1555], the Syrian Zeus Κάσιος [*supra* ii. 906 n. 3, 981 n. 1, 985 n. 1], and a variety of place-names. The same ingenious scholar in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 131 n. 60 writes of the Arabian god Hobal: 'M. E. ist er vor allem als Derivat der √bâla, jabûlu, = "pissen," übertr. "regnen" aufgefasst worden (cf. bul, mabbul = "Flut" bab. bubbulu aus wubbulu [Meissner], arab. "wabl" Regenguss und, nach Hommel [F. Hommel *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen arabistisch-semitologischen Inhalts* München 1901 iii. 1. 473] "bâla suhail" = "Sternenurin" = Regen; endlich "bul" als Bezeichnung des achten, bab. "Fluch des Regens" genannten Monats 1 Kön. 6 38 und auf kyprisch-phoenizischen Inschriften C I S 1 86 a). Hobal, der "Pisser" würde den Mondgott (vgl. die Zischlautaussprache von Sin = Mond, als ^ Sin = "Urin" in den Nerâbinschriften, als Buchstabe 𐤏 = ☾ durch das abnehmende Mondsichelzeichen ausgedrückt, Hommel Grundr. 100) als Beherrscher von Wasser, Regen und Flut bedeuten.' Etc., etc.

[2] W. Mannhardt *Roggenwolf und Roggenhund* Danzig 1865 (ed. 2 1866) p. 10 has collected instances from Germany and France. Thus in the Oberpfalz, when it rains for long together, people say 'Nu pissen sie da oben all wieder' (F. X. von Schönwerth *Aus der Oberpfalz. Sitten und Sagen* Augsburg 1859 iii. 20). In the Tirol St Medardus, since his festival on June 8 often brings rain, is called 'Heubrunzer' (I. V. Zingerle *Sitten, Bräuche und Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes*[2] Innsbruck 1871 p. 157 no. 1336). In Picardy too 'Saint Médard est un grand pissard' (O. Freiherr von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld *Das Wetter*

among the modern Greeks in particular, at least in out-of-the-way places[1].

The mention of the sieve also points to a popular conception[2], which appears to have left its traces on more than one language of the Indo-European family[3]. It can indeed be exactly paralleled from modern phraseology. The Greeks still say 'It's drenching with the sieve'[4] or 'God is drenching with the sieve,'[5] and use the proverb 'God's sieve has big holes.'[6] In the district of Parnassos it is believed that Borras, the north wind, possesses a sieve with which he prepares and sifts the hail. Notos, the south wind, has skin bottles, which he

im Sprichwort Leipzig 1864 p. 141). At Cologne, if it rains on July 13, 'Margriht hät en de Nösz gepess.' Elsewhere on the Rhine, if it rains on June 10, 'Margarete pisst in die Nüsse.' In the former case the rain will last four weeks; in the latter, a fortnight, and will spoil the nuts (*Id. ib.* pp. 146, 154). So in the Mark district, if it rains on June 22, 'Sünte Magdelena pisset in de Nuete' (J. F. L. Woeste *Volksüberlieferungen in der Grafschaft Mark* Iserlohn 1848 p. 61).

[1] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 31 illustrates Aristoph. *nub.* 373 by certain locutions heard at Arachova near Delphoi. When it rains, people there say *κατουράει ὁ θιός*. When it rains hard or continuously, they say *τσούρ, τσούρ, τσούρ* (*onomatop.*), *κατουρώντας ὁ θιὸς μᾶς σάπσι* (=*ἐσάπισε*, 'er hat uns faulen gemacht,' d. h. ganz eingeweicht). Even more remarkable is the parallel adduced by N. G. Polites *Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοὶ μῦθοι* (extract from *Παρνασσός*) Athens 1880 p. 20: '*Ἐπὶ συνεχοῦς καὶ ἀδιαλείπτου βροχῆς οἱ χυδαιότεροι λέγουσιν ἀστεϊζόμενοι "κατουράει ὁ Θεός"· ἐν Ἀραχώβῃ μάλιστα προστιθέασι "μὲ τὸ κόσκινον"*[1] ([1]N. *Ἑλλ. ἀρ.* 35). *Ἐν Μεσσηνίᾳ ὁ τοιοῦτος καιρὸς καλεῖται "Κατουρλιᾶς" καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ "Κατουρλῆς."*'

[2] F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 7 first drew attention to this.

[3] O. Schrader in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 40[b]: 'In Greece the phrase *Zεὺς ὕει* is used for "it rains," which, when traced back to an older stage of the language, can only mean "The father (heaven) presses grapes" (Skr. *sunṓmi* "I press," *sóma*, "the pressed," "the soma drink"). It is also customary to charm the rain by an offering of honey, where the rain which drops on the trees and branches is likened to honey. Exactly corresponding to these ideas we find in India the belief that by letting the soma, which itself is called a son of the rain-god Parjanya, drip through the strainer, rain is enticed to fall. Thus the very fact that the man "presses" the juice on the earth, incites or rather compels the god in heaven to "press," *i.e.* to cause the rain to fall (cf. [E. Windisch in the *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth zum Doktor-Jubiläum 24. August 1893* Stuttgart 1893 p. 140 f., H. Oldenberg *La religion du Véda* Paris 1903 p. 392, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 819]).' *Id.* in Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 227: 'Eine mythologische Vorstellung liegt vielleicht dem griech. *ὗει, ὑετός* zugrunde (vgl. tochar. A. Wz. *su-, swās* "regnen," *swase* "Regen,' B. *suwam* "es regnet", *swese* "Regen." Sie gehören zu scrt. *su-, sunṓmi* "keltere," spez. den Soma (scrt. *sṓma-*, vgl. auch ahd. *sou*, lit. *sývas* "Saft", scrt. *savá-* "Kelterung"). Das homerische *Zεὺς ὗει* kann daher ursprünglich nur bedeutet haben: "der Himmel keltert", indem die Erzeugung des Regens auf gleiche Stufe wie die Auskelterung des idg. Rauschtranks (Mets,...) gestellt wurde, eine Vorstellung, die in dem Verhältnis zwischen Soma und Regen dem vedischen Altertum noch durchaus lebendig ist.' Etc.

[4] N. G. Polites *Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοὶ μῦθοι* (extract from *Παρνασσός*) Athens 1880 p. 18 *τὸ ῥήχνει μὲ τὸ κόσκινο.*

[5] *Id. ib.* *ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ῥήχνει μὲ τὸ ῥεμμόνι* (a large-sized sieve).

[6] *Id. ib.* *τὸ ῥεμμόνι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔχει μεγάλαις τρύπαις.*

flings through the clouds into the sea, fills with water, carries up to the sky, and empties in turn on the earth through sieves of varying size. His finest sieve produces a drizzle, his ordinary sieve rain, his wide-meshed sieve heavy rain, while his skin bottles poured out all at once cause a regular deluge[1]. The interval between ancient and modern times may be bridged by a passage from Michael Psellos, who states that in his day (*s.* xi A.D.) most people ignorantly supposed rain to be water strained by God through a sieve-like sky[2]. In view of this long-lived superstition it is probable that a primitive Greek rain-charm consisted in pouring water though a sieve[3]. And that may well have been one reason for the use of a sieve[4] in divination (*koskinomanteía*)[5]. In any case the matter calls for

[1] *Id. ib.* after N. Ἑλλ. ἀρ. 35.

[2] Psell. πρὸς μαθητὰς ἀμελοῦντας p. 150 f. Boissonade τοσοῦτος γὰρ αὐχμὸς σοφίας ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕτω πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀμαθεστάτου ταύτην ἐπιστήμην κοινῶς συνηλάθησαν, ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς οἴεσθαι μὴ καὶ τὸν ὑετὸν ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν καταρρήγνυσθαι, ἀλλά, κατὰ τὸ Ἐρατοσθένους λεγόμενον κόσκινον, διατετρῆσθαι τὸν οὐρανόν, κἀκεῖθεν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀποθλίβοντα < τὸν θεὸν > τὸ ὕδωρ διηθεῖν. 'The sieve of Eratosthenes' was an arithmetical table for the discovery of prime numbers (F. Hultsch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1094, G. Knaack *ib.* vi. 364) and is here merely a learned allusion brought in by association of ideas. J. F. Boissonade *ad loc.* says justly: 'aptius et opportunius poterat alludere Psellus ad cribrum Strepsiadae.'

[3] E. O. James in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 506[a] quotes modern parallels from the Ainus, Russian peasants, Buddhist monks, etc. (after Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 251 and 285).

[4] On ancient sieves see E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1568 figs. 2070—2072, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 736, H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig—Berlin 1912 i[2]. 49 ff., J. Hoops in his *Reallex.* iv. 171 f., Hug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1483 f., Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 389 f. pl. 96.

[5] G. Pictorius Villinganus 'De speciebvs magiae caerimonialis, qvam goetiam vocant, Epitome' in H. Cornelii Agrippae ab Nettesheym *Opera* Lvgdvni s.a. (1531?) i. 472 cap. xxi 'Hvc etiam Coscinomantia scribenda venit, quæ dæmone vrgente, per cribrum diuinationem suscitari docet, quis rei patratæ author sit, quis hoc commiserit furtum, quis hoc dederit vulnus, aut quicquid tale fuerit. Cribrum enim inter duorũ astantium medios digitos, per forcipem suspendunt, ac deieratione facta per sex verba, nec sibi ipsis, nec aliis intellecta, quæ sunt: DIES MIES IESCHET, BENEDOEFET, DOVVINA, ENITEMAVS, dæmonem in hoc compellunt vt reo nominato (nam omnes suspectos nominare oportet) confestim circumagatur, sed per obliquum instrumentum è forcipe pendens, vt reum prodat: iconem hîc ponimus [= my fig. 210]. Annis ab actis plus minus triginta, ter huius diuinationis genere sum ipse vsus, primò furti patrati causa: secundò propter rete, vel casses quibus aues capiuntur à quodam inuido mihi diflectos. Et tertiò amissi canis mei studio, vbi semper pro voto aleam cecidisse comperi, in posterum tamẽ quieui, timens ne dæmon veritate quæ præter naturam, in me vsus fuerat, os mihi subliniret & amplius seducendo illaqueret. Hanc diuinationem cæteris arbitrabantur veriorem, sicut etiam Erasmus scribit in prouerbio: Cribro diuinare.' The charm here quoted probably belongs to that 'crazy assemblage of formulas no longer understood even by the reciter himself... obviously debased learned materials, taken from Mediterranean collections which may well go back to the magic-saturated last days of the Roman Empire' (A. Haggerty Krappe *The Science of Folk-lore* London 1930 p. 189). On this showing it would be

the *débris* of a late Latin incantation, say *Deus meus Iesu Christe*, | *benedicta fiat divinatio ista* or some such jingle: possibly the enigmatic ENITEMAVS contains the neo-Latin *tems*, 'sieve' (Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 390), which is a loan-word of Germanic origin (Dutch *tems*, *teems*, provincial English *tems*, *temse*, *tempse* (J. O. Halliwell *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* London 1901 ii. 857 'Temse A sieve North.'), French *tamis* (A. Brachet *An etymological Dictionary of the French Language*[3] trans. G. W. Kitchin Oxford 1882 p. 379)). J. Prætorius *De Coscinomantia, Oder vom Sieb-Laüffe diatribe curiosa* Curiæ Variscorum 1677 devotes 86 small quarto pages to a collection and discussion of earlier authorities, *e.g.* C 1 '*Delrio* [M. Delrio *Disquisitionum Magicarum* libri sex Lugduni 1612] p. 606. κοσκινομαντεία, qvæ usurpata veteribus (*Theocrito* [3. 31], *Luciano* [*Alex.* 9.], *Polluci* [7. 188].) unde & Adag. cribrô divinare. *Cribrum* imponebatur

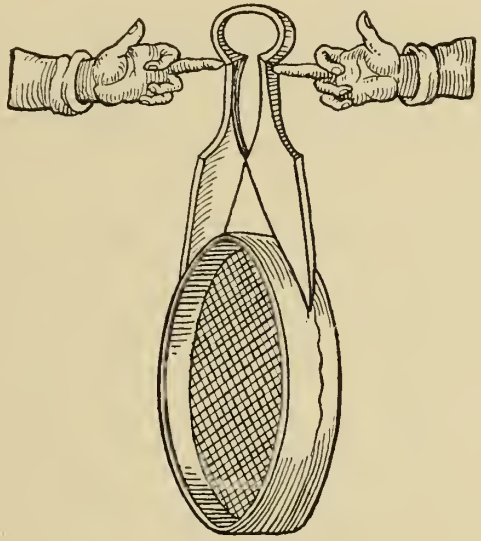


Fig. 210.

forcipi, forcipem binis digitis compræhendebant, & elevabant, & præmissis conceptis verbis subjiciebant nomina eorum, de qvibus suspicabantur eos *furtũ*, vel aliud occultum crimen patrâsse: eum verò judicabant illum; qvô nominatô *cribrum* tremebat, nutabat, moveabatur [*sic*], vel convertebatur: qv. qvi digitis forcipem tenebat arbitratu suô *cribrum* movere non potuerit. Qvod formulam *Pictorius* proponat verborum pronunciandorum, fecit inconsultè: qvod eâ sit usus *ter*, & qvod eventum certum prædicet, fecit impiè & mentitur pollicendo.' Here and there Prætorius reports local usage, *e.g.* C 2 'in *Poloniâ* hunc habent morem patrium qvòd tot Schedulas sumant, qvot personas in suspicione habent, & singulis inscribant singula nomina, imponantqve *cribro*, & hoc superimponant cupæ cum aqvâ repletæ: ubi hinc maximè omnes schedas oportet madidas fieri, sed illam tamen, non, dicunt, qvæ verum Reum sustinet inscriptum: hanc enim haud tingi aqvâ ferunt.'

Apart from this monograph, which is tough reading, the topic has been handled by A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1879 i. 183 (slight), J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 iii. 1108 f. ('*sieve-driving*,' '*sieve-turning*,' 'sieve-running,' 'sieve-chasing,' 'sieve-dance'), *ib.* 1888 iv. 1635 ('*sieve-running*'), C. Kiesewetter *Die Geheimwissenschaften* Leipzig 1895 pp. 375—377 (examples from *ss.* xvi and xvii), Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 236,

further enquiry, as it has important bearings on both ritual and mythology[1].

(d) Rain as water poured through a holed vessel or sieve.

i. The holed vessel in Egypt.

On the west bank of the Nile, south of Memphis, lay the town of Akanthos, famous for its sanctuary of Osiris and its magnificent grove of Theban acacias[2]. Here, according to Diodoros[3], it was the

W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 pp. 219, 221 n. 3 ('sieve and shears'), E. Fehrle 'Das Sieb im Volksglauben' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 547—551 (especially p. 549 f.), E. O. James in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 506[b] ('sieve and shears,' etc.), A. Marmorstein 'Das Sieb im Volksglauben' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 235—238 (Rabbinic sources), Boehm *s.v.* 'Koskinomantie' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1932 v. 323—328 (ancient and mediaeval usages: modern practices will be dealt with *s.v.* 'Sieblauf'). The classical evidence is most compactly put by Ganschinietz *s.v.* 'Koskinomanteia' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1481—1483, Hug *s.v.* 'Κόσκινον' *ib.* p. 1484, Gunning *s.v.* 'Kosko' *ib.* pp. 1484—1486. *Infra* § 9 (d) iv.

[1] The essential facts are indicated by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 831 f.

Several Christian saints have a sieve as their attribute. M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 p. 215 connect it with St Benedict (March 21), St Amalberga (July 10), and St Hippolytus (Aug. 13). Greater detail will be found in C. Cahier *Caractéristiques des saints dans l'art populaire* Paris 1867 i. 276 ('Crible, tamis, etc.'): 'Saint Benoit de Norcia...Près de lui un crible brisé. Saint Grégoire le Grand raconte que sa nourrice ayant emprunté un crible en terre cuite, et l'ayant brisé par mégarde, l'enfant rétablit cet instrument dans son intégrité première. Les hymnes et proses en l'honneur du saint ne manquent guère de rappeler ce premier miracle d'un homme qui en fit tant d'autres....' *Id. ib.*: 'Sainte Amalberge, vierge; 10 juillet, v. 772....On lui met parfois en main un tamis[4] [[4]AA. SS. Jul. iii. 80], où je crois bien pouvoir signaler un simple rébus; car elle possédait la terre seigneuriale de Temsche sur l'Escaut, dont le nom est en latin *Tamisia*, et *Tamise* en français. Sur cette espèce d'armes parlantes, qui d'ailleurs ne disaient pas grand'chose à la population flamande de l'endroit, on aura construit plus tard l'historiette que voici: Les gens de Temsche (*Tamise*) se plaignaient à la sainte d'être réduits à une seule fontaine, laquelle se trouvait au milieu d'un champ dont le propriétaire leur créait toutes sortes d'embarras. Pour terminer une bonne fois les contestations, Amalberge se rendit à la fontaine, armée d'un tamis qu'elle remplit d'eau; puis transportant le contenu dans un lieu plus accessible, elle y renversa l'eau qu'elle avait apportée de la sorte. En ce nouvel endroit s'établit une source qui donnait plus d'eau que l'ancienne, mais l'autre tarit immédiatement. On dit que cette fontaine est celle qui se voit aujourd'hui près d'une petite chapelle dédiée à sainte Amalberge, et qui est visitée par beaucoup de pèlerins à cause des guérisons qu'elle procure[5] [[5]Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Calendrier belge*, t. II, p. 31, sv.].' See further S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 iii pl. opposite p. 388 (St Benedict with the broken sieve at his feet, after Cahier), vii. 263 f. (St Amalberga at Temsche, where an annual procession is held in her honour on the third day in Whitsun week).

[2] Strab. 809, Ptol. 4. 5. 25, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄκανθος. See further R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1148.

[3] Diod. 1. 97 *ἐν μὲν γὰρ Ἀκανθῶν πόλει, πέραν τοῦ Νείλου κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι τῆς Μέμφεως, πίθον εἶναι τετρημένον, εἰς ὃν τῶν ἱερέων ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὕδωρ φέρειν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου· τὴν δὲ (τήν τε* vulg.) *περὶ τὸν Ὄκνον* (so H. Stephanus for *ὄνον* codd.) *μυθοποιίαν δείκνυσθαι πλησίον κατά τινα*

custom for three hundred and sixty priests to empty Nile-water day by day into a holed *píthos*: presumably one priest was told off for the task every day in the year. Diodoros' statement was almost certainly transcribed from Hekataios of Teos or Abdera, whose account of Egypt was composed under priestly influence in the time of Ptolemy i Soter (323—285 B.C.).[1] It would seem, then, that early in the Hellenistic age the Egyptians, rightly or wrongly, claimed to be keeping up a religious custom strictly comparable with the mythical water-carrying of the Danaïdes[2].

Alongside of this Egyptian rite we may place a story, which can be traced back to the fourth century A.D.[3] and connected with the

πανήγυριν συντελουμένην, πλέκοντος μὲν ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρχὴν σχοινίου μακράν, πολλῶν δ' ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω (ὄπισθεν codd. secundae classis) *λυόντων τὸ πλεκόμενον.*

[1] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 670 f., F. Jacoby *ib.* vii. 2758 f.

[2] *Infra* § 9 (d) ii (a).

[3] Rufin. *hist. eccl.* 2. 26 iam vero Canopi quis enumeret superstitiosa flagitia? ubi praetextu sacerdotalium litterarum—ita etenim appellant antiquas Aegyptiorum litteras—magicae artis erat paene publica schola. quem locum velut fontem quendam atque originem daemonum in tantum venerabantur pagani, ut multo ibi maior celebritas quam apud Alexandriam haberetur. sed de huius quoque monstri errore, cuiusmodi originem tradant, absurdum non erit paucis exponere: ferunt aliquando Chaldaeos ignem deum suum circumferentes cum omnium provinciarum diis habuisse conflictum, quo scilicet qui vicisset, hic esse deus ab omnibus crederetur. reliquarum provinciarum dii aeris aut auri argentive aut ligni vel lapidis vel ex quacumque materia constabant, quae per ignem procul dubio corrumperetur. ex quo fiebat, ut ignis locis omnibus obtineret. haec cum audisset Canopi sacerdos, callidum quiddam excogitavit. hydriae fieri solent in Aegypti partibus fictiles undique crebris et minutis admodum foraminibus patulae, quibus turbida aqua desudans defaecatior ac purior redditur. harum ille unam cera foraminibus obturatis desuper etiam variis coloribus pictam, aqua repletam statuit ut deum. et excisum veteris simulacri, quod Menelai gubernatoris ferebatur, caput desuper positum diligenter aptavit. adsunt post haec Chaldaei, itur in conflictum, circa hydriam ignis accenditur, cera, qua foramina fuerant obturata, resolvitur, sudante hydria ignis extinguitur, sacerdotis fraude Canopus Chaldaeorum victor ostenditur. unde ipsum Canopi simulacrum pedibus perexiguis adtracto collo et quasi suggillato, ventre tumido in modum hydriae cum dorso aequaliter tereti formatur et ex hac persuasione velut deus victor omnium colebatur. sed fecerit haec fortasse aliquando Chaldaeis, nunc vero adventante sacerdote Dei Theophilo nullus profuit sudor nec ceris fraus obtecta subvenit: vastata sunt omnia et ad solum deducta.

Rufinus' narrative is repeated in Greek by Souid. *s.v.* Κάνωπος· *ὁ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ποτέ, ὡς λόγος, Χαλδαῖοι τὸν ἴδιον θεόν, ὅπερ (ὅσπερ* cod. E.) *ἐστὶ τὸ πῦρ, ἀποσεμνύνοντες πανταχοῦ περιέφερον· ὥστε τοῖς θεοῖς πασῶν (πᾶσι* cod. E. ed. Med.) *τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν συμβεβληκέναι, καὶ τὸν νικῶντα ἐκεῖνον παρὰ πάντων νομίζεσθαι θεόν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ἐπαρχιῶν οἱ θεοὶ ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ ἢ ἀργύρου ἢ ξύλου ἢ λίθου ἢ ἄλλης τοιαύτης ὕλης ἐτύγχανον ἱδρυμένοι, ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ὕλη εὐχερῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς διεφθείρετο· ὥστε πανταχοῦ τὸ πῦρ ἀναγκαίως νικᾶν. τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Κανώπου* (so codd. A. V. *τοῦ Κανώπου ἱερεὺς* vulg.) *πανοῦργόν τι τοιοῦτον ἐνεθυμήθη. ὑδρίαι ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς Αἰγύπτου εἰώθασι γίνεσθαι ὀστράκιναι, τρήσεις ἔχουσαι λεπτὰς συνεχεῖς, ὥστε διὰ τῶν τρήσεων ἐκείνων τὸ τεθολωμένον ὕδωρ διυλιζόμενον ἀποδίδοσθαι καθαρώτατον. ἐκ τούτων τῶν ὑδριῶν μίαν λαβὼν ὁ τοῦ Κανώπου ἱερεὺς καὶ τὰς τρήσεις ἐκείνας ἀποφράξας κηρῷ καὶ διαφόροις ζωγραφήσας (διαζωγραφήσας διαφόροις* cod. E.) *χρώμασι, πληρώσας ὕδατος ἔστησεν ὡς θεόν· καὶ ἀποτεμὼν παλαιοῦ ἀγάλματος τὴν κεφαλήν, ὅπερ ἐλέγετο Μενελάου τινὸς κυβερνήτου γεγενῆσθαι, ἐπιμελῶς ἐπιθεὶς ἥρμοσεν αὐτὴν τῷ*

town of Kanobos or Canopus near the most westerly mouth of the Nile[1]: The Chaldaeans—we are told—endeavoured to prove that their god, Fire, was superior to all other gods by subjecting cult-images of bronze, silver, wood, stone, etc. to the action of fire and pointing triumphantly to the result. They were, however, outwitted by the priest of Kanopos. He took a terra-cotta strainer, such as were used by the Egyptians for clarifying muddy water, that is to say a *hydría* with many small holes in it, stuffed these holes with wax, painted the surface of the jar with various figures, filled it with water, and set it up as a god. He completed his work by cutting off the head of an old image, regarded as the helmsman of Menelaos[2], and fixing the same carefully on the top of his jar. The upshot of these preparations was that, when the Chaldaeans came and kindled a fire round the *hydría*, the wax melted, the jar appeared to sweat,

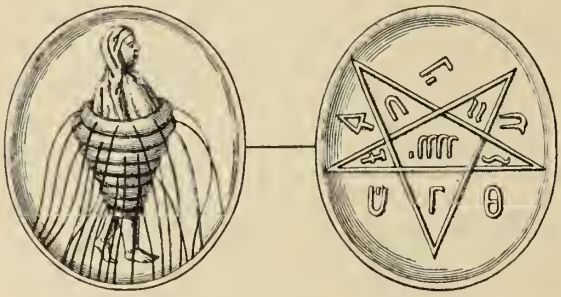


Fig. 211.

Fig. 212.

and the water issuing forth from the holes put out the fire of the unbelievers! Hence the figure of Kanopos has tiny feet, a thin neck, a body swollen like that of a *hydría*, and a rounded back.

This curious narrative can be illustrated by certain amulets of

ἀγάλματι. παρεγένοντο μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ Χαλδαῖοι· ἀνήφθη τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ὁ κηρὸς δι' οὗ αἱ τρήσεις ἐτύγχανον πεφραγμέναι διελύετο. τῆς δὲ ὑδρίας ἱδρώσης καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τῶν τρήσεων ἐκβαλλούσης, ἐσβέννυτο τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω τε τῇ πανουργίᾳ τοῦ ἱερέως ὁ Κάνωπος (Κανώπου τοῦ cod. E.) τῶν Χαλδαίων νικητὴς ἀνεδείχθη· καὶ ἀπὸ τότε λοιπὸν ὡς θεὸς ἐτιμᾶτο.

The same tale, compressed, recurs in Kedren. *hist. comp.* 325 C (i. 570 Bekker) ἱστέον ὅτι Χαλδαῖοι τὸ πῦρ ὡς πάντων ἀναιρετικὸν σέβονται, καὶ πάντας τοὺς (T. Hopfner prints τῶν) Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς κατέδραμον. προσῆλθον δὲ καὶ τῷ Κάνωπος (*sic*) ἱερεῖ, καὶ αὐτὸς μηχανᾶταί τι τοιοῦτον· εἰς τύπον ἀγάλματος ὑδρίαν ὀστρακίνην κατασκευάσας τρήσεις ὑπέθηκε λεπτάς, ἃς κηρῷ φραξάμενος καὶ χρώματι καλλύνας, παλαιοῦ ἀγάλματος ἀποτεμὼν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἐφαρμόσας τῷ σκεύει εὐφυῶς, καὶ τῷ πυρὶ προσαγαγὼν ἤλεγξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰσχύν, κατὰ μικρὸν διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀποσβεσθέντος.

[1] H. Kees in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1869 f.

[2] H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 948 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 698 n. 1, 1569, G. Roeder in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1870, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 1301 n. 1.

roughly contemporary date, published long since by J. Chiflet[1] (fig. 211) and A. Capello[2] (fig. 212). Kanopos, from whose perforated body thin jets of water are streaming, is here associated with the pentagram[3]

[1] J. Chiflet *Miscellanea Chifletiana* Antverpiæ 1657 vi. 134 pl. 25 fig. 103 (=my fig. 211), Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 233 pl. 51 no. 15 (redrawn from Chiflet).

[2] A. Capello *Prodromus Iconicus* sculptilium Gemmarum, Basilidiani, Amulectici, atque Talismani generis de Musæo A. C. Venetiis 1702, Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 239 pl. 53 no. 20 (redrawn from Capello = my fig. 212).

[3] During the last twenty years the pentagram or pentalpha has been the subject of much fruitful investigation. F. Hommel in R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 304 n. 5 shows that the old Babylonian ideogram AR [F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 1021 'besser *ar* zu umschreiben'] or UB meaning 'steps of heaven' (UB = *tubkati*) or 'space' (P. Jensen *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* Strassburg 1890 p. 165 ff., J. Hehn in the *Leipziger semitische Studien* 1907 ii. 5. 7) is represented in a fragmentary archaic votive inscription on the relief of a lion couchant (V. Scheil in the *Délégation en Perse: Mémoires* Paris 1900 ii. 66 'Texte du Lion,' line 16) by the pentagram and on the obelisk of Maništusu (sign no. 115 in Scheil's list) by a pentagram with open top . Hommel further points out that already in the Gudea inscriptions we find the ideogram consisting of five *cunei* , whose recumbent form must have given rise to the old Babylonian UB .

F. X. Kugler in *Klio* 1911 xi. 489 f.: ' (5) ist Ideogramm für *nādu* "erheben, verherrlichen," *nā'idu* "erhaben, hehr," *tani' attu* "Erhabenheit, Majestät." Die 5 ist in erster Linie das Symbol der überirdischen, göttlichen Würde und Vollkommenheit, der gloria divina; erst an zweiter Stelle bezeichnet sie die königliche Majestät. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass diese Bedeutung der 5 sich von den 5 Planeten ableitet, zumal dieselben nach babylonischer Ansicht über der Fixsternsphäre ihre Bahnen gehen und die vorzüglichsten Verkündiger des göttlichen Willens sind (Diodor, II, 30...). Wie 5, so bedeutet auch das Ideogramm UB: *na'ādu*, *tanattu*, drückt also gleichfalls den Begriff "Erhabenheit" aus. Und merkwürdigerweise ist die archaische Form von UB: dem pythagoreischen Pentagramm ganz ähnlich. Ausserdem bezeichnet UB auch tupku, kibratu, ursprünglich = kosmischer Raum (vgl. ub-da tab-tab-ba "vier Himmelsgegenden"). Dies alles legt den Gedanken nahe, dass die kosmische Zahl 5 des Pythagoräer mit der babylonischen Auffassung der 5 nahe verwandt ist.'

A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 99 f.: 'Neben der Vierteilung [*sc.* des Kreislaufes] findet sich eine Fünfteilung, die aus der Hinzuziehung des Planeten DIL. BAT—Venus zu erklären sein dürfte.... Das kosmische Zeichen der Fünfteilung des Kreislaufes ist das Pentagramm. Das Pentagramm erscheint in der Gestalt unter den Zeichen der "protoelamischen" Urkunden[2] ([2]Délég. en Perse VI, Nr. 887, S. 111) und auch in altbabylonischen Inschriften[3] ([3]Z.B. bei Samsuiluna als UB. DA. TAB. TAB. BA, Cun. T. XXI, Pl. 50, col. IV, 3) mit dem Lautwort UB = kibratu und tupku, dessen kosmischen Sinn wir S. 50 besprachen[4] ([4]Das Vorkommen in elamischen Inschriften beweist nicht, dass das Pentagramm elamisch ist im Gegensatz zu sumerisch-babylonisch...). In einer der protoelamischen Urkunden[5] ([5]Délég. en Perse VI, S. 111, Nr. 878) ist es geschrieben, Abb. 123 erscheint es stilisiert auf einem altbabylonischen Monument neben Ištar [*sc.* Sieges-Relief des Königs Anubanini (vor

2400 v. Chr.)]....Das Pentagramm als planetarisches Zeichen ist in der ganzen Welt als Schutzmittel gegen die bösen Geister in Gebrauch, als Drudenfuss, Pentalpha, Alpenkreuz, salus Pythagorae. In alten Kirchen gilt es als Riegel gegen Dämonen (vgl. Otte, Kirchl. Archaeologie[5] I, 479). "Das Pentagramma macht mir Pein."' [See further S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 10 (with fig. 23), 234, 251, 254, and especially 293 f. (with figs. 212, 213). I append a few numismatic examples: (1) A silver *statér* of Melos, struck in *s.* v B.C., has *obv.* a pomegranate with traces of two leaves, *rev.* ΜΑΛΙCΝ a pentagram (R. Jameson in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1909 xiii. 192 no. 13 pl. 5, 13 (=my fig. 213), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 853 f. pl. 241, 21, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 892). (2) Bronze coins of Pitane, struck in *s.* iv B.C., have *obv.* the head of Zeus *Ámmon*, *rev.* ΠΙ, ΠΙΤΑ, ΠΙΤΑΝ, ΠΙΤΑΝΑΙΩΝ or the like and a pentagram with central pellet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 171 f. pl. 34, 5 (=my fig. 214), 6—8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 286 no. 1, *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 72 pl. 267, 8, 9 f., *Weber Cat. Coins* iii. 1. 125 nos. 5237—5240 pl. 191, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi. 87 nos. 969—972 pl. 19, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 537). Under the empire the pentagram is placed

Fig. 213.

Fig. 214.

Fig. 215.

Fig. 216.

Fig. 219.

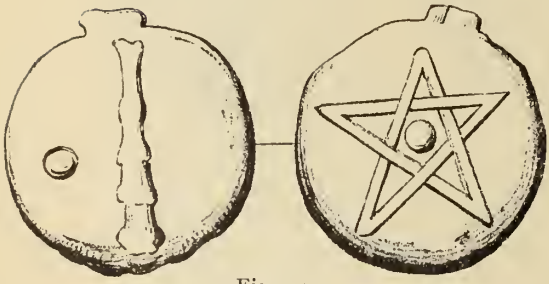


Fig. 217.

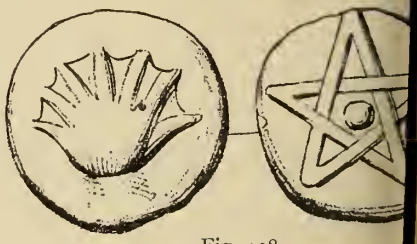


Fig. 218.

on a shield (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 172 pl. 34, 9 (=my fig. 215), 10, *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 73 pl. 267, 11, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 258 no 145[a], *id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 32 no. 1, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 92 no. 1019 f. pl. 21, vi. 87 no. 973 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 537) or used as a symbol (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 95 no. 186). (3) Bronze coins of Nuceria (*Nocera*) in Bruttii, struck *c.* 350—270 B.C. or later, have *obv.* the head of Apollon, laureate, to right, *rev.* NOYKP INΩN, NOYKPI NΩN, a horse standing to left with a pentagram beneath it (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 369 no. 1, *Weber Cat. Coins* i. 229 no. 1101 pl. 42, Babelon *Cat. Monn. gr. de Luynes* i. 150 no. 779 pl. 28, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 168 pl. 116, 29, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 105. Fig. 216 is from a specimen in my collection). (4) *Unciae* of central Italy in cast bronze have *obv.* a club with pellet in field, *rev.* a pentagram with pellet in centre (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 59 nos. 29—31, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 22 pl. 42, 6 (=my fig. 217), E. A. Sydenham *Aes grave* London 1926 pp. 83 f., 105 no. 117 pl. 13, 7 (regards the pentagram as *obv.*, the club as *rev.*, type), or *obv.* a *swastika* in relief, *rev.* a pentagram deeply incised (Sydenham *op. cit.* p. 105 n. 1). A *semuncia* of the same region has *obv.* a scallop-shell, *rev.* a pentagram with pellet in centre (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 22 pl. 42, 7 (=my fig. 218), Sydenham *op. cit.* p. 105 no. 118 (regards the pentagram as *obv.*, the scallop-shell as *rev.*, type)). (5) The pentagram occurs as a symbol

and a variety of magical marks, including Θ[1] and perhaps scattered letters of the word *Hygíeia*[2].

also on coins of Aesernia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 67 no. 5), Beneventum (*ib.* Italy p. 68 no. 1 fig.), Teanum Sidicinum (*ib.* Italy p. 126 no. 11), Velia (*ib.* Italy p. 315 no. 102), Bruttii (*ib.* Italy p. 321 no. 22), the Mamertini (*ib.* Sicily p. 111 no. 30), Syracuse (*ib.* Sicily p. 190 no. 322), Leukas (*ib.* Corinth, etc. p. 131 no. 75 pl. 36, 5), Rhodes (*ib.* Caria, etc. p. 246 no. 173), Seleukos i in Alexandrine empire of the East (*ib.* Arabia etc. pp. cxliii, 187 f. pl. 22, 4 (= my fig. 219)), Kyrene (*ib.* Cyrenaica p. 61 no. 292 pl. 26, 1), and Rome (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 25, 48, 49, 101 (*gens Acilia*), ii. 282 no. 140 (*gens Papia*). Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 827.]

F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 84 n. 3: 'Das Pentagramm ist Ideogramm für "Weltraum."' *Id. ib.* goes on to connect the Babylonian pentagram and heptagram with Pherekydes' πεντέμυχος and ἑπτάμυχος.

S. A. Cook in his important book *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 213 f. collects examples of the pentagram as a Jewish symbol: 'It is found at (*a*) Nerab, (*b*) Gerar, (*c*) a jar-handle from Ophel, and a curious type with Hebrew letters in the angles found at (*d*) Tell Zakariya, (*e*) Gezer, and (*f*) Ophel[7]. ([7](*a*) *Syria*, ix. 306; (*b*) Petrie, p. 19, pl. xliii. no. 10; (*c*) *P. E. F. Annual*, iv. fig. 202, no. 5; (*d*) Bliss and Macalister, pl. lvi, no. 44; (*e*) *Q.S.*, 1904, p. 211 sq., Macalister, *Gezer*, ii. 209, fig. 359, and (*f*) *Annual*, iv. p. 191, fig. 203, no. 7. Cf. also the late inscribed (Arabic) stone from Latron (*Q.S.*, 1919, p. 174).) The legend has been acutely taken to be Shelemau, and identified with the Shelemiah of Neh. xiii. 13[1]. ([1]So Albright, *J.P.O.S.*, vi. 100 sq.) The Pentagram is also used as a potter's mark[2]. ([2]Bliss and Macalister, pl. xxix. no. 42; cf. pl. lvi. no. 53 (from Tell Sandaḥannah, ib., p. 122 sq.), *Gezer*, pl. cxc. no. 59.)' Etc.

Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World* London 1930 pl. 48 has a short comparative series of pentagons from Egypt, Asia Minor, Crete, Greece, Italy, etc.

[1] Θ was a character, which would commend itself to all who dabbled in Egyptising magic. As a letter, it was the beginning and end of Thoth (*ἐτυμολογία τοῦ ἀλφαβήτου* printed in *et. Gud.* p. 597 *Θῆτα πόθεν ἐτυμολογεῖται; παρὰ τὸ Θώθ· Θὼθ δὲ λέγεται τὸ πέταλον* (cp. K. B. Hase in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 1009 c) *τῶν παλαιῶν ἱερέων*). As a numeral, it stood for the great Egyptian ennead (F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 23). As a symbol, it represented the universe (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 571 ff. Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 51 *ἔτι μὴν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐννοίας τὸν κόσμον γρόφοντες περιφερῆ κύκλον ἀεροειδῆ καὶ πυρωπὸν χαράσσουσι, καὶ μέσα τεταμένον ὄφιν ἱερακόμορφον, καὶ ἔστι τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα ὡς τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν θῆτα, τὸν μὲν κύκλον κόσμον μηνύοντες, τὸν δὲ μέσον ὄφιν συνεκτικὸν τούτου Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα σημαίνοντες* (*supra* ii. 1127 f.) = Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 161 p. 177, 16 ff. Wünsch *ὅτι σχημάτων ὁ κύκλος τελειότατον· ὅθεν Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν κόσμον γράφοντες περιφερῆ κύκλον ἀεροειδῆ καὶ πυρωπὸν χαράττουσι καὶ μέσον τεταμένον ὄφιν ἱερακόμορφον, οἱονεὶ συνεκτικὸν Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα· καί ἐστι τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα ὡς τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν Θ.* Dornseiff *loc. cit.* cp. schol. Dionys. Thrak. p. 321, 37 and 488 Hilgard *Θῆτα ὅτι τοῦ παντὸς θέσιν μιμεῖται· ἡ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς θέσις ἐστὶν ὁ οὐρανός, ὃς τό τε κυκλοτερὲς ἔχει καὶ τὸν διὰ μέσου ἄξονα τῇ κατὰ μέσον χαρακτηρισθέντα μακρᾷ.* Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1341 had already quoted *et. mag.* p. 441, 3 ff. *Θῆτα τὸ στοιχεῖον, παρὰ τὸ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ παντὸς μιμεῖσθαι· ἤτοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ κυκλοτερὲς ἔχον* (*κυκλότερον* cod. V. marg.), *καὶ τὸν διὰ μέσον ἄξονα τῇ κατὰ τὸ μέσον μακρᾷ* < *ἀνάλογον* (*ins.* Lobeck) > *ἔχει.* Add *et. Gud.* p. 262, 45 ff. *Θῆτα, εἴρηται, ὅτι τὴν τοῦ παντὸς θέσιν μιμεῖται. ἡ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς θέσις οὐρανός ἐστι, ὃς τό τε κυκλοτερὲς ἔχων κατὰ* (*leg. καὶ*) *τὸν διὰ μέσου ἄξωνα* (*leg. ἄξονα*) *τῇ κατὰ τὴν μέσην οὔσῃ μακρᾷ* < *ἀνάλογον ἔχει* (*inserui*) >. *χαρακτηρισθὲν οὖν οὕτως, εἰκότως καὶ ἐοικυῖαν ἔλαβεν ὀνομασίαν*). That *θ* was the initial of *θάνατος* and was itself transfixed with a dart (schol. Pers. *sat.* 4. 13, Isid. *orig.* 1. 3. 8, 1. 23. 1, cp. Pers. *sat.* 4. 13, Mart. *ep.* 7. 37. 1 f., Auson. *ep.* 87. 13 Peiper, Rufin. *apol. adv. Hier.* 2. 36 (xxi. 615 Migne), Sidon. *carm.* 9. 334 f. See also Sir J. E. Sandys *Latin Epigraphy* Cambridge 1919 p. 62 with n. 2) is hardly *ad rem*: an *infelix littera* would be out of place.

[2] *Supra* i. 109 n. 3.

The story of Kanopos implies the local cult of an actual man, who died and was buried near the river-mouth. As a dead man he would of course be identified with Osiris, and—from the position of his grave—with Osiris as god of the Nile[1]. Nile-water was in fact regarded as the very seed of Osiris[2] and credited with generative and fertilising powers of the highest order[3]. Apparently the divinised Kanopos was represented by a terra-cotta strainer full of Nile-water. Its holes were caulked with wax. Its surface was painted with divers figures. And its neck was completed by the addition of a human head. This peculiar, but not impossible, image must have served some practical purpose; and it lies near at hand to conjecture that in the hottest weather[4] the wax would melt, the image would stream with water[5], and a fertility-charm of exceptional potency would automatically protect the neighbourhood from drought. The alleged *rencontre* with the Chaldaeans is on this showing a later moralising version of the previously existing rite[6].

[1] Heliod. 9. 9 *θεοπλαστοῦσι τὸν Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ κρειττόνων τὸν μέγιστον ἄγουσιν, ἀντίμιμον οὐρανοῦ τὸν ποταμὸν σεμνηγοροῦντες, οἷα δὴ δίχα νιφετῶν καὶ ὑετῶν ἀερίων τὴν ἀρουμένην αὐτοῖς ἄρδοντα καὶ εἰς ἔτος ἀεὶ τεταγμένως ἐπομβρίζοντα. καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν ὁ πολὺς λεώς. ἃ δ' ἐκθειάζουσιν, ἐκεῖνα. τοῦ εἶναι καὶ ζῆν ἀνθρώπους, τὴν ὑγρᾶς τε καὶ ξηρᾶς οὐσίας σύνοδον αἰτίαν μάλιστα νομίζουσι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα στοιχεῖα τούτοις συνυπάρχειν τε καὶ συναναφαίνεσθαι λέγοντες (an λέγουσι?) καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑγράν, τὸν Νεῖλον, θατέραν δὲ τὴν γῆν τὴν αὐτῶν ἐμφαίνειν. καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν δημοσιεύουσι. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς μύστας Ἶσιν τὴν Γῆν καὶ Ὄσιριν τὸν Νεῖλον καταγγέλλουσι, τὰ πράγματα τοῖς ὀνόμασι μεταλαμβάνοντες.* On this equivalence of Osiris and the Nile see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1573 n. 5, 1580 n. 8.

[2] *Supra* ii. 482 n. 0, *infra* n. 6.

[3] Aisch. *suppl.* 853 ff. *μήποτ' ἴδοιμι πάλιν | ἁλφεσίβοιον ὕδωρ, | ἔνθεν ἀεξόμενον | ζώφυτον αἷμα βροτοῖσι θάλλει* with schol. 854 *τὸ ζωοποιοῦν τὰ θρέμματα, ἢ ἔντιμον, μεταφορικῶς. λέγει δὲ < τὸ > τοῦ Νείλου* and 856 *ἀρρενογόνον γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Νείλου· ὅθεν Ζεὺς πιὼν ἔτεκεν Ἄρεα.* This exploit of Zeus is unrecorded elsewhere. Is the reference to the Egyptian Ares of Papremis (Hdt. 2. 63, cp. 2. 83)? Other allusions to the fertilising virtues of Nile-water are collected by R. Wagner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 93.

[4] Heliod. 9. 9 *καὶ γάρ πως συνέπεσε καὶ τὰ Νειλῶα τότε τὴν μεγίστην παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἑορτὴν ἐνεστηκέναι, κατὰ τροπὰς μὲν τὰς θερινὰς μάλιστα καὶ ὅτ' ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐξήσεως ὁ ποταμὸς ἐμφαίνει τελουμένην, κ.τ.λ.* On the *Νειλῶα* see R. Wagner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 91.

[5] Sweating or weeping statues, whether ancient (*e.g.* Cic. *de div.* 1. 74, 2. 58, Iul. Obs. 31, Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 36 (*supra* i. 585), cp. *supra* ii. 428) or modern (*e.g.* P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1907 iv. 165), are *ἄλλος λόγος*.

[6] W. Weber *Drei Untersuchungen zur ägyptisch-griechischen Religion* Heidelberg 1911 pp. 42, 48 (summarised by G. Roeder in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1872 f.) comes to the conclusion that the god Kanopos was a local type of Osiris-Neilos worshipped at the mouth of the Nile. Osiris was hidden inside the jar in the form of Nile-water, which is known to have played a considerable part in late religious rites (*e.g.* Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 36 *οὐ μόνον δὲ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὑγρὸν ἁπλῶς Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροὴν καλοῦσι· καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀεὶ προπομπεύει τὸ ὑδρεῖον ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ θεοῦ*). More exactly, according to Weber, Kanopos was the Osiris-Neilos of fresh water: Set-Typhon, his opponent, stood for

1

2

The so-called 'Canopic jars' of Egypt, surmounted by the heads of the four children of Horos:

(1) A typical set (A. Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* London 1894 p. 306).

(2) A set in veined alabaster, now at Queens' College, Cambridge.

See page 345 *n.* 1.

The nearest parallel to the effigy of Kanopos is to be found, not in the so-called 'Canopic jars' used to contain the *viscera* of the deceased and commonly topped by the heads of the four children of Horos[1], but in certain remarkable *simulacra,* which may be seen

the salt water of the sea, which as the river sank forced its way up the river-bed. Thus the old conflict between Osiris and Set was interpreted at Kanopos as a struggle between the river-water and the sea-water. When the priests of Kanopos found fresh water streaming into their holy vessel, they celebrated with joy the finding of Osiris. Weber seeks support for his reconstruction in Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 39 (Typhon's drought attacks and masters the moisture that generates and nurtures the Nile. Typhon's ally is the Queen of the Aithiopes, *i.e.* south winds that master the etesian winds, which were driving the clouds towards Aithiopia and so bringing rain to increase the Nile. Typhon and his ally send a weakened and lowered river to the sea—a fact represented by the enclosure of Osiris in his coffin. This happens in the month Athyr, when the nights grow longer and daylight declines. The priests then drape a gilded cow in a black *himátion* of fine linen—the cow representing Isis or the earth—and exhibit it for four days from the 17th of the month [=Nov. 13—16: see Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] ii. 84]. But on the 19th they go down by night to the sea, and the drapers (*στολισταί*) and priests bring out the sacred ark (*κίστη*) containing a golden casket (*κιβώτιον*), into which they pour drinkable water. A shout is raised by the people present, who cry that Osiris has been found! Then they mix fruitful soil with the water (*τὴν κάρπιμον* (Xylander and others cjj. *γῆν κάρπιμον*) *φυρῶσι τῷ ὕδατι*), add costly spices and incense, and mould a little moon-shaped image (*μηνοειδὲς ἀγαλμάτιον*), which they clothe and adorn, thereby indicating their belief that these deities are essentially earth and water).

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Mummy* Cambridge 1893 pp. 194—201 states that four such jars were regularly employed by the Egyptians to contain the principal intestines of the dead. They were dedicated respectively to the man-headed Mesthâ or Âmset, the dog-headed Ḥâpi, the jackal-headed Ṭuamâutef, and the hawk-headed Qebḥsennuf. These four gods of the dead are described as the children of Horus or the children of Osiris and themselves stood under the protection of four goddesses, *viz.* Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Selket or Serqet. G. Elliot Smith—W. R. Dawson *Egyptian Mummies* London 1924 pp. 144—147 ('The Canopic Jars') point out that down to the end of the eighteenth dynasty the jars had human heads, but that later they were made to resemble the four children of Horus (human, hawk, jackal, ape), the liver being protected by Imsety, the stomach by Duamutef, the lungs by Hapy, and the intestines by Qebeh-snewef. A. Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 317 describes and *ib.* p. 306 figures (= my pl. xxxiii, 1) a typical set of the four jars. Pl. xxxiii, 2 is from a set, made of alabaster, in my possession. See also H. R. Hall in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 459[b], A. H. Gardiner *The Tomb of Amenemhēt* London 1915 p. 113. In no case is there any justification for the current term 'Canopic.'

Forrer *Reallex.* p. 392, without citing his authority, says that such jars served 'zur Aufbewahrung des Nilwassers und der Mumieneingeweide.' In this connexion note Aristeid. *or.* 48. 362 (ii. 485 Dindorf) *μόνοι δὴ ὧν ἴσμεν Αἰγύπτιοι κεράμια ὕδατος ὥσπερ ἄλλοι οἴνου πιμπλᾶσι, καὶ ἔχουσι τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων ἐτῶν ἔνδον καὶ ἔτι πλειόνων καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ σεμνύνουσιν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς τὸν οἶνον. ἢ καὶ τούτου φήσει τις αἴτιον εἶναι ὅτι ἐξ ὄμβρων αὔξεται;* In view of the fact that corpses or parts of corpses, *e.g.* the head, are frequently drenched with water as a rain-charm (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 284 ff., J. Rendel Harris in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 431 ('At Ourfa...we were told that in dry seasons they dig up the body of a recently buried Jew, abstract the head and throw it into the Pool of Abraham')), it is presumably possible that ordinary intestine-jars may on occasion have been used for the same purpose; but evidence is lacking.

on the imperial coinage of Alexandreia (figs. 220—232). R. S. Poole[1] said of them:

'The Canopi represent Osiris and Isis, Osiris being probably Sarapis. The Canopus of Osiris is of two forms, (1) draped and wearing the atef-crown, which consisted of the crown of Upper Egypt, between two plumes, above the rams' horns [fig. 220[2]]; and (2) adorned with figures and wearing the crown with disk and plumes above the ram's horns with uraei [figs. 221[3], 222, 224[4], 223[5]]. The Canopus of Isis is draped, with a uraeus in front of the body of the vase, and wears the headdress of cow's horns and lunar disk [fig. 225[6]]. These types cannot as yet be further discriminated. The two headdresses of Osiris are indiscriminately used by the ancient Egyptians, and therefore we cannot assign them to particular forms. No doubt in Alexandrian usage they designated such forms, or they would not occur together in one coin-type [figs. 226[7], 227[8], 228, 229[9], 230[10], 232[11]].'

These joint representations show the two 'Canopi' of Osiris set on a couple of cushions and facing us upon a garlanded base

The 'Canopic' shape might be given to a variety of gods and goddesses. J. G. Milne in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 286—290 published a limestone *stéle* in the Ghizeh Museum (no. 9267), which on each of its four faces had a sunk panel with reliefs, flanked by a verse quotation, below the panel a row of 'Canopic' figures, and lower again a metrical inscription: (*a*) A helmeted bust with a circular shield and crossed spears beneath it, flanked by *Il.* 5. 31, then from right to left 'Canopi' of Osiris, Horus, Isis, Nephthys (?), and the lines *εἰμὶ μὲν ἐξ ἱερῆς στρατιῆς ὅπλοισιν ἀρωγός* | *Καίσαρος ἐν πολέμοις ἠδ' Ἄρεος θεράπων·* | *πολλὰ δ' ἐν εὐσεβέεσ(σ)ι θεῶν ἔργοις μεμόγηκ[α]* | *σώματι καὶ θύμῳ, γῆρα[ς οὐ]κ ἀλέγων·* | *οὕνεκ' ἐπαιν[ήσ]αντες ἐπ' εὐτάκτοιο [βίοιο]* | *[νοῦ]ν τε σαοφροσύνη[ν τ' ἀστοὶ ἐπεκλέϊσαν]*. (*b*) A helmeted bust with a sea-horse beneath it, flanked by *Od.* 9. 528, then 'Canopi' of Thoth, Amon, Mut, and in lieu of an epigram *Il.* 15. 187—191. (*c*) A helmeted bust with an eagle on a thunderbolt beneath it, flanked by *Il.* 2. 412, then 'Canopi' of some missing deity, Shu, Tefnut, Hathor, and the lines *εἷς Καῖσαρ, μέγας αὐτοκράτωρ, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω,* | *εἷς βασιλεύς, ᾧ ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτης* (*sic*—an adaptation of *Il.* 2. 204 f. On such *formulae* see E. Petersen ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ Göttingen 1926 *passim*)· | *Ζῆνα μέγαν Κρονίδην ὑψίζυγον ἀργικέ[ραυνον]*, | *[...] ἅμα προφρον[.....]πον ἐνν[.....]* | *[−−]αινεφιλ[.....]ηνα[.....]* (*e.g. τῷ δ' ἅμα προφρονέως γε βαρύκτυπον Ἐννοσίγαιον* | *σύν τε κελαινεφ(έ)α προσέφην Ἀΐδην ἀδάμαστον*). (*d*) A helmeted bust (?) with a doubtful creature beneath it, flanked by lettering now lost, then 'Canopi' of Ra, Atum, Nut, and the lines *Ἄγριος ἱστιάει κατ' ἔτος δῖς δῆμον ἅπαντα* | *Πανὸς ὀρεσσινόμοιο κατ' εἰλαπ[ί]νας Φοίβοιο,* | *ἄνδρε δύ' ἄρχοντας καλέων κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστον·* | *[τοῦ τ' ἔ]θνους ἱερῆας ἑω[θε]χοῶν τε συνέρ[γους]* | *εἰς ἑκατὸν δὶς παν[τὸς ὁμῶ]ς λυκάβαντος [ἀγῆλ]αι*. The *stéle* dates from the end of *s.* i B.C. and comes from Alexandreia. F. Ll. Griffith suggests 'that the underlying idea is probably astrological: thus, the opposite sides (4) and (2) are headed by Ra and Thoth for Sun and Moon: (1) has Osiris, possibly for the planet Jupiter, and the lost figure in the front of (3) may have been Geb, the planet Saturn. To each of these leaders were then added his usual associates in Egyptian religious tradition.'

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. lxvii f.

[2] *Ib.* p. 75 no. 625 pl. 18 (=my fig. 220, from a cast) Hadrian.

[3] *Ib.* p. 32 no. 268 pl. 18 (=my fig. 221, from a cast) Vespasian.

[4] *Ib.* p. 91 no. 775 pl. 18 (=my fig. 222, from a cast) Hadrian. Fig. 224 is from a specimen in my collection, likewise struck by Hadrian.

[5] *Ib.* p. 289 no. 2214 pl. 18 (=my fig. 223, from a cast) Gallienus.

[6] *Ib.* p. 75 no. 633 pl. 18 (=my fig. 225, from a cast) Hadrian.

[7] *Ib.* p. 54 no. 452 pl. 18 (=my fig. 226, from a cast) Trajan.

[8] *Ib.* p. 75 no. 632 pl. 18 (=my fig. 227, from a cast) Hadrian.

Fig. 220.

Fig. 221.

Fig. 222.

Fig. 223.

Fig. 224.

Fig. 225.

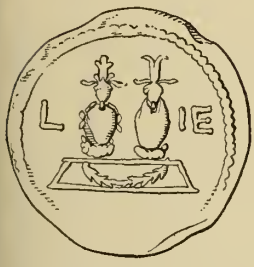


Fig. 226.

Fig. 227.

Fig. 228.

Fig. 229.

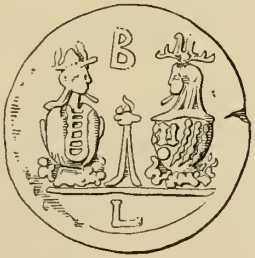


Fig. 230.

Fig. 231.

[9] Fig. 228 is from a specimen in my collection (Hadrian [L] I H) = 133—134 A.D. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 92 no. 779 pl. 18 (= my fig. 229).

[10] *Ib.* p. 134 no. 1133 pl. 18 (= my fig. 230, from a cast) Antoninus Pius.

[11] *Ib.* p. 134 no. 1134 pl. 18 (= my fig. 232, from a cast) Antoninus Pius.

(fig. 226), or more often confronting each other (figs. 227—231), sometimes with a flaming *thymiatérion* between them (fig. 230) or housed in a common shrine with papyrus-headed columns (fig. 231[1]), or finally upborne side by side on the spread wings of an eagle (fig. 232)[2]. The numismatic 'Canopi' of Osiris resemble the legendary effigy of Kanopos more closely than do the ordinary 'Canopic' jars, and that in two respects. For one thing, there can be no doubt that the Osirian 'Canopi' were definitely worshipped as deities. For

Fig. 232.

another, they were not only surmounted by a human head, but also decorated with various figures. It is even possible that the series of dots seen on the Osiris-'Canopi' (figs. 224, 228, etc.) were holes stuffed with wax like those of Kanopos himself.

A further possibility is deserving of mention. Since Nile-water was in effect the equivalent of snow and rain, the Nile was popularly regarded as in some sort a copy of the sky[3]. Parmenon of Byzantion[4] (*s.* iii B.C.) ventured to equate the river-god with the sky-god, when he penned a choliambic address to—

'Nile, Zeus of the Egyptians.'

[1] *Ib.* p. 102 no. 877 pl. 28 (=my fig. 231) Hadrian. Cp. *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 453 no. 365 Hadrian, 481 no. 544 L. Verus.

[2] An engraved cornelian at Florence shows the Canopus of Isis carried by a female griffin, which rests its right paw on a four-spoked wheel (A. F. Gori *Museum Florentinum* Florentiae 1731 i pl. 58, 9, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 33 no. 58, 9 pl. 29).

[3] Heliod. 9. 9 (cited *supra* p. 344 n. 1).

[4] Athen. 203 C *μόνος γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ χρυσορρόας καλούμενος Νεῖλος μετὰ τροφῶν ἀφθόνων καὶ χρυσὸν ἀκίβδηλον καταφέρει, ἀκινδύνως γεωργούμενον, ὡς πᾶσιν ἐξαρκεῖν ἀνθρώποις, δίκην Τριπτολέμου* (*supra* i. 222 f., 227) *πεμπόμενον εἰς πᾶσαν γῆν. διόπερ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Βυζάντιος ποιητὴς Παρμένων ἐπικαλούμενος "Αἰγύπτιε Ζεῦ," φησί, "Νεῖλε."* Cp. schol. vet. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 99 *τέμενος Κρονίδα· τὸν Νείλον Κρονίδαν [φησίν], ὡς Παρμένων· "Αἰγύπτιε Ζεῦ Νεῖλε." ἀναλογεῖν γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς ὄμβροις τὸ τοῦ Νείλου ὕδωρ, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντίστροφόν τινα τοῦτον τῷ Διὶ εἶναι.*

A coin of Alexandreia already figured (*supra* i. 361 fig. 277) equips Zeus with the *cornu copiae* of Neilos.

At Silsilis (*Djebel Selseleh*), on the right bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt, a *stéle* was found bearing an inscription flanked by two reliefs—on one side a sacred tree, on the other a bull and a young man holding a torch or stick in his left hand[1]. This was 'the salutation of Leonidas the helmsman to Neilos Zeus called *Nephótes* the Greatest' and is dated in the year 106/7 A.D.[2] Now *Nephótes*, as A. H. Sayce[3] pointed out, is a Grecised form of the Egyptian *Neb-pet*, 'Lord of Heaven.' There was, moreover, a long-standing belief that the Nile was a celestial river[4], and sundry mythographers identified it as such with Eridanos or Okeanos[5]. Kanobos the helmsman gave his name to a star[6] appearing low down beneath this constellation[7]. It is therefore quite conceivable that the rounded body of Kanopos was treated as a *quasi*-sky, and that the figures with which it was adorned were those of stars or constellations. Support for the conjecture is not far to seek.

If Kanobos was thus identified with Osiris, his wife Theonoe[8] or Eumenouthis[9] seems to have been equated with Isis. In this connexion a small Nolan *amphora* once belonging to the Museo Vivenzio must be taken into account. An old drawing here reproduced (fig. 233)[10] shows the two sides of the vase as one continuous

[1] C. R. Lepsius *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* Berlin 1849—1859 xii. 82 no. 188 (inscription only).

[2] A. H. Sayce in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1894 vii. 297 f. no. ix (inscription only) = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 676 = F. Preisigke *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* Strassburg 1915 i. 7 no. 23 τὸ προσ|κύνημα [Λε]|ωνίδου κυβε|ρνήτου Νείλου| Διὸς κλου[μένου]| Νεφώτου τοῦ| [μ]εγίστου. | L ι' Τραϊανοῦ Καί|[σα]ρος τοῦ κυρίου. Sayce and Dittenberger assume that κυβερνήτου Νείλου should be taken together as 'helmsman of the Nile.'

[3] A. H. Sayce *loc. cit.*, cp. B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt—D. G. Hogarth *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* London 1900 p. 255 no. cv Col. ii, 14 Nefotian(us).

[4] *Supra* i. 349 n. 2.

[5] *Supra* ii. 1025.

[6] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 22.

[7] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 32 Canopos, whose source (see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 248 n. 4) was pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 37 Κάνωβος.

[8] Konon *narr.* 8 τὰ περὶ Πρωτέως τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου μάντεως, οὗ ἡ θυγάτηρ Θεονόη ἐρασθεῖσα Κανώβου (ἦν δ' οὗτος κυβερνήτης Μενελάου τοῦ Τρῴου (D. Hoeschel cj. 'Ατρέως)) ἀποτυγχάνει· κ.τ.λ.

[9] Epiphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 209 Dindorf) Κάνωβός τε ὁ Μενελάου κυβερνήτης καὶ ἡ τούτου γυνὴ Εὐμενουθὶς ἐν 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ τεθαμμένοι τιμῶνται πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀπὸ δεκαδύο σημείων διεστῶτες.

[10] G. Patroni *Vasi dipinti del Museo Vivenzio disegnati da Costanzo Angelini nel MDCCXCVIII* Rome and Naples 1900 p. 5 pl. 29, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 279 f. fig. 70 (= my fig. 233).

design. The obverse gives a scene from Greek cult; the reverse, a corresponding scene from Egyptian cult. In the one case we have the evocation of the Greek earth-goddess: she starts up at the very feet of a youth, who has just struck the ground with his mattock[1]. In the other case a bearded and somewhat deformed man with a staff in his right hand is consulting a 'Canopus.' The jar, as on sundry Alexandrine coins (fig. 225) and gems of imperial date[2], has

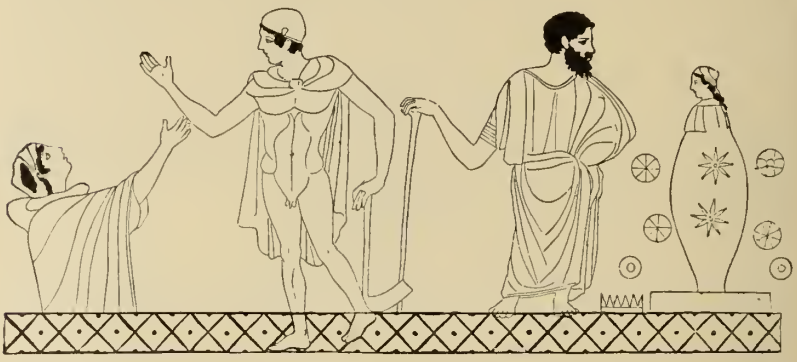


Fig. 233.

its cover shaped like the head of Isis. It is decorated with two stars—a feature in which it is not unique[3]; for Isis was the 'Queen of Heaven' and wore a robe glittering with stars[4]. It is surrounded by rosettes and circles, the meaning of which is doubtful. The object lying on the ground between the Isis-jar and the worshipper is (if we may put faith in Angelini's drawing) probably not a spiked crown[5], but cult furniture of some sort. It might conceivably be the

[1] C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 pp. 179—202 ('Die Rückkehr der Kore') pls. 2—5 (especially pl. 5, *A* and *C*), J. E. Harrison in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 232 ff., 1900 xx. 105 ff., *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 276 ff. ('The Anodos of the Maiden Earth-goddesses'), 639 f., *Themis*[2] p. 416 ff. On evocations see further W. Headlam in the *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 52—61.

[2] W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 471 f.

[3] A. F. Gori *Gemmae antiquae ex thesauro mediceo et privatorum dactyliothecis Florentiae exhibentes tab. C* etc. Florentiae 1731 i. 49 pl. 59, 2 = Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 33 no. 59, 2 pl. 29, cp. C. W. King *Antique Gems and Rings* London 1872 ii. 46 pl. 7, 9 ('Canopus, with the head of Athor, flanked by two Asps; on the belly of the vase is the solar disk').

[4] Apul. *met.* 11. 2 regina caeli, 11. 4 per intextam extremitatem et in ipsa eius planitie stellae dispersae coruscabant earumque media semenstris luna flammeos spirabat ignes. See W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 433 ff. and R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 69 f.

[5] So G. Patroni *op. cit.* p. 5, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 280.

mountain-emblem of *HA*, one of the most ancient gods of the Delta, whose priest purified the king at his coronation with the 'waters of all-satisfying life[1].' But I incline to think that rosettes, circles, and *quasi*-crown are merely loaves and cakes set out before the goddess. In any case the Egyptian scene balances the Greek scene; for Isis too was an earth-power[2]—indeed Plutarch says that the Egyptians spoke of the earth, when flooded and fructified by the Nile, as 'the body of Isis[3].' That a Greek potter should thus combine home ritual with foreign ritual is certainly exceptional[4], but not altogether surprising. If an early Ionic *hydría* could represent the sacrifice of Bousiris with some approach to Egyptian *vraisemblance*[5], a late local Italian (? Oscan) *amphora* may well have reflected the growing familiarity of the Greek world with the observances of the Delta. In after days Egyptian spells came to be much valued in Greek lands[6]. But this vase has a special interest as affording the earliest extant Greek or *quasi*-Greek representation of a 'Canopic' divinity.

The Vivenzio vase, after being drawn by Angelini in 1798, disappeared from view. But thirty years later Raoul Rochette published an *amphora* of remarkably similar aspect (fig. 234)[7]—so similar in fact that it must be the self-same vase—and this in 1865

[1] See the important paper by P. E. Newberry 'Two Cults of the Old Kingdom' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1908 i. 24 ff.

[2] W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 442 ff.

[3] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 38 ὡς δὲ Νεῖλον Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροήν, οὕτως Ἶσιδος σῶμα γῆν ἔχουσι καὶ νομίζουσιν, οὐ πᾶσαν ἀλλ' ἧς ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιβαίνει σπερμαίνων καὶ μιγνύμενος.

[4] R. Hackl 'Mumienverehrung auf einer schwarzfigurig attischen Lekythos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 195—203 with 3 figs. (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1909 xiii. 498 with fig.) publishes a black-figured *lékythos* at Munich (height 0·17^{m}: *provenance* unknown), which in the clear but slightly careless style of *c.* 500 B.C. shows three men prostrating themselves with gestures of grief before and behind a narrow vertical oblong, covered with a network- or trellis-pattern and surmounted by a male head in profile with wreath (?) and pointed beard. The men wear loin-cloths only: two cloaks are hung in the background. Leafy sprays are visible to left and right of the pillar-like figure. Hackl argues that this figure cannot be a herm (no arm-stumps, no *phallós*), nor yet a Dionysos *Perikiónios* (tree-stem or pillar usually clothed, Dionysos-mask above adorned with vines), but must be the mummy of some Greek, who dying in the Delta was embalmed and lamented by his friends in Egyptian fashion (προσκύνησις, loin-cloths)—possiby as a divinised Osiris-Dionysos.

[5] Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 255 ff. pl. 51, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 179 ff. iii. 35 figs. 152, 153, M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale University Press pp. 126, 134, 163 figs. 214, 257. *Supra* i. 513 n. 1 with fig. 381.

[6] Loukian. *philops.* 31.

[7] Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1833 p. 369 ff. pl. 64 (=my fig. 234). The learned author interprets the vase-painting as a combination of two analogous scenes—'*nécyomancie* homérique' (Odysseus evoking the soul of Antikleia) and 'τὸ νεκυομαντεῖον' near Cumae (Diod. 4. 22, Strab. 244) at which Demos or Choros is consulting the oracle of a 'Canopic' jar.

passed from the Pourtalès collection[1] to a permanent home in the British Museum[2]. It is a red-figured *amphora* of late, coarse style, and is officially stated to have come from the Basilicata in South Italy. Its design is identical with that of the Vivenzio vase, apart from the fact that the decorative details about the 'Canopus' (stars, rosettes, circles, 'crown') are now missing. Mr H. B. Walters, however, who kindly examined the vase afresh on my behalf, reports as follows (May 15, 1911):

'F 147. R.-Rochette's publication seems to be fairly adequate and accurate. I should like to know if there is any record of the history of this vase before it came into the Pourtalès collection, where it evidently was about 1825—1830.

Fig. 234.

It must surely be the same as the Vivenzio vase though Miss H[arrison] hasn't realised the fact. As to the stars and circles I can only suppose they were restorations which were subsequently removed. I had no knowledge of the Vivenzio publication when the Catalogue was made.

P.S. Since writing the above I have again carefully examined F 147, and find the marks as given by Miss H[arrison] *are all there*, but *very faintly engraved in the varnish.* I doubt if they are original. There is also a crown on the other side of the vase, not given in the drawing. Any way this proves its identity with our vase.'

[1] T. Panofka *Antiquités du cabinet du comte Pourtalès-Gorgier* Paris 1834 p. 72 pl. 22. *Id.* in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 302 f. (Gaia emerges, disturbed by a grave-digger: a father views with grief the 'Canopic' jar of his dead child).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 71 no. F 147. Mr Walters takes the subject to be 'Probably a representation of digging a spring' ('(*a*) Bearded male figure...looking...towards a Canopic jar resting on a plinth, which terminates in a female head. (*b*) Part of the same scene: A female figure...(probably representing the Nymph of a spring)...extending r. hand to a beardless male figure...'). The explanation is unconvincing.

1*a*

1*b*

2*a*

2*b*

Amphora from the Basilicata, now in the British Museum:
(1*a*—1*b*) Evocation of the Greek Earth-goddess.
(2*a*—2*b*) Consultation of an Isiac 'Canopus.'

See page 349 ff. *with figs.* 233, 234

Finally Mr F. N. Pryce has furnished me with recent photographs of the four figures (pl. xxxiv), on which the faint markings have been added in white paint.

The use of holed vessels as a rain-charm agrees well with what we know of Libyan beliefs concerning the sky. According to Herodotos, the Libyans who planted the followers of Battos beside the fountain of Apollon at Kyrene addressed them in these words: 'Men of Hellas, here it is fitting for you to dwell, for here the sky is bored through[1].' My friend and colleague the late Dr A. Wright pointed out that this description furnishes us with an answer to the conundrum propounded by Virgil's Damoetas:

> Say in what lands—and be my great Apollo—
> There is a hole in heaven three ells across[2].

Eustathios takes Herodotos' words to mean that the sky resembled a reservoir, which though sound elsewhere was holed over Libye and so dropped abundant rain to the advantage of Libyan vegetation[3]. It would seem then that the Libyans thus naïvely accounted for the torrential rain, which in point of fact commonly falls at Kyrene during the rainy season from the middle of November onwards[4]. It is also noteworthy that, according to Theophrastos, the wood near Kyrene sprang up as the result of a heavy pitchy rain, and that *silphion* had been produced for the first time from

[1] Hdt. 4. 158 ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐνθαῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιτήδεον οἰκέειν· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται.

On the analogous Semitic conception of 'the windows of heaven' (Gen. 7. 11, 8. 2, 2 Kings 7. 2, Is. 24. 18, Mal. 3. 10) see I. Benzinger *Hebräische Archäologie*[3] Leipzig 1927 p. 163.

It is possible that some such significance was attached to the louver or circular opening in the dome of the Pantheon at Rome. For the coffered ceiling of that remarkable structure (Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 550 ff., especially fig. 645. A fuller bibliography will be given *infra* p. 441 n. 7), spangled with rosettes or stars (?) of gilded bronze (Durm *op. cit.*[2] p. 565, W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Ancient Rome* rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 p. 81), must have produced and been intended to produce much the effect of a miniature sky (cp. *supra* i. 751 f., ii. 354 f., 360 f., 1150).

[2] Verg. *ecl.* 3. 104 f. dic quibus in terris—et eris mihi magnus Apollo—| tris pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulnas. Wright's solution of this well-known problem (in the *Class. Rev.* 1901 xv. 258) appears to me much more probable than either of those advanced by Serv. *ad loc.* (the grave of Caelius, the well at Syene—the former the guess of a would-be wit, the latter a pedantic attempt to improve upon the claims of Libye), let alone the follies recorded in J. Conington's note.

[3] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 742. 22 ff. ὁ δὲ περί τινα Λιβυκὴν γῆν τετρῆσθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν φάμενος ἄλλως γηπονικῶς ἑτερατεύσατο. ἐθέλει γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡς οἷα καί τινα δεξαμενὴν ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις γαίαις ἐστεγανῶσθαι, περὶ δὲ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον οἷον συντετρῆσθαι ὡς ὑετὸν συχνὸν ἐξερεύγεσθαι καὶ ἄρδειν τὰ ἐκεῖ πρὸς τροφιμότητα.

[4] See H. Stein on Hdt. 4. 158, and A. W. Lawrence on Hdt. 2. 14, 22, 3. 10, 4. 185.

a similar shower of pitch[1] seven years before the date (*c.* 611 B.C.[2]) of Kyrene's foundation[3].

ii. The holed vessel in Greece.

The custom of pouring water into a holed *píthos* or *hydría* by way of a rain-charm has left traces of itself, not only in the rites and myths of northern Egypt, but also in those of Greece. Nor is this to be wondered at, if—as I incline to surmise—the said custom belonged to a race, which at an early date occupied both regions, the Graeco-Libyans or Libyo-Greeks postulated by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie[4]. It is even permissible to use less general terms and to refer the practice to a particular tribe, the *Daânàu* or *Danauna*, who along with other maritime allies are known to have attacked the kingdom of Rameses iii at a date shortly after 1200 B.C.[5] For there can be little or no doubt that this tribe has been correctly identified with the Danaoi[6] of Homer; and they in turn cannot be separated from their eponym Danaos[7], or his daughters the Danaïdes, whose water-carrying furnishes the best parallel to the alleged ritual of Akanthos in Lower Egypt[8].

[1] Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 1. 5 f., *de caus. pl.* 1. 5. 1, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 143, 22. 100.

[2] L. Malten *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 p. 190 ff., H. C. Broholm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 158 f.

[3] Theophr. *hist. pl.* 6. 3. 3, Plin. *nat. hist.* 19. 41. The schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 894 states that Aristaios, son of Apollon and Kyrene, was the first who discovered how to cultivate *silphion* and to produce honey.

[4] W. M. Flinders Petrie in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 276 f.

[5] *Supra* i. 362 f. To the authorities there cited add H. R. Hall in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 184, *id. The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 380 ff., *id.* in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1924 ii. 283 f., A. J. B. Wace *ib.* 1923 i. 177, F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 pp. 28 f., 1001. The Egyptian texts are collected and translated in H. T. Bossert *Altkreta*[1] Berlin 1921 pp. 50, 54 ff.

[6] D. D. Luckenbill 'Jadanan and Javan (Danaans and Ionians)' in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 1913 xxviii. 92—99, L. B. Holland 'The Danaoi' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1928 xxxix. 81 ff.

The latter *loc. cit.* p. 83 n. 1 is tempted 'to see some connection, in name at least, between the Danuna and Dan. ...Perhaps Danite sea-farers [Judges 5. 17] were in the service of the Philistines and migrated with them,—the tribe disappears from later Hebrew history,—or possibly one section of the Philistines occupied territory that had belonged to Dan, and so were called Danuna.' Such speculations are rash, though far less so than those of the Abbé E. Fourrière concerning 'the emigrant tribe of Dan' (discreetly abbreviated in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 183, cp. the same writer in the *Revue d'exégèse mythologique* vii no. 39 pp. 313—318).

[7] Bernhard in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 952—954, O. Waser 'Danaos und die Danaïden' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1899 ii. 47—63, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2094—2098.

[8] *Supra* p. 338 f.

(a) Water-carrying in the myth of the Danaïdes.

The story of the Danaïdes is told as follows by Apollodoros[1]. Danaos and Aigyptos were twin-brothers. Belos, their father, settled Danaos in Libye, Aigyptos in Arabia. Aigyptos, however, conquered the Melampodes and named their land Egypt after himself. The two brothers had, by various wives, a numerous progeny—Danaos fifty daughters, Aigyptos fifty sons. They became rival claimants to the throne; and Danaos, fearing the sons of Aigyptos, at Athena's instigation put his daughters on board a ship[2], which he devised for the purpose, and fled. He touched at Rhodes, where he set up the image of Athena *Lindía*[3]. Thence he came to Argos, and Gelanor the Argive king abdicated in his favour[4]. < Having thus become master of the country, he named the inhabitants *Danaoí* after himself[5]. > The country was then suffering from a drought; for Poseidon had dried up its springs, being wroth with Inachos for

[1] Apollod. 2. 1. 4, cp. schol. *Il.* 1. 42, Hyg. *fab.* 168—170. For variants see K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1005 f., O. Waser *ib.* iv. 2087 ff., 2094 ff.

[2] So also schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 4 ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσι (μέντοι φασὶ cod. Paris.) Δαναὸν διωκόμενον ὑπὸ Αἰγύπτου πρῶτον κατασκευάσαι (*sc.* ναῦν)· ὅθεν καὶ Δαναΐς ἐκλήθη. Hyg. *fab.* 168 tunc primum dicitur Minerva navem fecisse biproram in qua Danaus profugeret follows schol. A. D. *Il.* 1. 42 καὶ ὑποθεμένης Ἀθηνᾶς αὐτῷ ναῦν πρῶτος κατεσκεύασε τὴν κληθεῖσαν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ πεντηκόντορον.

[3] On whom see a valuable paper by C. Blinkenberg 'La déesse de Lindos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 154—165 with figs. 1—11.

[4] On the succession of Danaos to Gelanor see Paus. 2. 16. 1 and the interesting omen in Paus. 2. 19. 3 f. (wolf kills bull = Danaos deposes Gelanor, and founds sanctuary of Apollon Λύκιος). Plout. *v. Pyrrh.* 32 locates the omen near Pyramia in Thyreatis, and speaks of Gelanor as driven out by a στάσις. Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 377 makes Apollon give an oracle to Danaos 'ut profectus ubi invenisset taurum et lupum inter se pugnantes, spectaret exitum pugnae, et si taurus vicisset, Neptuno templa construeret; si vero lupus, Apollini delubrum sacraret. sed cum Danaus lupum videret vicisse, Apollini Lycio templum dedit.' This famous encounter is commemorated on a late autonomous bronze coin of Argos, which has *obv.* the forepart of a wolf to the right, *rev.* HPAKΛE I[T]OY the forepart of a bull to the right. This is usually described as 'running' (P. Gardner) or 'charging' (S. W. Grose), but may rather be moribund (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 147 pl. 28, 9 (= my fig. 235), *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 460 pl. 232, 31, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 440).

Fig. 235.

[5] These words were added to the text of Apollodoros by B. Aegius in the *editio princeps* 1555 from the concluding sentence of schol. A. D. *Il.* 1. 42 αὐτὸς δὲ κρατήσας τῆς χώρας ἀπ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Δαναοὺς ὠνόμασεν. ἱστορεῖ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν β'.

declaring that the land belonged to Hera[1]. Danaos therefore sent his daughters to seek for water. One of them, Amymone by name, while going on this errand, shot at a stag, but hit a sleeping Satyr, and was saved from his embraces by the appearance of Poseidon. To him she yielded; and he showed her the springs at Lerna. Meantime the sons of Aigyptos came to Argos, demanding the restoration of peace and a marriage with their fifty cousins. Danaos, who distrusted these professions and bore a grudge on account of his exile, agreed to the proposals and distributed the damsels by lot. The names of grooms and brides are duly recorded[2]. Danaos made the wedding-feast, but secretly supplied his daughters with daggers. They, when their bridegrooms fell asleep, slew them all, with a sole exception—that of Hypermnestra, who saved Lynkeus for respecting her virginity[3] and was for that reason imprisoned by Danaos. The rest of his daughters buried the heads of their bridegrooms at Lerna and performed funeral rites over the bodies in front of the city[4]. They were purified themselves, at the bidding of Zeus, by Athena and Hermes. Danaos subsequently bestowed Hypermnestra upon Lynkeus, and offered his other daughters as prizes in a gymnastic contest[5].

The tale thus told is long and clearly composite. It is not difficult to pick out certain parts of it and to bracket them as being mythical accretions or embellishments of no central significance. The explanation of the Argive drought as due to Inachos' partisanship of Hera was hardly an original feature, at least of this story[6]. The incident of Amymone, the Satyr, and Poseidon is an obvious

[1] Ἀθηνᾶς codd. C. G. Heyne cj. Ἥρας, cp. Paus. 2. 15. 5. [2] Cp. Hyg. *fab.* 170.

[3] So also schol. *Il.* 4. 171, schol. Pind. *Nem.* 10. 10. But schol. Eur. *Hec.* 886 μία δὲ μόνη τούτων ἡ Ὑπερμνήστρα ἐφείσατο τοῦ Λυγκέως, ἀπὸ τῆς μίξεως διάθεσιν ἐσχηκυῖα πρὸς αὐτόν assigns a love-motive, which—as C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 132 points out—is as old as Aisch. *P.v.* 865 f. μίαν δὲ παίδων ἵμερος θέλξει τὸ μή | κτεῖναι σύνευνον, κ.τ.λ. and is further supported by the pleading of Aphrodite in Aisch. *Danaïdes* [*frag.* 44 Nauck[2] *ap.* Athen. 600 A—B].

[4] Others agree that Danaos deposited the heads of the Aigyptiadai in Lerna (Zenob. 4. 86, Apostol. 10. 57, Arsen. *viol.* p. 334, Hesych. *s.v.* Λέρνη κακῶν, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Λέρνη θεατῶν, Souid. *s.v.* Λέρνη θεατῶν). But, according to Paus. 2. 24. 2, the sons of Aigyptos were murdered at Lerna, and their wives cut off the heads to show their father that the deed was done. The headless trunks remained at Lerna, but the heads were buried in a tomb on the left of the road leading up to the Argive *akrópolis*.

[5] So too Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 112 ff. with scholl. *ad loc.*, Paus. 3. 12. 2. Hyg. *fab.* 170 makes Lynkeus, after Danaos' death, present Abas, who had been the first to inform him of it, with the shield dedicated by Danaos to Hera. Lynkeus then consecrated the games held *quinto quoque anno* and known as ἀσπὶς ἐν Ἄργει. The Danaïdes after their father's decease married Argive husbands.

[6] Its proper setting is given by Paus. 2. 15. 5.

excrescence[1]. The catalogue of one hundred names reads like a didactic (Hesiodic?) addition[2]. And the suitors' race was not the only method of rounding off the tale[3].

But, *subtractis subtrahendis*, the residue of the myth has been handled in more ways than one. F. G. Welcker[4] took the Danaïdes to be the fifty weeks of the year—an opinion that remained his own. K. Schwenck[5] had suggested that they were the fifty moons which composed the cycle of the Olympian festival; and this notion, since with a little ingenuity it could be made to fit the case of other fifties[6], especially the fifty daughters of Endymion and Selene, and even the fifty daughters of Thestios, found considerable favour and is still hardly extinct[7]. Symbolism of another sort, topographical rather than chronological, appears in the picturesque but highly improbable view of L. Preller[8]. Making the most of a few particular cases—Amymone, Physadeia[9], Polydora[10]—he argued that all the Danaïdes were fountain-nymphs of the Argolid. The Aigyptiadai, descendants of the mighty Aigyptos (that is, of the Nile), could then be explained as torrents and rivers, which in winter rushed headlong

[1] H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen 1861 i. 50, C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 142—144.

[2] They are interestingly discussed in Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 267 f. C. Robert argues that the list preserved by Apollodoros goes back to an epic source, probably to Hesiod (hence the epic character of the names, their epic prosody, often their Ionic dialect, and their suitability to hexameter verse. Peculiarly Hesiodic is their use of alliteration and even rime), but that the list given by Hyg. *fab.* 170, which has only 22 or perhaps 23 names in common with Apollodoros, is derived from some prose author (hence such names as *Themistagora*, *Demarchus*, *Demophile*, *Pamphilus*).

[3] C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 162 f. shows that the suitors' race (Pind., Paus., Apollod.) and the Danaïdes' punishment in the Underworld (Hyg., etc.) 'belong to distinct traditions which are not easy to reconcile.' *Id. ib.* p. 133 holds that the latter version squares with that of schol. Eur. *Hec.* 886 (perhaps cp. Ov. *her.* 14. 115—118), in which Lynkeus avenges his brothers by slaying Danaos and all the Danaïdes except Hypermestra.

[4] F. G. Welcker *Kleine Schriften zur griechischen Literaturgeschichte* Bonn 1867 v. 50.

[5] K. Schwenck in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1856 x. 377 ff.

[6] W. H. Roscher *Die Zahl 50 in Mythus, Kultus, Epos und Taktik der Hellenen und anderer Völker, bes. der Semiten* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1917 xxxiii. 5), Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 283.

[7] A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 48 ff. ('Sagen, welche die Fünfzigzahl der Monate personifiziren'), J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1898 xii. 141, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 956 n. 5, F. M. Cornford in Harrison *Themis*[2] p. 231 f.

[8] L. Preller *Griechische Mythologie* Leipzig 1854 ii. 33 ff.

[9] Schol. Kallim. *lavacr. Pall.* 47. Cp. schol. A. Eur. *Phoen.* 188 Φῦσα (so W. Dindorf for φύσα cod.). In Euphor. *frag.* 19 *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄσβωτος A. Meineke would correct φυγάδειαν to Φυσάδειαν (*Analecta Alexandrina* Berolini 1843 p. 55, but see *ib.* p. 402).

[10] Pherekyd. *frag.* 23 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 74 Müller) = *frag.* 8 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 61 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1212, Ant. Lib. 32 (after Nikandros ἑτεροιουμένων α'). See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2642 f.

like importunate suitors, but in summer sank low or were dried up altogether, their head-waters cut off by the local nymphs. Thus decapitated they were buried in the Lernaean marsh, where alone moisture yet lingered. Preller's explanation, accepted as sound by Bernhard[1], N. Wecklein[2], O. Waser[3], etc. and described as 'Ein geistvoller Erklärungsvorschlag' by C. Robert[4], is of course open to serious objections, which have been forcibly put by C. Bonner[5] and G. A. Megas[6]. Nor is the case materially strengthened, if, with V. Henry[7], we pronounce the Danaïdes to have been rain-goddesses.

These attempts at explanation, however ingenious, must be discarded. There is more to be said for the folk-tale comparisons made by L. Laistner and C. Bonner. Laistner[8], who regarded the race of the Argive suitors as the most important feature of the myth and combined it with the endless labour of the Danaïdes, took the whole story to exemplify the following mythical formula: 'A water-carrying field fairy is freed from an enchantment by a man who, in order to accomplish her deliverance, has to perform some feat involving bravery, strength, or endurance, as well as mortal danger in case of failure[9].' The Danaïdes are enchanted maidens, nymphs of the rain or the dew. The endless water-carrying is the magic spell. The sons of Aigyptos fail to free them, and lose their own lives in consequence. Now Laistner's comparison is not only forced and far-fetched, but—as C. Bonner[10] points out—definitely vitiated by taking for the original core of the myth two different and alternative endings to it!

[1] Bernhard in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 950.

[2] N. Wecklein in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1893 ii. 397 ff.

[3] O. Waser 'Danaos und die Danaiden' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1899 ii. 47—63 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2087 ff., 2094 ff.

[4] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 266. Cp. H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 284: 'The persistent connexion of the Danaides with water makes it not unlikely that they are in reality fountain-nymphs.'

[5] C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 146 ff. notes that 'the use of κεφαλή, meaning *source*, is very scantily attested' (Hdt. 4. 91, cp. Strab. 377. Latin *caput* and Modern Greek κεφαλάρι are quoted in support); that Paus. 2. 24. 2 gives, apparently as a genuine Argive myth, a very different account of the decapitation (*supra* p. 356 n. 4); that the alleged invention of wells by Danaos or his daughters does not prove the latter to have been spring-spirits; that the numeral fifty is not necessarily an indication of a nymph-like nature, but rather suggestive of a folk-tale family; that the river of Egypt, though known to Homer as Αἴγυπτος, is already Νεῖλος in Hes. *theog.* 338; etc.

[6] G. A. Megas 'Die Saga von Danaos und den Danaiden' in *Hermes* 1933 lxviii. 415—428 (see *infra* Addenda).

[7] V. Henry in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1892 v. 284—289.

[8] L. Laistner *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* Berlin 1889 i. 283—292.

[9] C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 161.

[10] *Id. ib.* p. 162 f.

Nevertheless Laistner deserves credit for suggesting[1] that the incident of Lynkeus being saved by his bride was borrowed from some other folk-tale such as an Icelandic version[2] of the *Hop o' my Thumb* formula[3]. Acting on this hint, C. Bonner[4] went further and reached the conclusion that the whole episode of the Danaïdes murdering the Aigyptiadai was comparable with a folk-tale still current in Greece[5] and in many other parts of Europe from the Caucasus to the Pyrenees: 'A band of brothers lose their way in a forest, and take refuge in the hut or cavern of an ogre or witch. The youths pass the night with the daughters of their host. The youngest and shrewdest of the brothers suspects that treachery is intended, and by a trick, such as an exchange of head-dress or a shifting of positions[6], causes the ogre to cut off the heads of his own daughters. Thus the youths escape[7].' Sundry variants of the folk-tale assimilate it more closely to the Greek myth, for instance the Icelandic version mentioned above[8] in which a captive maiden warns the visitors of their danger, or again a Milanese version[9] in which the father of the youths is their companion and himself suggests the stratagem. Nevertheless it is distinctly unfortunate for Bonner's hypothesis that in the folk-tale all the brothers escape and all the sisters are killed, whereas in the myth all the brothers but one are killed and all the sisters escape[10].

The foregoing criticisms must not be taken to imply that both Preller and Bonner were wholly off the track. The former at least saw that the Danaïdes had some essential connexion with water. And the latter maintained with success that their myth bore much

[1] L. Laistner *op. cit.* ii. 88 f.

[2] J. C. Poestion *Isländische Märchen* Wien 1884 p. 297 ff. no. 36 ('Thorstein, der Häuslerssohn').

[3] C. S. Burne *The Handbook of Folklore* London 1914 p. 346 no. 13 ('*Hop o' my Thumb type.* 1. The parents, very poor, desert their children. 2. The youngest child leads the rest home several times, but at last fails to do so. 3. They fall into the power of a supernatural being, but the youngest robs him and they all escape').

[4] C. Bonner in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1900 xxxi. 30 ff., *id.* in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 149 ff. Cp. Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 447 f.

[5] J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 75 ff. no. 3 ('Von dem Schönen und vom Drakos'), ii. 178 ff. (four variants, and notes).

[6] J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 124 n. 1.

[7] C. Bonner in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1900 xxxi. 31.

[8] *Supra* n. 2.

[9] V. Imbriani *La Novellaja Milanese* Livorno 1877 no. 1.

[10] C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 151 notes, however, hat in schol. Eur. *Hec.* 886 Lynkeus avenges his brothers by slaying all the Danaïdes but Hypermestra (*supra* pp. 356 n. 3, 357 n. 3).

resemblance to a folk-tale[1]. But I do not think that either Preller or Bonner sufficiently realised the complexity of the story. Symbolists on the one hand and folklorists on the other largely ignored its legendary, not to say historical, basis. This factor of legend was indeed suspected in 1893 by W. Schwartz[2], who urged that the myth of the Danaïdes, like that of the Argonauts[3], was a mariner's or merchant's epos[4]. But suspicion became virtual certainty, when it was perceived that the Danaoi of Homer were none other than the *Daânàu* or *Danauna* of Egyptian records[5]. And the ground thus won was still further consolidated by L. B. Holland in 1928[6].

[1] J. Vürtheim *Aischylos' Schutzflehende* Amsterdam 1928 p. 17 prefers to speak of it as a Pelasgian saga: 'Das Sagenmotiv kennt die beiden streitenden Brüder; der eine hat Söhne, der andere ebensoviele Töchter. Eine Ehe würde den Hader beendet haben, aber die Schönen mochten ihre Vettern nicht. Auch die Zahl fünfzig ist in der Sage gegeben: Priamos' Haus kannte sie. Dann folgt der Mord, und hier denkt man gleich an ἔργα Λήμνια. Auch die lemnischen Weiber töteten ihre Männer (Herod. VI, 139 [138]); auch hier geschah es auf pelasgischem Gebiete; auch hier war eine, die den Mord nicht verübte und eine Ausnahme bildete. Diese Jungfrau—Hypsipyle—wurde schuldig erklärt, wie in Argos Hypermestra. Fast möchte man von einem pelasgischen Sagenmotiv reden; denn bringen nicht lemnische Pelasgen mit eigener Hand die athenischen Frauen um, bei denen sie bereits Kinder gezeugt hatten (Herod. VI, 139 [138])?' It may be conjectured that the Lemnian myth has been partially assimilated to the Argive. The resemblance of the two was already remarked by F. G. Welcker *Die Aeschylische Trilogie Prometheus* Darmstadt 1824 p. 594 f.

[2] W. Schwartz in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1893 xxxix. 101 ('es ist die Danaidensage...ein schifferepos wie die Argonautensage, man könnte fast sagen ein handelsepos'), cp. 105 ('etwa um 900, eher vorher als nachher, musz demnach unsere sage entstanden sein, die einer der austreibungen griechischer seehändler und -räuber aus Ägypten ihren ursprung verdankt').

[3] On the historical element in the myth of the Argonauts see now the admirable treatment of Miss J. R. Bacon *The Voyage of the Argonauts* London 1925 p. 107 ff. (*ib.* p. 168 'In its original form the Argonaut story was a narrative of a real voyage in the Euxine Sea, made by Minyans of Thessaly in the late fourteenth or early thirteenth century B.C.').

[4] O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2089 aptly quotes E. Meyer *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* Halle a.S. 1892 i. 79. The context runs: 'Wir sind, und mit Recht, gewohnt, die "hesiodeische" Poesie als unmittelbare Vorgängerin der Logographen zu betrachten; aber die Danaiden stehen den letzteren mindestens ebenso nahe—wie sie denn auch durch das starke Hervortreten des genealogischen Elements mit Hesiod sich eng berühren—und zeigen, dass auch die "homerische" Poesie der allgemeinen Strömung Rechnung getragen hat. Das Interesse an Ländern und Völkern, an der Erweiterung der geographischen Kenntnisse, an Urgeschichte und Wanderungen bildet den Inhalt der Danaiden wie der Schriftstellerei des Hekataeos; ihm verdankt das Epos die grosse Wirkung, die es nicht formell aber durch seinen Inhalt erzielt hat. Gleich zu Anfang boten die Schicksale der Io die Gelegenheit dazu. Io konnte von Argos nach Aegypten nur auf dem Landwege gekommen sein, musste also so ziemlich die ganze im siebenten Jahrhundert den Hellenen bekannte Welt (mit Ausnahme Italiens) durchwandert haben. So konnte das Epos gewissermassen einen Abriss der Geographie geben.'

[5] *Supra* p. 354.

[6] L. B. Holland 'The Danaoi' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1928 xxxix. 59—92.

Epic tradition, which not improbably rested on Argive folk-memory, associated Danaos and his daughters with the discovery of a water-supply. This trait, and it alone, is involved in our earliest reference to their myth. The *Iliad* speaks of Argos as *polydípsion*, 'very thirsty[1],' and Euripides calls it *dipsían...chthóna*, a 'thirsty land[2].' Both phrases presumably allude to the fact that the streams Inachos (*Panitza*) and Charadros (*Xerias*), which traverse the Argive plain, run dry for the greater part of the year[3], so that there is need to make up for their lack of water by means of irrigation. But ancient critics, finding Argos well-watered and fertile, were perplexed by the Homeric epithet[4]. Eustathios[5] finally offers us a choice of explanations: 'Either because the Greeks thirsted for it[6]; or because the myth says that it was once ill-watered but afterwards became well-watered, when Poseidon caused the springs at Lerna to burst forth through his love for Amymone, the namesake of the Amymonian Waters[7] at Argos; or it may be on account of the Danaïdes, who came from Egypt and taught the digging of wells, as Hesiod[8] observes—

Waterless Argos Danaos made well-watered.'

Strabon[9], without naming the author, cites another version of the line, in which the 'Danaan maids' take the place of Danaos:

Waterless Argos Danaai made well-watered.

It appears, then, that a Hesiodic line mentioned Danaos as the cause

[1] *Il.* 4. 171, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* δίψιον Ἄργος, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 419.

[2] Eur. *Alc.* 560.

[3] G. Hirschfeld in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 730.

[4] Strab. 370 περὶ δὲ τῶν μυθευομένων πηγῶν εἴρηται, διότι πλάσματα ποιητῶν ἐστί· πλάσμα δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἄργος ἄνυδρον—θεοὶ δ' αὖ θέσαν Ἄργος ἄνυδρον (A. Meineke accepts T. Tyrwhitt's cj. Ἄργος ἄνυδρον ἐὸν Δανααὶ θέσαν Ἄργος ἔνυδρον, cp. Strab. 371 quoted *infra* n. 9)—τῆς τε χώρας κοίλης οὔσης καὶ ποταμοῖς διαρρεομένης καὶ ἕλη καὶ λίμνας παρεχομένης, καὶ τῆς πόλεως εὐπορουμένης ὕδασι φρεάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἐπιπολαίων. αἰτιῶνται δὴ τῆς ἀπάτης τὸ "καί κεν ἐλέγχιστος πολυδίψιον Ἄργος ἱκοίμην" (*Il.* 4. 171). τοῦτο δ' ἤτοι ἀντὶ τοῦ πολυπόθητον κεῖται, ἢ χωρὶς τοῦ δ πολυίψιον, κ.τ.λ.

[5] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 461, 3 ff., cp. schol. T., schol. B. L., and schol. A. D. *Il.* 4. 171, Souid. *s.v.* πολυδίψιον, *et. mag.* p. 681, 4 ff.

[6] A desperate guess of Aristarchos (Hesych. *s.v.* δίψιον Ἄργος quoted *infra* n. 8, cp. Athen. 433 E).

[7] Eur. *Phoen.* 188 f.

[8] Hes. *frag.* 47 Kinkel, 24 Rzach Ἄργος ἄνυδρον ἐὸν Δαναὸς ποίησεν ἔνυδρον, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* δίψιον Ἄργος· Ἡσίοδος μὲν τὸ ἄνυδρον, Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ τὸ πολυπόθητον (διψᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἐπιποθεῖν) ἢ ὑπὸ Διὸς βεβλα(μ)μένον· ἴψαι γὰρ τὸ βλάψαι. M. Schmidt in his ed. min. tentatively suggests the insertion of Ἡλιόδωρος (?) after the word Ἡσίοδος.

[9] Strab. 371 Ἄργος ἄνυδρον ἐὸν Δανααὶ θέσαν Ἄργος ἔνυδρον, cp. *ib.* 370 quoted *supra* n. 4.

of Argos' fertility, while a variant and perhaps later[1] reading spoke of the 'Danaan maids' rather than Danaos himself.

It is not unreasonable to contend that this ancient tradition was, in the main, true. Immigrants from Egypt—let us say the *Danauna*—came by sea *viâ* Rhodes and settled at Argos. They called themselves *Danaoí*—a name which would be appropriate to desert-dwellers if, as Herakleides of Kyme[2] asserted, it really meant the 'Dry' or 'Parched ones.' But etymology is capable of a *volte-face*, and modern scholars have maintained that *Danaoí* should rather be connected with the Sanskrit *dânu* meaning 'fluidity, dampness, drops[3].' Be that as it may, Gelanor the reigning king of Argos was, owing to

[1] W. Schwartz in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1893 xxxix. 105 infers that "Αργος ἄνυδρον ἐὸν Δαναοὶ θέσαν "Αργος ἔννυδρον is a later recension of Hesiod's line from the fact that "Αργος is repeated as a mere 'flickwort.' It might be added that Δαναοί, though a metrical necessity, is a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute for Δαναΐδες.

[2] Herakleides of Kyme (a contemporary of Philip ii of Macedon: see F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 469 f. no. 42) *frag.*[3] (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 97 Müller) *ap. et. mag.* p. 247. 41 ff. δανάκης νομίσματός ἐστιν ὄνομα βαρβαρικόν, πλέον ὀβολοῦ, ὃ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐν τοῖς στόμασιν ἐτίθεσαν...εἴρηται δὲ δανάκης, ὁ τοῖς δαναοῖς ἐμβαλλόμενος· δαναοὶ γὰρ οἱ νεκροί, τουτέστι ξηροί, δανὰ γὰρ τὰ ξηρά. Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Περσικῶν. Opinions have differed as to the trustworthiness of δαναός = ξηρός. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 831 accepts the equation; J. Miller in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2093 rejects it. The word δᾱνός, 'dry,' remains unexplained (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 224). I would suggest confusion with δηναιός, 'ancient,' in its Doric form δαναιός (Aisch. *Eum.* 845, 879).

[3] V. Henry in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1892 v. 284 ff. Cp. H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 206: 'Unter den bezeichnungen, welche die hymnen des Rigveda für den von Indra bekämpften dämon anwenden, erscheint auch *Dānu*, theils mit *Vṛtra* oder *Ahi* zusammengestellt, theils für sich, und in patronymischer fortbildung *Dānavá*....Einmal... wird Dānavá sichtlich identificiert mit Vṛtra. Die mehrzahl *Dānavás* kommt im Rigveda noch nicht vor, wohl aber zweimal im Atharvaveda, und heir bereits gleichbedeutend mit den Asuren, der allgemeinen bezeichnung der bösen dämonen. Diesem plur. *Dānavás* entsprechen die gr. Δαναοί auf das vollkommenste, ausgenommen die quantität der ersten silbe. Aber derselbe ühergang zur kürze hat sich im sanskrit vollzogen; schon im Çatapathabrāhmana wird das grundwort *danu*, obwohl der hochton auf diesem vocal ruht, mit *ă* angewandt, und so bei späteren durchweg. Noch begreiflicher ist die kürzung in der fortgebildeten form *Dānavás* als wirkung des vorgeschobenen hochtons. Man versteht jetzt das gebet des alten Chryses τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα (A 42).' On the *Dānavás* see further H. Jacobi in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 809[a], *id. ib.* 1911 iv. 390[a]—392[a], A. A. Macdonell *ib.* 1921 xii. 610[a]. As to *Dānu*, *id. Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 158 says: 'Vṛtra's mother is called Dānu and is compared with a cow (1, 32). This name seems to be identical with the word *dānu*, which is several times used as a neuter meaning "stream" and once as a feminine to designate the waters of heaven. The same term is applied as a masculine, apparently in the sense of a metronymic, to Vṛtra or the dragon (2, 12; 4, 30), as well as to the demon Aurṇavābha (2, 11), and to seven demons slain by Indra (10, 120). The regular metronymic Dānava is used five times to designate a demon combated by Indra and doubtless identical with Vṛtra. Indra cast down the wiles of the wily Dānava (2, 11), he struck down the snorting Dānava (5, 29), to release the waters (5, 32).' *Infra* p. 366 n. 4.

a season of drought[1], forced to abdicate; and the chief of the newcomers took his place. Why? Because he or his women-folk succeeded in getting water and so saved the Argive crops.

L. B. Holland[2] has argued with much cogency that this dynastic change corresponded with the transition from shaft-graves to *thólos*-tombs. The shaft-graves, on his showing, belonged to the Achaioi, the *thólos*-tombs to the Danaoi. He even ventures upon an approximate dating of the events[3]:

'The marble chronicle from Paros, compiled in Athens in the third century B.C., probably from older official Athenian documents,...specifically states that the penteconter of Danaus arrived in the year 1510—1509 B.C.[4] Archaeology shows that the change from the "shaft-grave" to the "tholos-tomb" dynasty at Mycenae occurred about 1500 or a little earlier, and that the great fortification walls, with the Lion Gate and the existing court and megaron of the palace there, were all built about 1400[5]. Since these dates agree so perfectly with the traditional dates for the coming of the Danaans and the "founding" of Mycenae by Perseus[6], is it not reasonable to accept the traditions as substantially historical?'

The people who dug the rectangular shaft-graves (the Achaioi?) dug also rectangular wells. Two such were found by A. J. B. Wace[7] cut in the soft rock at Mykenai, one by the north-western angle of the 'Warrior Vase House,' the other below its eastern wall: neither of them can be more recent than the beginning of the 'Late Helladic iii' period. But the people who constructed the far more elaborate *thólos*-tombs (the Danaoi?) may fairly be credited with the introduction of tholoid reservoirs or wells, whether carved out of the native rock like the bottle-shaped cisterns of later date to be seen on the site of Melite at Athens[8], or lined with concentric courses of masonry like the beautifully built and still serviceable Fountain of

[1] This is not actually stated in our sources (*supra* p. 355), but is implied by the sequel (Apollod. 2. 1. 4).

[2] L. B. Holland 'The Danaoi' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1928 xxxix. 74 f.: 'Collating these literary traditions with the archaeological evidence at Mycenae, we should naturally equate the rulers of the fifteenth to the twelfth centuries, the tholos-tomb kings, with the *Danaoi*; the earlier shaft-grave dynasty would then be *Achaioi*, whose tribal ancestors first occupied the land at the beginning of the Middle Helladic period, "long before human memory" to classical Greeks; and the still earlier inhabitants, the Aegean people of Early Helladic days, might be the Pelasgians whose scattered remnants still persisted in historic times.'

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 78.

[4] [*Marm. Par. ep.* 9 p. 5 Jacoby.]

[5] [A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1921—1923 xxv. 13, 245 f.]

[6] [Paus. 2. 15. 4.]

[7] A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1921—1923 xxv. 85 pl. 1, nos. 53 and 46.

[8] E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 18 ff. description, with plans but no sections, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 347.

Bourina in Kos[1]. The underground chamber of bronze in which Akrisios king of Argos imprisoned his daughter[2] has been aptly compared by W. Helbig[3] and others[4] with the bronze-decorated *thóloi* of the Argolid. And, in view of the connexion presumed to exist between such *thóloi* and the Danaoi, the name of Akrisios' daughter, Danaë, is significant.

F. Chabas[5] the Egyptologist half a century since proposed to equate the *Daanaou*, not with the Danaoi, but with the Daunioi; and this equation, though it has not attracted much notice in recent times[6], raises further questions of considerable interest. To begin with, it seems possible that the Daunioi were nothing but a branch of the Danaoi, which crossed over from northern Greece to southern Italy. According to Festus[7], Daunus was an Illyrian chief, who quitted his own land and settled in Apulia. His *provenance* suggests that **Danϝ-aoi*, a name with true Illyrian suffix[8], became by legitimate compensatory lengthening **Daun-aoi*, whence *Daúnioi*, its

[1] L. Ross *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1845 iii. 131—134 with section, *id.* in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1850 viii. 241—244 pl. 22, 1 plan, 2 section, *id. Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos und der Insel Cypern* Halle 1852 p. 16 f., G. Humbert in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1229 figs. 3140 section, 3141 plan, R. Herzog *Koïsche Forschungen und Funde* Leipzig 1899 pp. 159—161, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1905 xx Arch. Anz. p. 13 ('Die Bauart des ganzen, einheitlichen Baus ist aus sich schwer zu datieren. Ich möchte ihn immerhin nicht für vorgriechisch halten, sondern frühestens den thessalischen Einwanderern zuschreiben'), L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1477, K. Sudhoff *Kos und Knidos* München 1927 p. 32 ff. figs. 1 section and plan, 2 section.

[2] *Supra* i. 414, *infra* § 9 (e) iii.

[3] W. Helbig *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert*[2] Leipzig 1887 p. 440.

[4] H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 947, J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2084.

[5] F. Chabas *Études sur l'antiquité historique*[2] Paris 1873 pp. 250, 281, 292, 295, 312.

[6] H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1924 ii. 276.

[7] Paul. ex Fest. p. 69, 1 f. Müller, p. 60, 15 ff. Lindsay Daunia Apulia appellatur a Dauno, Illyricae gentis claro viro, qui eam, propter domesticam seditionem excedens patria, occupavit. The Illyrian connexion reappears in Ant. Lib. 31 (after Nikandros ἑτεροιουμένων β') Λυκάονος τοῦ αὐτόχθονος ἐγένοντο παῖδες Ἰάπυξ καὶ Δαύνιος καὶ Πευκέτιος. οὗτοι λαὸν ἀθροίσαντες ἀφίκοντο τῆς Ἰταλίας παρὰ τὴν Ἀδρίαν· ἐξελάσαντες δὲ τοὺς ἐνταυθοῖ οἰκοῦντας Αὔσονας αὐτοὶ καθιδρύθησαν. ἦν δὲ τὸ πλέον αὐτοῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔποικον, Ἰλλυριοί· Μεσσάπιοι (so cod. P. Berkelius cj. Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ Μεσσάπιοι, O. Schneider cj. Ἰλλυριοὶ Μεσσάπιοι or Ἰλλυριοὶ Μεσσαπίου or [Ἰλλυριοί,] Μεσσάπιοι, E. Oder cj. [Ἰλλυριοί,]<οἱ> Μεσσάπου, E. Martini cj. [Ἰλλυριοί,]<οἱ>Μεσσάπιοι). ἔπει<τα>(so G. F. Unger for ἐπεὶ cod. P.) δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἅμα καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐμέρισαν τριχῇ καὶ ὠνόμασαν ὡς ἑκάστοις ἡγεμόνος <ὄνομα (*ins.* F. Bücheler)>εἶχε Δαυνίους καὶ Πευκετίους καὶ Μεσσαπίους· κ.τ.λ. Cp. also Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δαύνιον· πόλις Ἰταλίας...ἔστι καὶ Δαύνιον τεῖχος, πόλις Θράκης....

[8] So Dr B. F. C. Atkinson, who from his great and as yet unpublished work on Illyrian names has kindly furnished me with the following examples: *Annaus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* i[2] no. 2198, v no. 8288 Aquileia) *Annaua* (*ib.* v no. 1072 Aquileia) *Annauos* (*ib.* v no. 8973 Aquileia), *Avallaus* (*ib.* iii no. 4558 Vindobona), *Bataaus* (*ib.* iii no.

normal form in Greek writers. Had Virgil tradition behind him, when he made Danaë found Ardea[1], the capital of Turnus the son of Daunus[2]? *Danaë—Daunus* may be more than a mere assonance. But, if the Daunioi were really akin to the Danaoi, we might look to find the former like the latter associated with the irrigation of a waterless region. In point of fact the Roman poets do emphasise the arid character of Daunia. Horace[3] speaks of it as the land

> Where Daunus, scant of water, ruled
> The rustic tribes.

And Ovid[4] mentions

> the parched fields
> Of Iapygian Daunus.

That the Daunioi, like the Danaoi, constructed *thólos*-tombs is a possible, though precarious, inference from a few lines in Lykophron[5]. This writer of prophetic rigmarole sets out to tell how the Daunioi shall bury alive certain Aetolian envoys, sent to recover the *quondam* possessions of Diomedes[6]:

> Within a darksome grave that savage folk
> Shall hide them, living yet, in the inmost nooks
> Of a hollow passage. Aye, for them the Daunites
> Shall build a tomb, with never a funeral rite,
> Roofed over by a pile of rounded stones.

But whether the Daunioi had tholoid wells, we cannot even conjecture. Surviving examples of the type on Italian soil are the

4890 Virunum), *Cariaus* (*ib.* v no. 3922 Arurnates near Verona), *Cnodauus* (*ib.* iii no. 10954 Mursella in Upper Pannonia), *Licaus* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2577 Dalmatia) *Liccaus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 26528 Rome, ix no. 42 Brundisium) *Liccau...*(*ib.* iii no. 3224 Lussonium), *Lomoliauus* (*ib.* v no. 450 Piquentum), *Opiauus* (*ib.* iii nos. 10121, 13295 Dalmatia) *Opiaua* (*ib.* iii no. 2900 Corinium), Πάτραος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 312, 37 Αὐδωλέοντα Πατράου Παίονα [cp. the silver coins of Paionia, struck *c.* 340—315 B.C., with legend ΠΑΤΡΑΟΥ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, etc. p. 2 f. figs., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 348 pl. 24, 8, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 81 f. pl. 137, 12—20, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 236 f. fig. 149)]), *Quasannaus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 3463 Verona), *Ridaus* (*ib.* iii no. 5905 Raetia), *Temauus* (*ib.* i[2] no. 2195 near Aquileia) god of the river *Timavus* in Venetia, *Tizaos* (cited by F. Ribezzo *La lingua degli antichi Messapii* Napoli 1907 p. 6 from Manduriae in Calabria), *Virraus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 3842 a Verona). Add Σαναός or Σαναῶν πόλις, a town in Phrygia near Laodikeia (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1338).

[1] Verg. *Aen.* 7. 409 f., Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 372, 410.

[2] O. Rossbach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2234.

[3] Hor. *od.* 3. 30. 11 f. qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium | regnavit populorum.

[4] Ov. *met.* 14. 510 f. Iapygis arida Dauni | arva.

[5] Lyk. *Al.* 1061 ff. τοὺς δ' εἰς ἐρεμνὸν ζῶντας ὠμησταὶ τάφον | κρύψουσι κοίλης ἐν μυχοῖς διασφάγος. | τοῖς δ' ἀκτέριστον σῆμα Δαυνῖται νεκρῶν | στήσουσι χωστῷ τροχμάλῳ κατηρεφές.

[6] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1056. The story is told, with some variation (Brundisium, not Daunia), in Iust. 12. 2. 7 ff.

Tullianum at Rome[1] and—perhaps one should add—the well-chamber at Tusculum[2]. In neither case have we the slightest reason to connect the structure with the Daunioi. It cannot, therefore, be claimed that the *rôle* played by the Daunioi in Italy answers to that played by Danaos and his daughters in Greece.

But here a further possibility has to be faced. If the Danaoi were indeed Illyrian **Danϝ-aoi*, and if the Daunioi were a branch of the same stock transplanted to Apulia, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that both tribal names are akin to that of the great river *Dānuvius* (Danube), which in turn—as O. Schrader[3] points out—is certainly related to the river-names *Dánapris* (Dnieper) and *Dánastris* (Dniester), and probably to the Thracian *Sán-danos*, the Thessalian *Api-danós*, the Italian *Eri-danós*, and the Celto-Ligurian *Rho-danós*, if not also to the Scythian *Tánaïs*. *Dānuvius* and its cognates must moreover be connected with the Avestan *dānu-*, 'river,' and the Ossetic *don*, 'water' (whence Don, the modern name of the *Tánaïs*). On this showing, the Danaoi and the Daunioi both bore a name that meant the 'River-folk' or 'Water-folk.' That, one imagines, would have signified, at least primarily, the folk that dwelt along the River or beside the Water. Secondarily such folk, since they lived beside the water-ways, might be expected to know the ways of water, and would thus come to be regarded as good water-magicians or experts in irrigation. Now it is commonly admitted that the name *Dānuvius* is of Celtic origin[4]. And, this being so, it

[1] H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1882 i. 1. 158, 284, 453 ff., 505 ff., 1885 i. 2. 323 ff., O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 p. 80 f., S. B. Platner *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* Boston 1904 pp. 92, 240 ff. fig. 57, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 pp. 66, 142, W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Ancient Rome* rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 p. 2 f. (comparing early cisterns on the Palatine (*ib.* pl. 3, 1, G. Cozzo *Ingegneria romana* Roma 1928 p. 169 pl. 38 fig. 77)), D. S. Robertson *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 p. 337, S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 99 f.

[2] L. Canina *Descrizione dell' antico Tusculo* Roma 1841 p. 123 pls. 14—16, Sir W. Gell —E. H. Bunbury *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity* London 1846 p. 430 ff. with 3 figs., R. Burn *Rome and the Campagna* Cambridge 1876 p. 379, T. Ashby in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 1910 v. 6 p. 357 ff. pl. 30, 2 (photograph of the chamber), *id. The Roman Campagna in Classical Times* London 1927 p. 169 f.

[3] Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 329 'Lateinisch-keltisch *Dânuvius*, ahd. *Tuonouwa*, slav. *Dunavŭ* verbinden sich mit aw. *dânu-* "Fluss", osset. *don* "Wasser", das sicher auch in *Danapris* (Dniepr) und *Danastrus* (Dniestr), sowie vielleicht auch in dem thrakischen *San-danus*, dem thessalischen Ἀπι-δανός, dem italischen Ἠρι-δανός und dem keltisch-ligurischen *Rho-danus* (vgl. auch den skythischen Τάναις?) anzunehmen ist.' See also W. Sturmfels *Etymologisches Lexikon deutscher und fremdländischer Ortsnamen* Berlin—Bonn 1925 p. 41 f. *s.v.* 'Don.'

[4] C. G. Brandis in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2105 'In der That ist aber, was

lies near at hand to surmise that the whole group of congeners stands in some relation to the Celtic *Tuatha Dé Danann*[1], the 'Folk or Tribes of the goddess Danu[2],' a curious title more suggestive of men than gods[3]. In fact, it begins to look as though, far back in the Middle Bronze Age, some proto-Celtic[4] tribe or tribes had traversed Europe along the great river-routes and appeared at places as widely separated as Argos and Ireland[5], nay more, that this adventurous race, everywhere expansive and intrusive[6], had pushed on to the very confines of Egypt. Nor is that a fantastic impossibility. After all, if in the third century B.C. Celts could force their way into the heart of Asia Minor and leave a permanent population in Galatia, for aught we know, in the second millennium B.C. their ancestors

heute allgemein angenommen wird, der Name D[anuvius] keltischen Ursprungs (Glück Keltische Namen bei Caesar 92. Much Deutsche Stammsitze 63) und kam von den Kelten, die ja auf beiden Seiten des Stromes lange genug wohnten, zu den Römern.' Cp. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville *Les Celtes* Paris 1904 p. 7 'le nom occidental et celtique *Danuuios*, mot qui semble proche parent de l'adjectif irlandais *dana*, "intrépide, hardi," dont dérive aussi en Irlande un nom de la mère des dieux.' But the supposed connexion of *Dānuvius* with the Irish *dana*, 'brave,' is in the nature of a red-herring. Our latest authority, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 763, says: 'dā- oder dē- "flüssig, fliessen." Ai. *dā-na-* n. "die beim Elefanten zur Brunstzeit aus den Schläfen quellende Flüssigkeit," *dā-nu-* n.f. "jede träufelnde Flüssigkeit, Tropfen, Tau" [*supra* p. 362], av. *dā-nu-* f. "Fluss, Strom," osset. *don* "Wasser, Fluss"....Hierher auch kelt. *Dānuvius* "Donau." Lidén Arm. St. 73 f. m. Lit. M. Förster Zfslav Ph. 1 1 ff.'

[1] H. d'Arbois de Jubainville *Le cycle mythologique irlandais et la mythologie celtique* Paris 1884 pp. 140 ff., 220 ff., 253 ff., 266 ff., C. Squire *The Mythology of the British Islands* London, Glasgow and Dublin 1905 pp. 48, 71, 72, 77, 230, *alib.*, J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1910 iii. 282[b] f., *id. The Religion of the Ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 p. 63 ff., *alib.*

[2] C. Squire *op. cit.* pp. 50 f., 252 f., J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *op. cit.* iii. 285[b] f., *id. The Religion of the Ancient Celts* pp. 63, 67 f., 103.

[3] C. Squire *op. cit.* p. 230 'In the Tuatha Dé Danann are variously found Gaels, Picts, Danes, Scandinavians, Ligurians, and Finns.' But the prevailing view (d'Arbois, Squire, MacCulloch, etc.) is still that the Tuatha Dé Danann were gods, not men. The question cannot here be discussed; but we should note their frequent association with burial-mounds (*síd*) conceived as underground palaces.

[4] Since 'Celtic' is a term of linguistic rather than racial significance, it might be safer to say simply 'Aryan' or 'Indo-Europaean.' But I mean to imply that the descendants of this tribe were of Celtic speech. The Germans have coined *Urkelten* (E. Rademacher in Ebert *Reallex.* vi. 282 'Sie können als Urkelten bezeichnet werden, als K[elten] noch nicht, da ein wichtiger Bestandteil noch fehlt: die Vermischung mit Urnenfelderleuten alpiner Rasse').

[5] S. Müller *Urgeschichte Europas* Strassburg 1905 p. 74 f. fig. 55 f. prints in impressive juxtaposition the section and ground-plan of the 'Treasury of Atreus' with those of the Bronze-Age *tumulus* of New Grange in County Meath, Ireland.

[6] V. Gordon Childe *The Aryans* London 1926 p. 200 'The victorious expansion of the Nordic culture, whatever its origin, is the dominant fact of European prehistory from 2500 to 1000 B.C.'

may have penetrated yet farther south[1] and as *Danauna* have occupied, at least for a time, some portion of the Egyptian coast.

Returning now to the myth of Danaos and the Danaïdes, we are in a position to understand better the early Hesiodic line—

Waterless Argos Danaos made well-watered[2].

A tribe that bore an Illyrian name[3] and at one time dwelt as 'River-folk' or 'Water-folk' along the banks of the Danube[4] would be just the right tribe to cure a 'very thirsty[5]' land of its drought. The Danube itself was at a later date believed to gather clouds and cause incessant rain[6]. The fact that the Danaïdes bulk bigger in the myth than the Danaoi is, however, suggestive of magic rather than scientific irrigation; and here there were various possibilities. To begin with, Danaos son of Belos was a twin[7]; and twins are notorious as rain-makers[8], especially if their father is, like Belos[9], a

[1] *Ib. ib.* p. 24 'The only certain result that has emerged as yet is that there was a *centum* element somewhere within the Hittite realm just after 1500 B.C. About that date the Taurus ranges seem to have represented in a sense a frontier between *satem* and *centum* Indo-European speech.'

[2] *Supra* p. 361 f.

[3] *Supra* p. 364.

[4] *Supra* p. 366.

[5] *Supra* p. 361.

[6] Lyd. *de magistr.* 3. 32 p. 121, 1 ff. Wünsch *περὶ δὲ τὴν Θρᾳκίαν εἱλούμενος ἀποβάλλει μὲν (sc. ὁ Ἴστρος) παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ὄνομα, Δανούβιος μετακληθείς· οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Θρᾷκες ἐκάλεσαν, διότι ἐπὶ <τὰ> πρὸς ἄρκτον ὄρη καὶ θρασκίαν ἄνεμον συννεφὴς ὁ ἀὴρ ἐκ τῆς ὑποκειμένης τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀμετρίας σχεδὸν διὰ παντὸς ἀποτελούμενος αἴτιος αὐτοῖς συνεχοῦς ἐπομβρίας ἀποτελεῖσθαι νομίζεται, Δανούβιον δὲ τὸν νεφελοφόρον ἐκεῖνοι καλοῦσι πατρίως. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ὡς ἐν παρεκβάσει κατὰ Σαμω<νι>κὸν τὸν Ῥωμαῖον ἱστορικόν, ὃς πρὸς Διοκλητιανὸν καὶ Γαλέριον τὸν γέροντα περὶ ποικίλων ζητημάτων διελέχθη.* The reference is presumably to Serenus Sammonicus, an antiquary who wrote *rerum reconditarum libri* (Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 9. 6) under Septimius Severus (193—211 A.D.): see M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1905 iii. 190 f., H. Funaioli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2129 ff. Ioannes Laurentius the Lydian has placed him a century too late.

[7] *Supra* p. 355.

[8] Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] i. 91 f., *ib.*[3] The Magic Art i. 262 ff., J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 26 ff., E. S. Hartland in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1921 xii. 498[a]. Especially noteworthy in its bearings on the myth of the Danaïdes is the practice of the Baronga in south-east Africa. When a drought threatens, the women strip and put on girdles and head-dresses of grass, or short petticoats made of the leaves of a certain creeper. Thus attired they go from well to well, cleansing the well-holes of mud. They must also repair to the house of a woman who has given birth to twins (such a woman is called *Tilo*, 'Sky'; her twins are *Bana ba Tilo*, 'Children of the Sky' [*supra* ii. 434]) and drench her with water, which they carry in little pitchers. Then they go on their way shrieking loose songs and dancing immodest dances, which men may not witness. They also pour water on the graves of their ancestors in a sacred grove, and on the graves of twins who are regularly buried near a lake (Frazer and Rendel Harris *locc. citt.*).

[9] On Belos see K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 259 ff.

sky-god[1]. Again, O. Gruppe[2] detects a rain-charm[3] in the tradition that the heads of Aigyptos' sons were buried by Danaos' daughters at Lerna[4] or dropped into the spring there as offscourings (*apokathármata*) by Danaos himself[5]. Lastly, we note the side-issue or inserted tale that Poseidon showed Amymone the Lernaean springs in consequence of her union with him[6]. I am disposed, therefore, to conjecture that the wholesale endogamic marriage of the Danaïdes with the Aigyptiadai was regarded as a most potent fertility-charm[7].

So far little or nothing has been said about a point which to the later Greeks and to the Romans after them became *the* point of the whole story—I refer of course to the punishment of the Danaïdes in the world below. Here they must for ever carry water to fill a holed *píthos*, and so atone for the murder of their cousins[8]. This water-carrying on the part of the Danaïdes cannot, however, be traced back in literature beyond the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochos*[9], which betrays Epicurean influence[10] and has been assigned to the Alexandrine

[1] *Supra* i. 756 n. 6. But see also W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3] London 1927 p. 93 ff., S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 pp. 130 f., 216 ff.

[2] Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 338.

[3] J. Rendel Harris in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 431 ('Occasional Rain-charms'): 'At Ourfa ...we were told that in dry seasons they dig up the body of a recently buried Jew, abstract the head and throw it into the Pool of Abraham.' O. Janiewitsch 'Durstige Seelen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1910 xiii. 627 cites several examples of Russian peasants in time of drought pouring water on the corpse or grave of one who had committed suicide or who had been hanged, such persons being held responsible for the lack of rain. On the dry, thirsty dead see further O. Immisch 'ΑΑΙΒΑΝΤΕΣ' *ib.* 1911 xiv. 449—464 and two interesting articles by J. C. Lawson 'ΠΕΡΙ ΑΑΙΒΑΝΤΩΝ' in the *Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 52—58, 116—121. *Supra* p. 362 n. 2, *infra* p. 440 n. 9.

[4] *Supra* p. 356.

[5] Zenob. 4. 86, Apostol. 10. 57, *alib.* (*supra* p. 356 n. 4).

[6] *Supra* pp. 356, 357.

[7] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 97 ff. ('The influence of the sexes on vegetation') notes that parents of twins sometimes exercised a fertilising influence (in Uganda on the plantains (*ib.* ii. 102), in Peru on the beans (*ib.* i. 265 f., ii. 102 n. 1)), and collects many cases in which the intercourse of the sexes, promiscuous or otherwise, was and is believed to quicken the growth of the crops.

If I am right in my interpretation of the myth, it is easy to see why Danaos cast Hypermestra into prison. She had saved Lynkeus *because he spared her virginity* (*supra* p. 356): the love-motive was merely a poetic recasting of the prosaic fact (*supra* p. 356 n. 3).

[8] Bernhard in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 949 ff., C. Bonner in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1900 xxxi. 28, 34 ff., *id.* in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 136 f., 154, 164 ff., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2089 f.

[9] Plat. *Axioch.* 371 E ἔνθα χῶρος ἀσεβῶν καὶ Δαναΐδων ὑδρεῖαι ἀτελεῖς.

[10] A. Brinkmann 'Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Dialogs Axiochos' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1896 li. 441—455, Rohde *Psyche*[3] ii. 247 n. 1, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 704 n. 8.

age[1]; nor in art beyond the great Under-world vases of 'Apulian' style[2], which belong to the second half of the fourth century B.C.[3] And in the myth as related by Apollodoros there is no question of punishment except for the one Danaïd who did *not* slay her lover![4] Whence—we may ask—came the idea that the Danaïdes deserved to be punished? And what above all is the significance of their somewhat peculiar punishment?

(β) Water-carrying in connexion with marriage.

In attempting to answer these questions we must first turn our attention from mythology to ritual. Athenian custom prescribed that, when a wedding had been arranged and the wedding-day had come, the bridegroom must bathe in water from the fountain of Kallirrhoe—Enneakrounos, as it was styled at a later date[5]. The

[1] W. Christ *op. cit.*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 53.

[2] *Infra* p. 423 ff.

[3] P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze 1922 p. 457, E. M. W. Tillyard *The Hope Vases* Cambridge 1923 p. 12 f., cp. M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* New Haven (Yale University Press) 1929 p. 294.

[4] *Supra* pp. 356, 369 n. 7.

[5] The situation of this fountain has been the subject of long and lively debate. Till the closing decade of last century it was commonly held (see *e.g.* W. Smith in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 292 'The Fountain of Callirrhoë, or Enneacrunus') that Kallirrhoe was the spring, which flows from the foot of a broad ridge of rocks crossing the bed of the Ilissos due south of the Olympieion, and that it was re-named Enneakrounos, when fitted with nine pipes by the Peisistratidai (Thouk. 2. 15 *καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτως σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένῃ, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομασμένῃ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι*). The name Kallirrhoe still attaches to this spring. But an excavation by A. N. Skias in 1893 failed to discover any evidence of Peisistratid construction (E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 226), and the excavator concluded that the modern Kallirrhoe was neither Kallirrhoe nor Enneakrounos (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 624).

Meantime W. Dörpfeld, as the result of excavations carried out from 1891 to 1894, was able to show that in antiquity several natural springs rose at the foot of the Pnyx hill, that here at least seven tunnels and six cisterns (still containing water) had been cut in the rock, that one large cistern immediately above the site of an ancient fountain was built of polygonal masonry dating from *s.* v or vi B.C., that a great rock-cut conduit which could be traced from the upper valley of the Ilissos along the southern slope of the Akropolis probably ended at this cistern, and that two sets of water-pipes diverging from it, made of a yellowish clay with a red glaze inside, exactly resembled those of Eupalinos' aqueduct in Samos and could therefore be dated to *s.* vi. Hence Dörpfeld concluded that Kallirrhoe was the name originally given to the open springs on the Pnyx hill, that these when enclosed with masonry and formed into a fountain with nine jets by Peisistratos were re-christened Enneakrounos, and that the old name Kallirrhoe was from *s.* v onward transferred to the spring on the Ilissos (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 444 f., 1892 xvii. 92 f., 439 ff., 1894 xix. 143 ff., 504 ff., *id.* *Ἡ Ἐννεάκρουνος καὶ ἡ Καλλιρρόη*

water had to be fetched in a pitcher by the next of kin, a boy[1] who, like the vessel that he bore, was called a *loutrophóros* or 'bath-carrier[2].' The bride too had her bridal bath fetched from the same fountain by a female *loutrophóros*[3]. And in both cases, according to Photios[4], the bath-water was brought on a car drawn by a yoked

in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1894 pp. 1—10, *id.* in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Aug. 28, 1907 pp. 940—945). Dörpfeld's conclusions have been widely accepted (*e.g.* by J. E. Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* pp. 87—91, *Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides* Cambridge 1906 pp. 111—131, 153—158, and by W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 pp. 179—185), and embodied in the final publication by F. Gräber 'Die Enneakrunos' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1905 xxxi. 1—64 with 32 figs. and 3 plans.

But Dörpfeld's hypothesis, however attractive, is far from being unassailable. Sir James Frazer, after a patient hearing of both sides, can sum up thus: 'On the whole the evidence of all ancient writers except Pausanias goes to show that the names Callirrhoe and Enneacrunus were always applied to one and the same spring, and that this was the spring in the bed of the Ilissus which still bears the ancient name of Callirrhoe' (*Pausanias* ii. 116). Twenty-one years later W. Kroll, despite the fact that Gräber's persuasive article had appeared in the *interim*, again pronounces the same verdict (in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1669—1672 'Daher muss man denen Recht geben, die wie neuerdings noch [A.] Malinin [*Hat Dörpfeld die Enneakrunos-Episode bei Pausanias tatsächlich gelöst oder auf welchem Wege kann diese gelöst werden?* Wien 1906 pp. 1—35, cp. *id. Zwei Streitfragen der Topographie von Athen* Berlin 1901 pp. 21—43 'Die Enneakrunosepisode'] und [E.] Pfuhl [in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1907 clxix.] 472 die Dörpfeldsche Hypothese ablehnen, während Judeich Topogr. von Athen (München 1905) 179 und Baedeker Griechenland[5] 29. 37 sich ihr angeschlossen hat. Ungelöst bleibt nach wie vor das Rätsel der Pausaniasstelle. Vgl. Frazer Paus. II 112'). It amounts to this. Dörpfeld is justified by the spade. But the literary evidence is almost all against him; and at any moment discoveries might be made on the Ilissos-bank. *Supra* ii. 1116 'the later Kallirrhoe' follows the view of A. N. Skias.

[1] Harpokr. *s.vv.* λουτροφόρος καὶ λουτροφορεῖν· ἔθος ἦν τοῖς γαμοῦσι λουτρὰ μεταπέμπεσθαι ἑαυτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γάμου ἡμέραν, ἔπεμπον δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὸν ἐγγύτατα γένους παῖδα ἄρρενα, καὶ οὗτοι ἐλουτροφόρουν. ἔθος δὲ ἦν καὶ τῶν ἀγάμων ἀποθανόντων λουτροφόρον ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἐφίστασθαι· τοῦτο δὲ ἦν παῖς ὑδρίαν ἔχων. λέγει περὶ τούτων Δείναρχος ἔν τε τῷ κατὰ Θεοδότου καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Καλλισθένους <εἰσ (*ins.* P. J. de Maussac)> αγγελίᾳ (Deinarch. *or.* 82 *frag.* 1 Baiter—Sauppe and *or.* 18 *frag.* 5 Baiter—Sauppe). ὅτι δὲ τὰ λουτρὰ ἐκόμιζον ἐκ τῆς νῦν μὲν Ἐννεακρούνου καλουμένης κρήνης, πρότερον δὲ Καλλιρρόης, Φιλοστέφανος (so M. H. E. Meier for Πολυστέφανος, cp. Athen. 331 D—E) ἐν τῷ περὶ κρηνῶν φησί. μέμνηται δὲ τοῦ ἔθους οἱ κωμικοί = Souid. *s.vv.* λουτροφόρος καὶ λουτροφορεῖν, who omits to mention his sources. Favorin. *lex.* p. 1192, 27 ff. copies out Harpokr. *loc. cit.*

[2] Hesych. *s.v.* λουτροφόρος· κυρίως μὲν ἡ ὑδρία ἡ τοῖς παλαιοῖς εἰς τὰ λουτρὰ ἀπονεν(εμ)ημένη (so M. Schmidt for Musurus' ἀπονεμομένη). ἐκάλουν δὲ οὕτω καὶ τὸν φέροντα τὰ λουτρά. ὑδη δὲ καὶ πᾶσα ὑδρ[ε]ία. ἕτεροι δέ, ἐπεὶ ἔπεμπον εἰς τοὺς γάμους λουτροφόρους, καὶ τοῖς γάμοις ἀποθανοῦσι τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίουν (*id. s.v.* λουτροφόρα ἄγγη· τὰς ὑδρίας τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν γάμοις ἔπεμπον. ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ (εἰς) τοὺς γάμους), cp. Phot. *lex. s.v.* λουτροφόρον· τὸ γγεῖον οἷον ἡ ὑδρία· καὶ λουτροφόρος ὁ φέρων ἢ ἡ φέρουσα τὸ λουτρόν, Bekker *anecd.* i. 276, 3 ff. λουτροφόρος· ὁ ἐν τῇ τοῦ γάμου ἡμέρᾳ πεμπόμενος παῖς παρασκευάσαι τοῖς γαμοῦσι τὸ ουτρόν. λουτροφορεῖ ὁ τὴν ὑδρίαν ἔχων παῖς καὶ ὑπηρετῶν ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ τοῖς γαμοῦσιν.

[3] Poll. 3. 43 (quoted *infra* p. 372 n. 2).

[4] Phot. *lex. s.v.* λουτρά· ἔθος ἐστὶ κομίζειν ἐπὶ ζεῦγος (*leg.* ζεύγους, cp. Steph. *Thes. Gr. ing.* iv. 19 B) ταῖς γαμουμέναις καὶ τοῖς γαμοῦσιν· ἔφερον δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ννεακρούνου λεγομένης κρήνης ὕδωρ· νῦν παντόθεν λουτροφόρους εἰς τοὺς γάμους ἔπεμπον· αὶ λουτροφόρον ἐπετίθεσαν τοῖς ἀγάμοις ἐπὶ τῶν τάφων.

pair of animals. The custom was observed in other places besides Athens: at Thebes the water was drawn from the river Ismenos[1]; elsewhere from any convenient source[2].

If a man died unmarried, his relatives still performed the 'bath-carrying' for him and—we are told—set up over his tomb the representation of a boy with a pitcher[3], known as a *loutrophóros*[4]. Similarly, if a woman died unmarried, a girl with a pitcher, that is to say a female *loutrophóros*, was erected over her tomb[5]. But, since no such statues or reliefs or paintings have come down to us, the testimony of the old grammarians has been discredited[6]. Other ancient authorities, however, state that pitchers called *loutrophóroi* were placed over those who died unmarried[7], or that black pitchers called 'Libyans' were set upon their tombs[8]. And these statements

[1] Eur. *Phoen.* 347 f., Plout. *de exsilio* 16.

[2] Poll. 3. 43 καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ δᾷδες νυμφικαὶ καὶ στέφανος καὶ στολή. καὶ λουτρά τις κομίζουσα λουτροφόρος, Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Καλλιρρόης εἶτ' αὖθις Ἐννεακρούνου κληθείσης, ἀλλαχόθι δὲ ὅθεν καὶ τύχοι· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ταῦτα καὶ νυμφικὰ λουτρά, cp. Phot. *lex. s.v.* λουτρά (*supra* p. 371 n. 4).

[3] Harpokr. *s.vv.* λουτροφόρος καὶ λουτροφορεῖν (quoted *supra* p. 371 n. 1) = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1192, 27 ff., cp. Souid. *s.vv.* λουτροφόρος καὶ λουτροφορεῖν. Hesych. *s.vv.* λουτροφόρα ἄγγη, λουτροφόρος (quoted *supra* p. 371 n. 2).

[4] Bekker *anecd.* i. 276, 27 ff. λουτροφόρος ἐν τῷ μνήματι ἐπίκειται (cp. Dem. *adv. Leoch.* 30 quoted *infra* p. 373 n. 1)· ἔθος ἦν Ἀθήνησι τοῖς ἀγάμοις ἀποθανοῦσι λουτροφόρον ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα καθιστάνειν. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν παῖς ὑδρίαν ἔχων, ἐκ λίθου πεποιημένος.

[5] Poll. 8. 66 τῶν δ' ἀγάμων λουτροφόρος τῷ μνήματι ἐφίστατο, κόρη ἀγγεῖον ἔχουσα ὑδροφόρον, ὑδρίαν ἢ πρόχουν ἢ κρωσσὸν ἢ κάλπιν. τὴν δὲ ἐφισταμένην εἰκόνα, εἴτε λουτροφόρος εἴη εἴτε ἄλλη τις, ἐπίστημα Ἰσαῖος κέκληκεν (Isaios ἀπαράσημα *frag.* 31 Baiter—Sauppe).

[6] A. Herzog 'Eine Lutrophoros' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1882 xl. 131 ff. supposes that Harpokration and Pollux are confusing the marriage-rite (boy or girl carrying pitcher) with the funeral-rite (pitcher set up on tomb). Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* Vasen pl. 58 f. p. 3 n. 1 regards Herzog as over-sceptical. But Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 2098 says with some justice: 'diese Erklärungen (*sc.* of Pollux and Harpokration) beweisen nur, wie wenig die späten Lexikographen von solchen Gebräuchen noch wussten.'

[7] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1293, 8 ff. καὶ τοῖς πρὸ γάμου δὲ τελευτῶσιν ἡ λουτροφόρος, φασίν, ἐπετίθετο κάλπις εἰς ἔνδειξιν τοῦ ὅτι ἄλουτος τὰ νυμφικὰ καὶ ἄγονος ἄπεισι (context cited *infra* p. 396 n. 3).

[8] Hesych. *s.v.* λιβύας (L. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 277 B cj. Λίβυας)· τὰς μελαίνας ὑδρίας, ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις τιθεμένας. The name probably refers *in primis* to the black colouring of these pitchers (Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 2099 admits 'Das ziemlich lange Festhalten an der sf. Bemalung,' but demurs to Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 342 'der technische und teilweise auch stilistische Archaismus der schwarzfigurigen Lutrophoren und panathenäischen Amphoren hat unkünstlerische, religiöse Gründe'). But there is, to my thinking, an Aristophanic touch about the phrase, which suggests a secondary allusion to libations (λιβάς etc.), if not also a tertiary allusion (see *e.g. supra* ii. 2 n. 4) to the Libyan custom of pouring water into a holed jar (*supra* pp. 338 f., 354. Note also the grave of Antaios, shown at Tingis in Mauretania: it was a hill resembling a man lying on his back; and it was said that, whenever a hole was made in it, rain fell till the hole was filled up again (Mela 3. 106)).

can fortunately be confirmed, at least in part, both by literary[1] and by monumental evidence.

Over some of the graves in the 'Dipylon' cemetery at Athens stood a huge sepulchral jar, measuring from three and a half to nearly six feet in height[2]. Such jars might be *kratêres*[3], but were more often four-handled[4] or two-handled *amphorae*[5]. They are regularly decorated with scenes representing obsequies or funeral sports, and—an important feature—they have either no bottom or a bottom with a hole left in it[6]. A. Brückner and E. Pernice, after a careful study of the subject, came to the conclusion that the jars were holed in order that libations might filter through the earth beneath and so reach the dead[7]. This may well be[8]. Yet A. Milchhöfer[9] was certainly right when he claimed kinship between the 'Dipylon' *amphorae* and the black-figured or red-figured *loutrophóroi* of later Athenian times—vases of an elongated and graceful shape, from ten to forty inches in height[10], usually furnished with a hole through the bottom, and painted with scenes of *próthesis* or of marriage-rites according as they were intended to play their part at a funeral or a wedding. Surviving specimens of the *loutrophóroi*, listed by Nachod[11], range in date from the last decade of the sixth century

[1] Dem. *adv. Leoch.* 18 *οὐ πολλῷ δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ... ἠρρώστησεν ὁ Ἀρχιάδης, καὶ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον ἀπόντος τοῦ Μειδυλίδου ἄγαμος ὤν. τί τούτου σημεῖον; λουτροφόρος ἐφέστηκεν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀρχιάδου τάφῳ, 30 καὶ ἡ λουτροφόρος ἐφέστηκεν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀρχιάδου μνήματι.*

[2] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 55 ff., 158 ff., F. Poulsen *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen* Leipzig 1904 p. 103 ff., Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 61 ff., 69 ff.

[3] *E.g.* G. Hirschfeld in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xliv. 142 ff. no. 41, *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pls. 39, 1 (coloured), 40, 1, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 56 ff. figs. 5—7, 159 f. fig. 42, Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d Athènes* p. 48 ff. no. 214 pl. 12.

[4] *E.g.* S. Wide in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv. 201 ff. no. 22 fig. 69, Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 42 f. no. 200 pl. 11, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* iii. 1 fig. 10.

[5] *Supra* ii. 1056 with fig. 911.

[6] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 60.

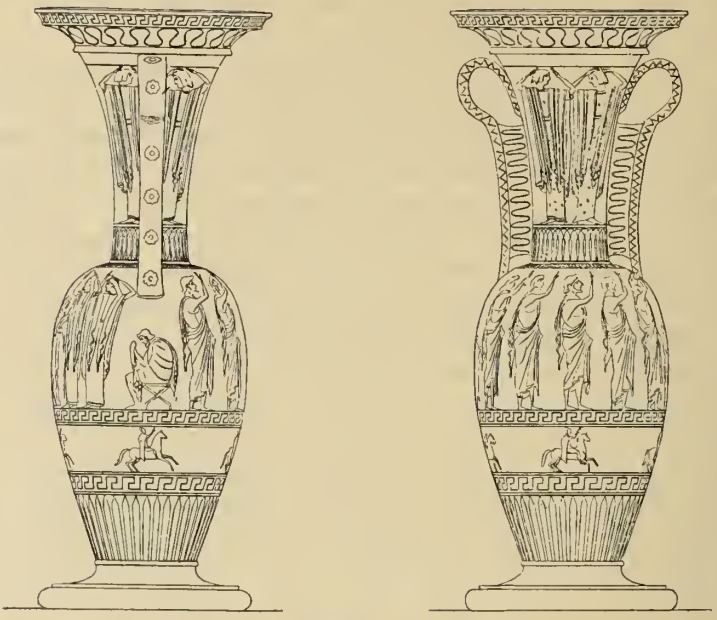
[7] A. Brückner—E. Pernice 'Ein attischer Friedhof' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 155.

[8] See the important monograph of G. P. Oeconomus *De profusionum receptaculis sepulcralibus* Athenis 1921 pp. 1—60 with 17 figs. (especially p. 22 ff. 'Vasa funebria perforata,' p. 33 ff. 'Sepulcra perforata,' p. 37 ff. 'Sepulcra tubum exhibentia').

[9] A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1880 v. 177 f. Cp. Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* Vasen pl. 58 f. p. 2, A. Brückner—E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 144 ff., F. Poulsen *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen* Leipzig 1904 p. 19, Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 2100 f.

[10] A. Herzog 'Eine Lutrophoros' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1882 xl. 136 n. 6.

[11] Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 2100 records 25 *loutrophóroi*, of which he assigns 5 to the last decade of *s.* vi; 7 to the first third of *s.* v, 5 to the middle of *s.* v, to the last third of *s.* v. See also Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* p. 128 ff. nos. 1144—1198 pls. 68—70, H. B. W[alters] in the *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 1928—1929 iii. 42 f. pl. 24 *a*, *b*, R. H[inks] *ib.* 1930—1931 v. 11 f. pl. 4 *a*, *b*.



a *b*

Fig. 236.

a *b* *c*

Fig. 237.

I

2

Loutrophóros in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York:

(1) Whole vase showing mourners with *loutrophóros* above, mourners at *próthesis* below, and subsidiary zones of lions and horsemen.

(2) Detail of same vase.

See page 375 *n.* 1.

to the last third of the fifth century B.C. (pl. xxxv, figs. 236—239)[1]. A point connecting them with the 'Dipylon' *amphorae*[2] is that some early examples have their handles adorned with snakes[3], while many have rims and handles marked with a snaky pattern[4]. The usage of *loutrophóroi* lasted on into the fourth century, and late examples, made on a smaller scale, acquired a third handle under the influence of the three-handled *hydría*[5]. Other evidence of the shapes taken by fourth-century *loutrophóroi* may be found in the magnificent series of marble *stêlai* yielded by Attic graves[6]. These extend in

[1] W. Zschietzschmann 'Die Darstellungen der Prothesis in der griechischen Kunst' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1928 liii. 17—47 pls. 8—18 includes useful lists of Attic black-figured *loutrophóroi* (pp. 40—43 nos. 44—83) and Attic red-figured *loutrophóroi* (p. 44 f. nos. 95—117). The finest example of the former is that in New York published by G. M. A. Richter in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 1928 xxiii. 54—57 figs. 1—3 and dated *c.* 525 B.C. My pl. xxxv is from the official photograph, kindly lent by Mr C. D. Bicknell. I also figure:

(*a*) Three broken specimens found together at Trachones near Athens and now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 371 ff. nos. 1887—1889, G. Henzen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1843 xv. 276 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 60 (a composite drawing, of which my fig. 236 *a*, *b* is a part), O. Benndorf *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder* Berlin 1877 p. 6 nos. 3—5). The main design on each vase is a black-figured *próthesis*, with mourners on the neck and animal-zone or horsemen below.

(*b*) A vase in the Louvre (CA. 453) (M. Collignon 'Loutrophore attique à sujet funéraire' in the *Mon. Piot* 1894 i. 49—60 with figs. 1 and 2 and pls. 5—7, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 674 ff. figs. 365, 370, 371, *Corp. vas. ant.* Louvre iii 1 *c* pl. 56, 1—3 (=my fig. 237 *a*—*c*) with text p. (45) by E. Pottier). The main design is a red-figured *próthesis*, with red-figured mourners on the neck and black-figured horsemen towards the foot. J. D. Beazley in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 67 no. 35, *id. Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 71 no. 19 assigns the vase to the Kleophrades painter ('Schüler des Euthymides'), cp. Leonard in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 803 no. 35 ('Zeitgenosse des Euphronios oder Euthymides').

(*c*) A vase from Athens, now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 645 ff. no. 2372, *id. Samml. Sabouroff* Vasen col. pls. 58 main subject, 59 *ensemble* (=my fig. 238). The body-design is a red-figured bridal procession, with an elongated female figure on either side of the neck.

(*d*) A vase found at Athens and now in the Schliemann collection (P. Wolters 'Rotfigurige Lutrophoros' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 371—405 figs. 2 (=my fig. 239)—4 and col. pl. 8). The main design is a red-figured scene of dedications at a sepulchral *stêle*, the dead man being apparently represented as an equestrian statue.

[2] *Supra* ii. 1055 fig. 911. [3] *Supra* pl. xxxv. [4] *Supra* pl. xxxv and figs. 236—239.

[5] P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 p. 384 nos. 31 and 34, Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 2099 f.

A last term in the series may perhaps be found in a fluted *hydría* of red ware from Kourion in Kypros, formerly in the Pierides collection and now in mine (fig. 240 *a*—*d*. Height: 14¼ inches). This vase too has no bottom to it, and is further pierced under its three handles by three holes, the purpose of which is not clear (? to prevent contents rising above the level of the handles, even if foot were blocked).

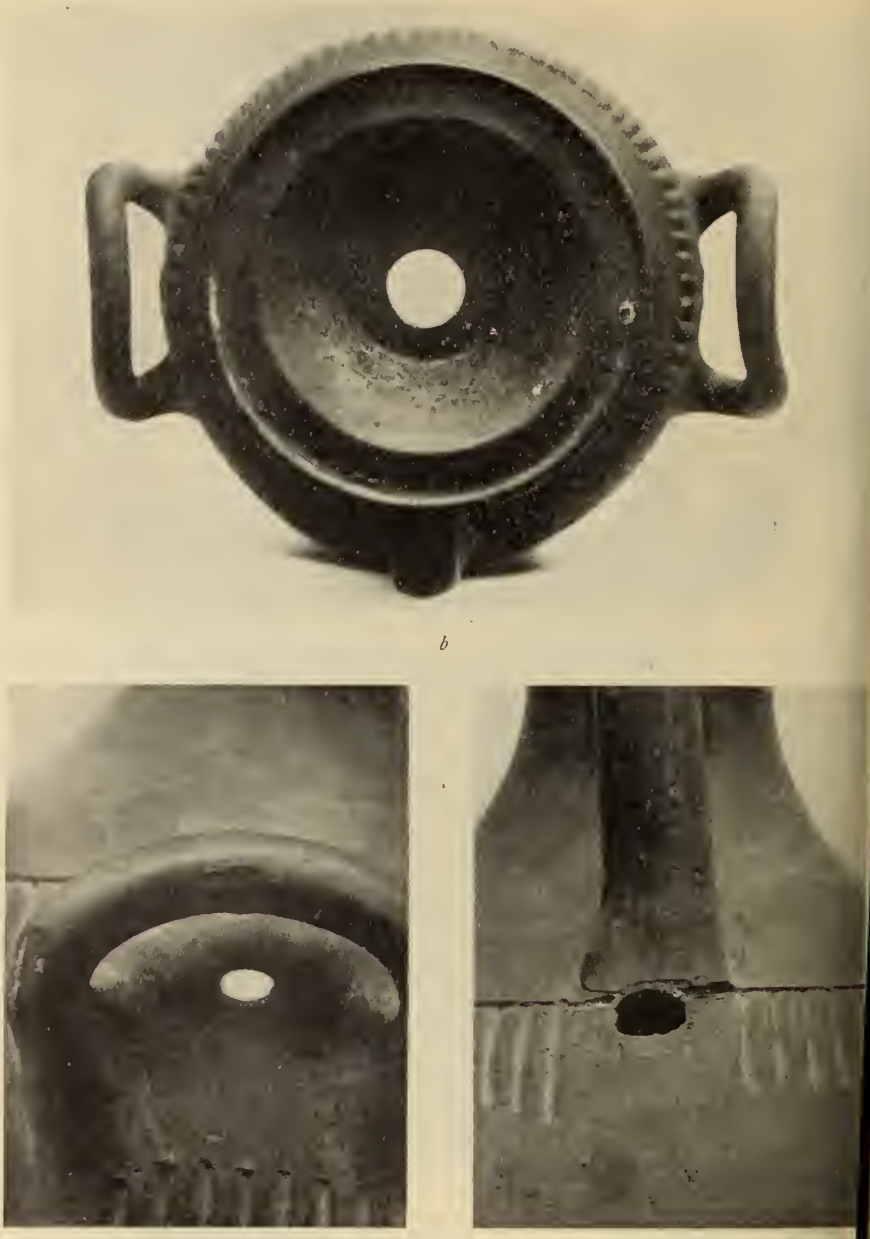
[6] Nachod *loc. cit.* p. 2099 notes: '·Conze Att. Grabreliefs Taf. 56. 92. 100. 131. 216. 232. 367—375 (rundplastisch); Taf. 53. 130. 144. 195—197. 200. 203. 216. 224—225. 271. 282—290 (Reliefstelen); Taf. 379—382 (Kioniskoi mit Reliefs nach 317 v. Chr.).' See also P. Gardner *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas* London 1896 p. 113 ff. pl. 4 f.

Fig. 238.

Fig. 239.

a

Fig. 240.



b

c *d*

Fig. 240.

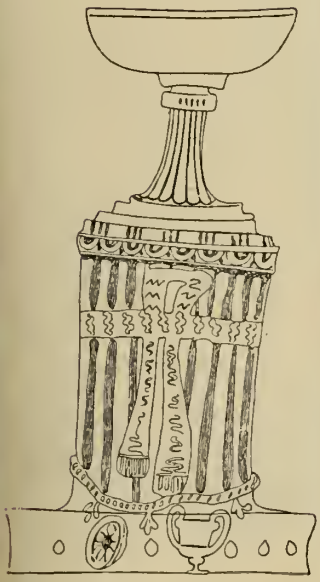


Fig. 241.

Fig. 242.

stately sequence from the close of the fifth century down to the year 317 B.C., when Demetrios of Phaleron passed a sumptuary law that no monument should be erected on a grave-mound but a small pillar, not exceeding three feet in height, or a table-like slab, or a bath-basin[1]. Accordingly we see *loutrophóroi* in the round, sometimes quite plain and presumably painted (fig. 242)[2], sometimes exquisitely carved with a profusion of motives—vegetable (fig. 243)[3], animal (fig. 244)[4], human (figs. 244, 250)[5], divine (fig. 245)[6]—and further

[1] Demetrios of Phaleron *περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησι νομοθεσίας* (Diog. Laert. 5. 80) *frag.* 9 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 963 f. Jacohy) *ap.* Cic. *de legg.* 2. 66 sepulcris autem novis finivit modum: nam super terrae tumulum noluit quid statui, nisi columellam, tribus cubitis ne altiorem, aut mensam, aut labellum: et huic procurationi certum magistratum praefecerat. The *columellae*, of which there is a large collection in the National Museum at Athens (the tallest specimen, that of Poplios Memmios Syntrophos, measures 1·63^{m} in height, or 1·76^{m} inclusive of its rough end) and very few elsewhere (*e.g.* that of Thrason in the British Museum (E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* i. 144 Oxford 1874 no. 87, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 658, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 2 no. 1747 Θράσων | Θρασυφῶντος | Κικυννεύς in lettering of 100—50 B.C. A. Conze *Die attischen Grabreliefs* Berlin—Leipzig 1911—1922 iv. 18 no. 1793 gives bibliography and photograph)), are usually of Hymettian marble. They are cylinders that taper slightly towards the bottom, and were either stuck in the ground or inserted in a holed stone socket. Near the top they have a projecting collar, which sometimes shows traces of fillets painted in red. The *mensae* are solid plinths, oblong in plan, with upper and lower mouldings. They originally served as bases for sepulchral vases or *stêlai* (A. Brückner *Der Friedhof am Eridanos* Berlin 1909 p. 99 f. fig. 64 three *mensae* still supporting portions of marble vases on their flat tops, A. Conze *op. cit.* iv. 14 f. no. 1769 a *mensa* decorated, exceptionally, with a *loutrophóros* in relief on the front and traces of a *stéle* let into the top). The *labella* are best represented on a South Italian *hydría* at Bari (inv. no. 1369, A. Conze *op. cit.* iv. 6 f. with fig. (=my fig. 241)), as no complete examples have come down to us. But numerous short fluted pillars with spreading foot, obviously basin-stands, are known. See further A. Conze *op. cit.* iv. 5 ff.

[2] From the Elgin collection, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 325 no. 683, E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* i. 151 Oxford 1874 no. 105, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 3239, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1906 iii. 364 no. 1715 pl. 367, 2 (=my fig. 242)). The circular plate on the top is, as usual, missing. The roughened foot was meant for insertion in a stone base. Details must have been added in colour. And there was presumably a painted design, to which the name ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ ⋮ ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΙΤΗΣ inscribed on both sides in neat fourth-century lettering has reference. White marble. Height 1·035^{m}.

[3] Still *in situ* outside the Dipylon at Athens (C. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1871 xxix. 30 no. 76, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 3754, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1893 i. 49 no. 208 pl. 56 (=my fig. 243)). On the left side of the *pôros* base is inscribed Ἡγήτωρ | Κηφισοδώρο (*sic*): on the vase, over the man, Ἡγήτωρ; over the woman, Παμφίλη. Under the relief is a strip painted red. White marble. Height 1·54^{m}.

[4] Fragment found at Spata in Attike, now at Constantinople (Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 91 f. no. 335 fig., A Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1887 xii. 92 no. 49, A. Brueckner *Ornament und Form der attischen Grabstelen* Strassburg 1886 p. 35 no. 2, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1906 iii. 367 no. 1730 pl. 374 (=my fig. 244), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 177 no. 1). The handle is formed by a *pistrix* with dragon's head, spiky body, and fish's tail. On a large leaf is a young Satyr dancing to the left with a *chlamýs* thrown loosely round him. He raises his right hand, which is open, and lowers his left, which

Fig. 243.

adorned with a sepulchral subject (fig. 243). Or, again, we have *loutrophóroi* in low relief represented, with varying degrees of complexity, on upward tapering tombstones (figs. 246—250)[1] and,

holds a *lagobólon*. Pentelic marble. Height 0·57m. The same type recurs in A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1906 iii. 367 f. nos. 1730 a and 1731, cp. 1732.

[5] G. A. S. Snijder 'Une représentation eschatologique sur une stèle attique du ive siècle' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1924 ii. 37—45 pl. 3 has proved (1) that the youthful figures on the handles mentioned *supra* n. 4, with which must be grouped those of the relief shown *infra* fig. 250, are not mere mortals, but dancing Satyrs as conceived in the second half of *s.* iv B.C.; and (2) that they are present, not as purely decorative features, but as

Fig. 244.

Fig. 245.

significant symbols of the Dionysiac faith (p. 43 f. 'Sans doute, leur caractère symbolique n'est pas accusé; mais un "bon entendeur," c'est-à-dire un *initié* comprenait sans hésiter leur langage. Ils expriment à la fois l'espoir et le vœu que le jeune défunt...soit reçu, sous les traits d'un bienheureux Satyre[1] ([1]Cf. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, p. 78), dans le thiase de Dionysos et les champs fréquentés par les bienheureux[2] ([2]Suivant l'*Anthologia Palat.*, vii, 37, on voyait sur le tombeau de Sophocle un Satyre tenant à la main un masque. On se demande si c'était seulement une personnification du drame et non pas une allusion à l'ordre d'idées étudié dans cet article...).').

[6] Fragment found *ἐν θέσει Μονομμάτι δήμου Φύλης*, now in the National Museum at Athens (no. 2546) (A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1906 iii. 369 no. 1733 a pl. 375 (=my fig. 245)). The handles enclose two crudely worked Sirens beating their heads and breasts. Pentelic marble. Height 0·52m.

[1] (*a*) Found near the church of Hagia Trias in the Kerameikos at Athens (R. Schoell in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1870 p. 146 ff. no. 4, Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 34, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 2339, Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 48, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1906 iii. 295 no. 1357 pl. 285. 1 (=my fig. 246)). The *akrotérion* or pediment of the *stéle* is missing. The decoration of the *loutrophóros* was doubtless eked out in paint. Right and left of the vase, from above downwards, runs a four-lined epigram, which U. Köhler transcribes

Fig. 246.

Fig. 247.

πότνι[α Σ]ωφροσύνη, θύγα[τ]ερ μεγαλόφρονος Αἰδοῦς, | πλεῖστα σὲ τιμήσας εὐπόλεμόν τε
'Αρετήν || Κλείδημος Μελιτεὺς Κλειδημίδου ἐνθάδε κεῖται | [ζῆ]λος πατρι – μη – – – – –
Hymettian marble. Height 1·40m.

(*b*) From Athens, now the property of Trinity College, Cambridge (J. Stuart—N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1830 Supplement by W. Kinnard p. 17 f. pl. 2, 4, A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge

Fig. 248.

Fig. 249.

1882 p. 270 Cambridge no. 111, Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 49, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1994, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1900 ii. 214 no. 1006 pl. 195, 3 (=my fig. 247)). The sunk relief on the vase shows an older man, who wears a *himátion*, advancing from the left to clasp the hand of a younger man, who has a *chlamýs* round his arm. Each man is accompanied by a dog. The flat cornice of the pediment is inscribed [Εὐθύ]κριτος ΗΛΙΑΙΟΣ (?) (P. P. Dobree),...ΛΙΑΙΟΣ (K. O. Müller), [ΟΙΝ]ΑΙΟΣ (?) (A. Boeckh), ΛΒΑΙΟΣ (?) (A. Conze), ΛΕΑΙΟΣ (A. Michaelis), [ΕΙΤ]ΕΑΙΟΣ (U. Köhler). On the *stéle*, above the vase, is the epigram ἐνθάδε τὸν πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τέρμα μολόντα|

[Ε]ὐθύκριτον πατρία χθὼν ἐκάλυψε τάφωι, | μητρὶ φίλον καὶ πατρί, κασι[γ]νήταις τε πυθεινόν | πᾶσ[ι] τε ἑταίροισιν σύντροφον ἡλικίας. Pentelic marble. Height 1·22m.

(*c*) From Γουδί near Ambelokipi, now in the National Museum at Athens (A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 355 no. 693, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1810, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1906 iii. 293 no. 1350 pl. 283 (=my fig. 248)). The rounded *akrotérion* is decorated with finely wrought *ákanthos*-leaves, palmettes, and central lotos-

Fig. 250.

ud (symbol of resurrection). The highly ornamental *loutrophóros* has a *tainía* slung from s handles. Above the vase is the inscription Ἀριστογείτων | Νικίου | Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. entelic marble. Height 0·95m.

(*d*) Found to the west of Kalývia Kuvarás, now in the National Museum at Athens A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1887 xii. 283 no. 181 pl. 9, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 00 ii. 904 pl. 178 (=my fig. 249), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 409 no. 3). The *akrotérion* ows in relief a Siren beating her head and breast. The handles of the *loutrophóros* rminate below in inverted ducks'-heads (swans'-heads?), and must have been finished in lour. The sunk relief on the body of the vase represents a woman with long hair, in

finally, on the downward tapering pillars prescribed by Demetrios (fig. 251)[1].

chitón and *himátion*, bringing a *tainía* to tie on a large one-handled *loutrophóros*. Beyond it are seen a second woman with long hair, who is followed by a third woman, both similarly clad. White marble. Height 1·58m.

Fig. 251.

(*e*) Fragment found in the northern corner of the harbour (C. Curtius), 's τοῦ Κουμούσ (S. A. Koumanoudes), and now in the Museum at the Peiraieus (C. Curtius in *Philologu* 1870 xxix. 697, A. Brueckner *Ornament und Form der attischen Grabstelen* Strassbur 1886 p. 35 no. 1, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 2463, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1906 iii. 29 no. 1354 pl. 284 (=my fig. 250), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 409 no. 4. The dancing Satyr enclosed by the handles of the *loutrophóros* resemble those described *supra* p. 380 n. and p. 382 n. 5. Above the vase, in letters not earlier than 300 B.C., is inscribe 'Αριστοτέλης | 'Αριστομένους | Περγασῆθεν. White marble. Height 1·56m.

[1] Found near the church of Hagia Trias in the Kerameikos at Athens (*Corp. insc*

Ceramic evidence further assures us that a *loutrophóros* might be carried by a mourning maiden in the funeral procession (fig. 237)[1], and set up on the summit of the grave-mound—a custom traceable from the early fifth[2] to the late fourth century (fig. 253)[3]. Again, we

Att. iii. 2 no. 1981, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin—Leipzig 1911—1922 iv. 16 no. 1778 pl. 379 (=my fig. 251)). The sunk relief shows an ornamental *loutrophóros*, with *akrotéria* on its rim and a *tainía* slung from its handles. Above it, in lettering of imperial date, is inscribed Ἀπολλόδωρος | Σώτου | Ῥαμνούσιος. Hymettian marble. Height 1·36m.

[1] From a red-figured *loutrophóros*, dating from the first third of *s.* v, in the Louvre (*supra* p. 375 n. 1 (*b*)).

[2] *Supra* ii. 1056 ff. fig. 912.

M. Mayer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 310 n. 2 and P. Wolters *ib.* p. 389 f. with fig. (=my fig. 252) draw attention to an early yellow-ground *lḗkythos*, from Eretria, at Athens

Fig. 252.

Fig. 253.

(Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 330 no. 1061), on which, behind a woman with a basket of funeral offerings, is a large *amphora* set on a rectangular base and decorated with a cavalier in black-figured technique. The black figure and the long handles strengthened with struts indicate that the *amphora* is of terra cotta.

[3] Extract from the reverse design of a red-figured *amphora*, careless in style, found at Ruvo, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 204 no. 2147, R. Pagenstecher *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler* (*Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslands* xciv) Strassburg 1912 p. 27 f. pl. 13, a, *id.* in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 103 n. 1, G. P. Oeconomus *De profusionum receptaculis sepulcralibus* Athenis 1921 p. 25 f. fig. 4 (=my fig. 253)). As is often the case, the vase shown resembles in shape the vase upon which it is painted. Pagenstecher rightly infers from the black figure that the vase shown is of terra cotta, not metal, and observes that its foot is firmly planted in the grave-mound.

Oeconomus *op. cit.* p. 27 f. fig. 5 cp. the obverse design of a red-figured neck-*amphora*, careless in style, found at Nola, now in Petrograd (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 38 no. 25 with fig. on p. 67 (=my fig. 254), *id. Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 220 no. 1598). Between two Ionic columns, on which are perched a soul-bird (siren), and an owl, is seen a large one-handled jug half-sunk in the ground.

gather from vases that a *loutrophóros* might be borne by a young girl in the bridal *cortège* (fig. 255)[1], or decked with myrtle-sprays (fig. 256)[2] and set beside a pair of similarly decked *lébetes* (figs. 257, 258)[3],

[1] A red-figured *loutrophóros* at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 391 f. no. 1225), assigned to 'Der Frauenbadmaler' (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 431 no. 6), who flourished *c.* 430—420 B.C. (M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* New Haven: Yale University Press 1929 p. 193), has (*a*) a wedding procession, in which the bride (bowed head, myrtle-wreath above, Eros hovering near) is preceded by a young girl bearing a *loutrophóros* and accompanied by women with

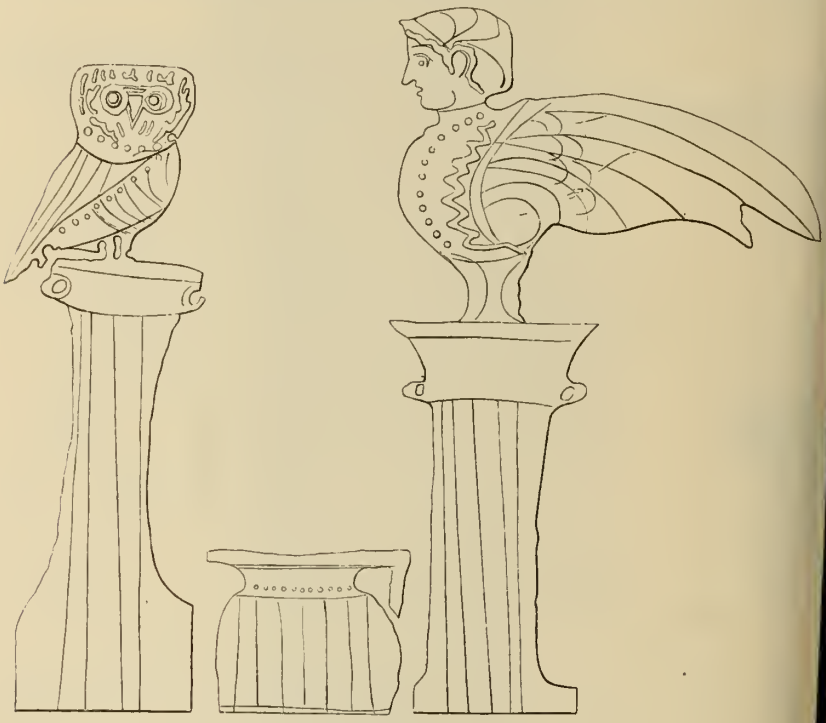


Fig. 254.

torches to the sound of the double flute; (*b*) a conversation between two women, of whom one holds up a decorated coffer (T. Sc(h)reiber in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876 xlviii. 333 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 34, 1 (=my fig. 255), O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1888 pl. 8, 2, P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 381 no. 18 with fig., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 206, 3, M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1318 fig. 4558).

[2] A fragmentary three-handled vase, of red-figured technique, found at Athens (P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 382 no. 21 with fig. (=my fig. 256)), shows among other bridal preparations a woman holding a three-handled *loutrophóros*, which has a row of white dots round its shoulder and three sprigs of myrtle in its mouth.

[3] (*a*) A red-figured *pyxis* from Athens, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 366 f. no. E 774, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 289 pl. 57, 3 (=my fig. 257), C. Lécrivain in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1649 fig. 4862, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 346 no. 4, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils*

which presumably contained water for the bath of bride and bridegroom[1].

Tübingen 1925 p. 429 no. 2), attributed—first by Furtwängler—to 'Der Eretriamaler,' who flourished *c.* 430—420 B.C. (M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* New Haven: Yale University Press 1929 p. 193), depicts preparations for a wedding. These include a one-handled, black-figured *loutrophóros*, visible behind a rouge-pot of alabaster (?) on a coffer, while two black-figured bridal *lébetes* are set on stands near by—all three vases being similarly adorned with myrtle-sprays.

(*b*) A red-figured *eptnetron* or *ónos* by the same painter, from Eretria, now at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 503 ff. no. 1588, P. Hartwig in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897 pp. 129—142 pl. 9—10 (of which the second half = my fig. 258), C. Lécrivain in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1649 f. fig. 4863, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 345 no. 1, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 567, 570, iii. 220 fig. 561, J. D. Beazley *Attische*

Fig. 255.

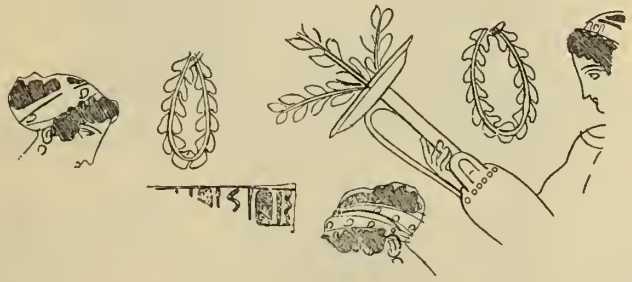


Fig. 256.

Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 429 no. 1), again introduces a black-gured *loutrophóros* and a pair of black-figured *lébetes* on stands, decorated with sprigs f myrtle by women, while the bride and the bridal bed are seen through the open door f the *thálamos*.

[1] A black-figured *amphora* from Kameiros, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. at. Vases* ii. 131 no. B 197 pls. 5 (=my fig. 259) and 6), and sometimes attributed to masis (L. Adamek *Unsignierte Vasen des Amasis* Prague 1895 p. 41 ff., Hoppin *Black-g. Vases* p. 43 no. 22. *Aliter* G. Karo in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 138), has for obverse design the nuptials of Zeus and Hera (R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und r Hera* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Breslau* 1867) p. 27 ff., H. B. Walters in the *Brit.*

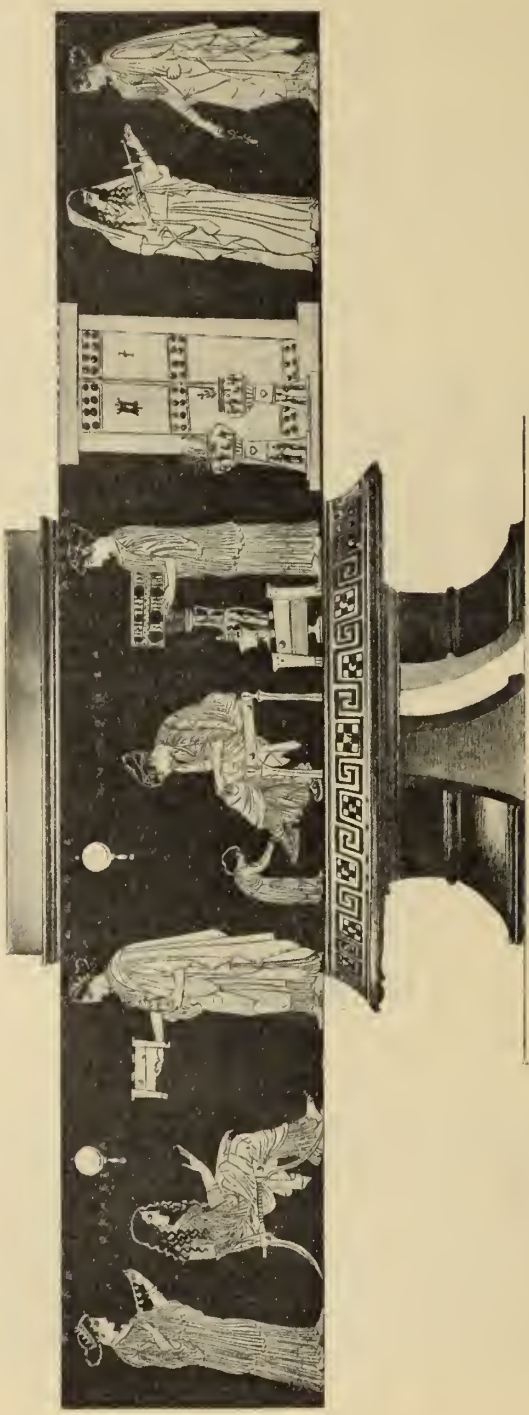


Fig. 257.

Fig. 258.

Fig. 259.

What is the meaning of these customs, and why should a ceremony performed at a wedding also be performed, or at least imitated, at the burial of a bachelor or spinster? A typical case may serve to point the question. Here, for example, is a *stéle* in the Ny Carlsberg collection (fig. 260)[1]. Hippon, son of Agonippos, has died unwed

Fig. 260.

Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 12 Type C). The deities, from left to right, are Apollon, Zeus and Hera, Dionysos, Aphrodite, Poseidon, Artemis, Hermes. Aphrodite carries on her head a *lébes*, of which A. de Ridder in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1001 says: 'il contenait sans doute l'eau lustrale.' Cp. the black-figured *hydría* published by Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 85 f. pl. 313, where the *lébes* rests on the head of a torch-bearing goddess.

[1] F. Poulsen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxxviii Arch. Anz. p. 61 f. no. 4 with fig. 5, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* i no. 227 a Tillæg pl. 4 (=my fig. 260). The

and will leave no children to carry on the proud tradition of knightly names[1]. His mother Philostrate, seated in the foreground, looks with steadfast gaze at the young man's face, while she clasps his hand for the last time. His father, a bearded figure with furrowed forehead, stands in the background leaning on a staff and lays a detaining hand on the lad's shoulder. And in the centre of the little gable above their heads is carved in low relief the wedding-vase. Now, how is this seemingly inappropriate addition to be explained?

Is it to be regarded as a pathetic reminder of all that might have been? Hardly so. That would be modern, not ancient, sentiment. The Greeks did not care to be reminded of their sorrows[2], and we never find in their graveyards such a poignant symbol as a broken column. M. Collignon[3], taking a more practical, not to say prosaic, view, holds that the vase commemorates the 'chthonian bath'—a final act of the obsequies, in which water for washing the dead was brought to the tomb[4]. But, if so, we are left wondering how a rite once common to all the dead ever came to be restricted to those that died unmarried.

More to our purpose is an explanation advanced by Sir J. G. Frazer[5]:

'It may be suggested that originally the custom of placing a water-pitcher on the grave of unmarried persons...may have been meant to help them to obtain in another world the happiness they had missed in this. In fact, it may have been part of a ceremony designed to provide the dead maiden or bachelor with a spouse in the spirit land. Such ceremonies have been observed in various parts of the

inscription on the cornice is ΙΡΡΩΝ ΑΓΩΝΙΡΡΟ ΓΕΙΡΑΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΗ. The termination of Ἀγωνίππο points to a date in the first half of *s.* iv B.C. Pentelic marble. Height 1·40^{m}.

For the *loutrophóros* thus placed Poulsen cp. the *stéle* of Silenis, daughter of Myiskos, at Berlin (no. 1492, R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die Griechische Skulptur*[3] Berlin—Leipzig 1922 p. 186 f. with fig., Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 40 no. 3), which has for *akrotéria* a Siren flanked by a *loutrophóros* on its right and a Sphinx on its left.

[1] Aristoph. *nub.* 63 f. See further F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a. d. S. 1917 pp. 219—226.

[2] Hdt. 6. 21.

[3] M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1319.

[4] Hesych. *s.v.* χθόνια λουτρά· τὰ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐπιφερόμενα. ἐκόμιζον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους λουτρά and Souid. *s.v.* χθόνια λουτρά· τὰ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐπιφερόμενα. ἐκόμιζον γὰρ εἰς τοὺς τάφους λουτρά = Zenob. 6. 45, cp. Diogen. 3. 92 (ἐπὶ τὰς ταφάς), Greg. Cypr. cod. Leid. 3. 35, Makar. 8. 82, Apostol. 18. 25, Arsen. p. 475, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1865, 37 ff. See further Soph. *El.* 84, 434, Eur. *Phoen.* 1667 (λουτρά); Aisch. *cho.* 129 (χέρνιβας); Kleidemos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 40 ff. Tresp) *ap.* Athen. 409 F—410 A and Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1401, 8 ff. (ἀπόνιμμα). Kleidemos directs: ὄρυξαι βόθυνον πρὸς ἑσπέραν τοῦ σήματος. ἔπειτα παρὰ τὸν βόθυνον πρὸς ἑσπέραν βλέπε, ὕδωρ κατάχεε λέγων τάδε· ὑμῖν ἀπόνιμμα οἷς χρὴ καὶ οἷς θέμις. ἔπειτα αὖθις μύρον κατάχεε.

[5] Frazer *Pausanias* v. 389 ff.

world by peoples who, like the Greeks, esteemed it a great misfortune to die unmarried.'

The examples quoted in support of this explanation prove beyond all doubt that *post mortem* marriage is or has been a widely prevalent custom.

But marriage with whom? O. Schrader, who more than once attacked the problem[1], summarised his contentions as follows[2]:

'It is only by comparing the Greek customs with those of other Aryan peoples that we can discover the meaning of this custom. We then find that the placing of the bridal λουτροφόρος on the grave of unmarried people represents the symbolical preservation of a custom...still very wide-spread among the Slavonic races...a ceremonial imitation-marriage was celebrated at the graves of unmarried men and maidens, during which a bride or a bridegroom was there and then assigned to the dead person* (*Remains of this custom are found also in Germany; for in Hesse the coffins of single men who have died must be accompanied by "wreathed girls," who must wear mourning for four weeks, etc. (cf. [C.] Hessler [*Hessische Landes- und Volkskunde* Marburg 1904 ii. 152])). The third and last stage of the custom under discussion is presented to us in the accounts of the Arabs regarding the oldest Slavonic and Russian conditions of life. According to them, not only...was the wife of the dead *married man* given to him as a companion in death, but the *single man* too was, after his death, married *in regular fashion* to a young girl, who also was therefore doomed to die (cf. Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'or*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861—1865, ii. p. 9, n. 7). One of these "death-weddings" is described in detail by the Arab Ibn Fosslan (text and translation ed. by C. E. Frähn, St. Petersburg, 1823 [See now Miss H. L. Lorimer 'A Scandinavian Cremation-Ceremony' in *Antiquity* 1934 viii. 58—62, an article which includes a fresh and full translation made from the text of Ahmad bin Fudhlan by Miss C. Waddy]). But it follows from isolated traces that the custom of the wife dying along with her husband was prevalent also in Greece in prehistoric times (cf. Pausanias, ii. 21. 7), and in the story of the Trojan maiden Polyxene, sacrificed at the grave of Achilles, there exists also on classical soil a case of the barbarian custom of "death-marriage".'

Thus, on Schrader's showing, the death of a bachelor or spinster once involved the provision and actual killing of a human consort—a grim practice, which had indeed left lasting traces of itself in mythology, but in real life had long since decayed into a mimetic ceremony and thence into the mere symbolism of the marriage-vase.

Mr J. C. Lawson[3] viewed the matter from a somewhat different stand-point. He too regarded the *loutrophóros*-rite as implying that

[1] First in his monograph *Totenhochzeit* Jena 1904 pp. 1—38, then in his book *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*[3] Jena 1906, 1907 i. 219 f., ii. 335 n. 3, 532, lastly in his *Reallex.*[2] ii. 558—561 *s.v.* 'Totenhochzeit.'

[2] O. Schrader in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 22^b—23^a.

[3] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 pp. 556, 560.

a definite marriage awaited the dead bachelor or spinster. But he treated it as one out of many facts tending to establish the important conclusion that, in Greek belief, every man might look forward to becoming the groom of Persephone, every woman to becoming Hades' bride[1]:

'Custom past and present, ancient literature, modern folk-song, all agree in their presentment of death as a marriage into the house of Hades.'

To me it seems that the opinions of Schrader and Lawson are not mutually exclusive. It may well be (though the evidence for it is slight[2]) that in prehistoric times the dead bachelor demanded—like Achilles (?)—a bride to keep him company. And, when this savage custom had dwindled into a set of merely mimetic rites and symbols, it may well have left behind it the feeling that the prematurely dead must needs be married somehow in the world beyond the tomb. If so, the great wave of oriental influence which swept the Mediterranean *c.* 600 B.C.[3] and the subsequent (or consequent?) growth of Greek mysticism very possibly intensified a latent belief in the divinity of the dead. The Egyptian identification of the mummified man with Osiris[4] is at least paralleled by the Orphic declaration:

Happy and blest one, a god thou shalt be in place of a mortal[5].

[1] *Supra* ii. 1164 n. 2.

[2] See the objections raised by P. Stengel in the *Woch. f. klass. Philol.* Mai 3, 1905 pp. 489—491 and by F. Kauffmann in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 1907 xxxix. 138 f. and answered by O. Schrader *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*[3] Jena 1906, 1907 i. 220 n. 1, ii. 335 n. 3, 532. Stengel *loc. cit.* p. 490 n. 3 aptly quotes Loukian. *de luctu* 14 πόσοι...καὶ παλλακίδας...ἐπικατέσφαξαν...ὡς χρησομένοις ἐκεῖ καὶ ἀπολαύσουσιν αὐτῶν κάτω;

[3] *Supra* ii. 769 f.

[4] See *e.g.* A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 95 ff., H. R. Hall in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 440[b]—443[a], A. M. Blackman *ib.* 1920 xi. 132[a–b] ('*Identification with Osiris*'), Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] ii. 16 ('Thus every dead Egyptian was identified with Osiris and bore his name'). *Supra* p. 343.

[5] One of the gold tablets from Orphic graves of *s.* iv—iii B.C. near Thourioi (*supra* ii. 118 n. 2) gives the verse ὄλβιε καὶ μακαριστέ, θεὸς δ' ἔ|σηι ἀντὶ βροτοῖο (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 641, 1, 14 f., G. Murray in Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 667 no. 5 (with facsimile), H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 176 Orph. *frag.* 18, 10, Orph. *frag.* 32 c, 10 Kern), which seems to have been spoken by the *mystagogós* or *hierophántes* of Persephone (so J. H. Wieten *De tribus laminis aureis quae in sepulcris Thurinis sunt inventae* Amstelodami 1915 p. 118). Another tablet of the same date and *provenance* substitutes the prose formula θεὸς ἐγ|ένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 642, 4 f., G. Murray *loc. cit.* p. 662 no. 3 (with facsimile), H. Diels *op. cit.*[3] ii. 177 Orph. *frag.* 20, 4, Orph. *frag.* 32 f, 4 Kern). Cp. yet another, of *s.* i or more probably *s.* ii A.D., from Rome, which has the would-be hexameter Καικιλία Σκουνδεῖνα, νόμωι | ἴθι δῖα γεγῶσα (G. Murray *loc. cit.* p. 672 no. 8 (with facsimile) reading θῖα for δῖα, H. Diels *op. cit.*[3] ii. 176 f. Orph. *frag.* 19[a], 4, Orph. *frag.* 32 g, 4 Kern).

Final felicity for the divinised, but unmarried, dead would be felt to imply a marriage-union in the house of Hades. The Orphic initiate in fact carried with him to the tomb, engraved on a golden tablet, the assurance that he had become the very consort of Despoina[1]. And such hopes in less tangible form were certainly entertained by wider circles[2].

But, if the sepulchral *loutrophóros* is thus reducible to a nuptial *loutrophóros*, we have yet to enquire what meaning attached to them both. Eustathios[3], though he does not reach a satisfactory solution of the problem, at least goes some way towards one.

'The ancients,' he says, 'treat river-water as something solemn....Bridegrooms had their bath fetched from a river as an omen of fertility....And over those that died before marriage the so-called bath-carrying pitcher was set, to show that the deceased took his departure unbathed of the bridal bath and unfertile withal.'

This insistence upon the idea of fertility is right. Water-carrying, whether for the married living or for the unmarried dead, was a fertility-charm of a simple and intelligible sort. As such it can be paralleled by a variety of popular customs[4]. But the employment of a holed vessel for the purpose justifies us, if I am not mistaken, in defining the fertility-charm more nearly as a rain-charm. Rain, as we shall have occasion to note[5], was the very means by which Father Sky impregnated Mother Earth.

[1] *Supra* i. 650 n. 0, ii. 119 n. 2, 132 f.

[2] *Supra* ii. 1163 f.

[3] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1293, 6 ff. οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ σεμνύνουσι τὸ ποτάμιον ὑγρόν, καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες. τὸ λουτρὸν ἐκ ποταμοῦ τοῖς νυμφίοις ἐκομίζετο, οἰωνιζομένοις τὸ γόνιμον. διὸ καὶ ἔνορχα μῆλα ἱέρευον, ὥσπερ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς εἰς τὰς πηγάς. γόνιμα γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄρρενα. καὶ τοῖς πρὸ γάμου δὲ τελευτῶσιν ἡ λουτροφόρος, φασίν, ἐπετίθετο κάλπις εἰς ἔνδειξιν τοῦ ὅτι ἄλουτος τὰ νυμφικὰ καὶ ἄγονος ἄπεισι (*supra* p. 372 n. 7).

[4] F. von Reitzenstein in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1909 xli. 671 f., *à propos* of 'Der Fruchtbarkeitszauber,' writes: 'Neben Wäldern haben wir oben besonders Brunnen und Weiher oder—pars pro toto—Gefässe mit Wasser als Kinderheimat erkannt. Dementsprechend ist der Wasserzauber in der verschiedensten Form, besonders als Brunnenzauber, sehr weit verbreitet. Am dritten Tag nach der Hochzeit geht z. B. die griechische Braut noch heute an vielen Orten zum Brunnen, aus dem sie mit eigenem Gefäss Wasser schöpft und verschiedene Esswaren und Brotkrümchen hineinwirft, während zugleich ein Rundtanz darum vollzogen wird[5] ([5] [I. von Düringsfeld und O. von] Reinsberg-Düringsfeld [*Hochzeitsbuch* Leipzig 1871] S. 59). Bei den slavischen Völkern findet dieser Zug zum Brunnen entweder vor oder nach der Eheschliessung statt' [with examples from Croatia, Bulgaria, Esthonia, etc.]. See also Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 159 f. ('Water-spirits conceived as bestowing offspring on women').

[5] *Infra* p. 452 ff.

(γ) Water-carrying in connexion with the mysteries.

Water-carrying in a holed vessel reappears in connexion with the mysteries. Polygnotos in his famous fresco of the Underworld (painted shortly after 458 B.C.[1]) represented certain women bearing

Fig. 261.

water in broken pitchers: one of them was in the bloom of youth, the other advanced in years; and an inscription common to them

[1] So A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 86 n. 1, 90 n. 0 followed by Miss M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* New Haven: Yale University Press 1929 p. 202 n. 20.

both set forth that they were of the uninitiated. Further, the same picture showed a *píthos*, an elderly man, a boy, and a couple of women—one young, the other elderly. They were all bearing water; but the old dame's pitcher seemed to be broken, and she was emptying into the *píthos* such water as was left in her crock. Pausanias[1], who saw the fresco in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphoi, adds: 'We inferred that these persons also were of the number of those who held the Eleusinian rites of no account.' In thus connecting the two groups of water-carriers and assuming one label for the lot Pausanias was almost certainly correct[2]. An approximate arrangement of the contiguous figures may be seen in C. Robert's clever reconstruction (fig. 261)[3].

Platon in his *Gorgias* (written between 399 and 388 B.C.[4]) likewise states that in Hades the uninitiated carry water in a sieve to a holed *píthos*[5]. Indeed, their punishment became proverbial[6], and can be illustrated from more than one extant vase-painting.

[1] Paus. 10. 31. 9 ff. αἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν Πενθεσίλειαν φέρουσαι μέν εἰσιν ὕδωρ ἐν κατεαγόσιν ὀστράκοις, πεποίηται δὲ ἡ μὲν ἔτι ὡραία τὸ εἶδος, ἡ δὲ ἤδη τῆς ἡλικίας προήκουσα· ἰδίᾳ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐν κοινῷ δέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέραις εἶναι σφᾶς τῶν οὐ μεμυημένων γυναικῶν. (10) ἀνωτέρω τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ Λυκάονος Καλλιστὼ καὶ Νομία τε καὶ ἡ Νηλέως Ηηρώ· ...μετὰ δὲ τὴν Καλλιστὼ καὶ ὅσαι σὺν ἐκείνῃ γυναῖκες, κρημνοῦ τε σχῆμά ἐστι καὶ ὁ Αἰόλου Σίσυφος ἀνῶσαι πρὸς τὸν κρημνὸν βιαζόμενος τὴν πέτραν. (11) ἔστι δὲ καὶ πίθος ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, πρεσβύτης δὲ ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ ἔτι παῖς, καὶ γυναῖκες, νέα μὲν ὑπὸ (so F. G. Welcker for ἐπὶ codd.) τῇ πέτρᾳ, παρὰ δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτην ἐοικυῖα ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἡλικίαν· οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φέροντες ὕδωρ εἰσί, τῇ δὲ γραῒ κατεᾶχθαι τὴν ὑδρίαν εἰκάσεις· ὅσον δὲ ἐν τῷ ὀστράκῳ λοιπὸν ἦν τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐκχέουσά ἐστιν αὖθις ἐς τὸν πίθον. ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα δ' εἶναι καὶ τούτους τῶν τὰ δρώμενα Ἐλευσῖνι (H. Hitzig—H. Blümner cjj. τὰ Ἐλευσῖνι) ἐν οὐδενὸς θεμένων λόγῳ.

[2] C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 166 'The circumstance that the intervening figures are said to have been on a higher level than the first group removes all difficulties in the way of bringing the two groups of ἀμύητοι together.'

[3] C. Robert *Die Nekyia des Polygnot* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1892) p. 68 with lithographic pl., drawn by H. Schenck (part of which = my fig. 261).

[4] W. von Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 670.

[5] Plat. *Gorg.* 493 A—C καὶ τοῦτο ἄρα τις μυθολογῶν κομψὸς ἀνήρ, ἴσως Σικελός τις ἢ Ἰταλικός, παράγων τῷ ὀνόματι διὰ τὸ πιθανόν τε καὶ πιστικὸν ὠνόμασε πίθον, τοὺς δὲ ἀνοήτους ἀμυήτους· τῶν δ' ἀμυήτων τοῦτο τῆς ψυχῆς οὗ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι εἰσι, τὸ ἀκόλαστον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ στεγανόν, ὡς τετρημένος εἴη πίθος, διὰ τὴν ἀπληστίαν ἀπεικάσας. τούναντίον δὴ οὗτός σοι, ὦ Καλλίκλεις, ἐνδείκνυται ὡς τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου—τὸ ἀειδὲς δὴ λέγων—οὗτοι ἀθλιώτατοι ἂν εἶεν οἱ ἀμύητοι, καὶ φοροῖεν εἰς τὸν τετρημένον πίθον ὕδωρ ἐτέρῳ τοιούτῳ τετρημένῳ κοσκίνῳ. τὸ δὲ κόσκινον ἄρα λέγει, ὡς ἔφη ὁ πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγων, τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι· τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν κοσκίνῳ ἀπείκασε τὴν τῶν ἀνοήτων ὡς τετρημένην, ἅτε οὐ δυναμένην στέγειν δι' ἀπιστίαν τε καὶ λήθην. Cp. *rep.* 363 D—E τοὺς δὲ ἀνοσίους αὖ καὶ ἀδίκους εἰς πηλόν τινα κατορύττουσιν ἐν Ἅιδου καὶ κοσκίνῳ ὕδωρ ἀναγκάζουσι φέρειν. The 'Sicilian or Italian' of the former passage is probably Philolaos or some other Pythagorean, *e.g.* Archytas (E. Frank *Plato und die sogenannten Pythagoreer* Halle (Saale) 1923 pp. 90 f., 298 ff., 364 n. 219, P. Frutiger *Les mythes de Platon* Paris 1930 p. 111 f.). The 'mud' of the latter passage is definitely Orphic (A. Dieterich *Nekyia* Leipzig 1893 p. 75 n. 0, Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 313 n. 1, J. Adam on Plat. *rep.* 363 D).

An archaic black-figured *amphora*, formerly in the Canino collection and now at Munich[1], has for obverse design (fig. 262)[2] four winged souls emptying pitchers into an enormous *pithos* partly sunk in the earth: the presence of Sisyphos rolling his stone up a hill shows that the scene is laid in the Underworld, as does the reverse design (fig. 263)[3] of Herakles dragging off a two-headed Kerberos. Both sides of the vase may be indebted to some sixth-century fresco,

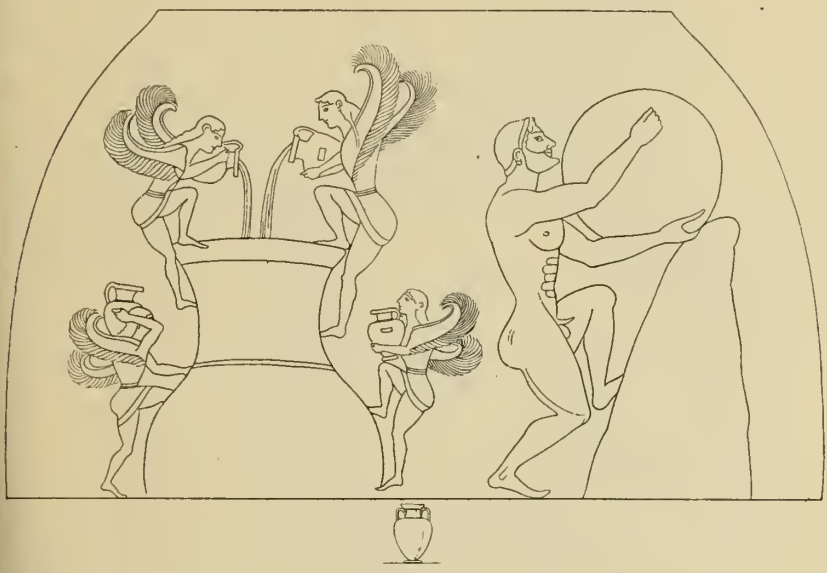


Fig. 262.

[6] Zenob. 2. 6 ἄπληστος πίθος· ...λέγεται γὰρ οὗτος ὁ πίθος ἐν Ἅιδου εἶναι οὐδέποτε πληρούμενος· πάσχουσι δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν αἱ τῶν ἀμυήτων ψυχαί· καὶ κόραι δέ, ἃς Δαναΐδας λέγουσιν, πληροῦσαι ἐν κατεαγόσιν ἀγγείοις ὕδωρ πρὸς αὐτὸν φέρουσι τετρημένον, Apostol. 6. 79 εἰς τετρημένον πίθον ἀντλεῖς· ...καὶ γὰρ μυθεύουσιν ἐν Ἅιδου τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς εἰς πίθον τετρημένον ἀντλεῖν. πάσχουσι δὲ περὶ τοῦτον αἱ τῶν Ἀμύντου (*leg.* ἀμυήτων) ψυχαί. καὶ κόραι δὲ ἠπεδαναί (cp. codd. B.V. on Zenob. 2. 6 γέγραπται δὲ τῷ πίθῳ Ἀμυήτων· λέγονται δὲ αἱ κόραι ἠπεδαναί, τουτέστιν ἀσθενεῖς, παρὰ τὸ ἄπεδον. More probably ἠπεδαναί conceals the true reading (ἢ παρθένοι? ἢ παῖδες Δαναοῦ??)), αἳ καὶ Δαναΐδες καλοῦνται, ἀντλοῦσαι ὕδωρ εἰς τὸν πίθον, Souid. *s.v.* ἄπληστος πίθος· ὁ ἐν Ἅιδου, ὁ τετρημένος...ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὰς Δαναΐδας μύθου, παρ' ὅσον ἀνιμῶσαι ἐκεῖναι ὕδωρ εἰς πίθον ἔβαλλον. πάσχουσι δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν πίθον αἱ τῶν ἀμυήτων ψυχαί (=*id. s.v.* εἰς τετρημένον πίθον ἀντλεῖν), *id. s.v.* εἰς τὸν τετρημένον· λείπει, πίθον ἀντλεῖν...καὶ γὰρ μυθεύουσιν ἐν Ἅιδου τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς εἰς πίθον τετρημένον ἀντλεῖν.

[1] Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 49 f. no. 153.

[2] Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* ii. 56 ff. pl. 135, E. Gerhard *Über die Flügelgestalten der alten Kunst* Berlin 1840 pp. 5 n. 3, 17 pl. 1, 8, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 4. 40 pl. 69, 866, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1924 fig. 2040, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 952 with fig. on p. 950, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 616 f. fig. 164, *ead. Themis*[2] p. 529 f. fig. 151.

[3] Inghirami *loc. cit.* pl. 136.

not recorded in literature, but very possibly illustrative of Orphic teaching[1].

Again, a black-figured *lékythos*, which was found in 1820 beneath the feet of a skeleton buried on the slope of Monte Saraceno near Ravanusa in southern Sicily and is now preserved in the Museo Nazionale at Palermo (pl. xxxvi and fig. 264)[2] depicts men and women hastening to empty vessels of various shapes into a huge

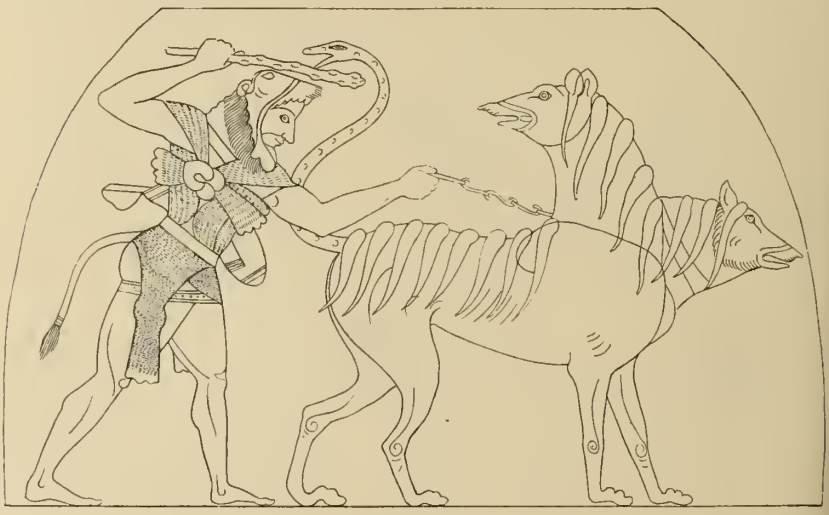


Fig. 263.

[1] The late Orphic poem *κατάβασις εἰς Ἄιδου* (on which see A. Dieterich *Nekyia* Leipzig 1893 pp. 128 ff., 136 ff., Ganschinietz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2400 f., O. Kern *Orphicorum fragmenta* Berolini 1922 pp. 304—307, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 984 n. 7) may well have had metrical forerunners; and Orphic influence is already traceable at Athens in *s.* vi B.C. (L. Malten 'Altorphische Demetersage' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 417 ff.).

[2] T. Panofka in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1848 ii. 284 ff. ('*eine Parodie des Gemäldes des Polygnot*...sowohl *der Scene in der Frauen und Jünglinge als Hydrophoren sich einem grossen Fass nähern* zur Anspielung auf die Strafe der Danaïden, Sterbliche darstellend, die während ihres Lebens die Mysterien nicht achteten, als *der Fabel des Ocnos*'), H. Heydemann *ib.* 1870 xxviii. 42 f. no. 22 with pl. 31 (= my fig. 264) ('Wir haben eine Parodie der Danaiden und des Oknos vor uns'), A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 24 f. ('eine sehr ernste Darstellung....Es sind eben noch nicht die Danaiden..., sondern allgemeine Bilder der Seelen und ihrer Pein, weshalb auch nicht auffallend ist, sie auch männlich gebildet zu finden. Ferner ist Oknos mit dem Esel dargestellt,...'), Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 617 f. fig. 165 ('emphatically *not* Danaides...but "Uninitiated".... The ass and...Oknos'), Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 311 ('Schwerlich mit Recht hat man...eine Mythenparodie in dem Unterweltsbild...finden wollen.... Die allzu schmächtigen Körper und grossen Köpfe, einzelne lange Nasen und drollige Bewegungen wirken zwar in diesem Zusammenhang auch auf den geschulten Betrachter leicht komisch, sind aber schwerlich so gemeint'). Pl. xxxvi is from a photograph kindly supplied to me by Profs G. M. Columba and E. Gábrici.

Lékythos from Monte Saraceno, now at Palermo:
the uninitiated in the Underworld, together with Oknos and his ass.

See page 400 f. *with fig.* 264.

píthos, as before planted deeply in the ground. Here Oknos and his ass[1] serve to fix the locality. The lively and humorous rendering of the whole scene makes it difficult to resist the impression that there is present an element of intentional caricature. And if so, the artist was conceivably inspired by some actual pre-literary performance of a mimic or comic sort, though when and where escapes us[2]. Be that as it may, of these two vases the first probably, the second certainly, shows the penance of the uninitiated in general, not that of the Danaïdes in particular.

The same may perhaps be said of a splendid 'Apulian' *kratér*, which came to the Munich collection from a grave near Canosa[3]. This famous vase dates from the second half of *s.* iv B.C.[4] and is

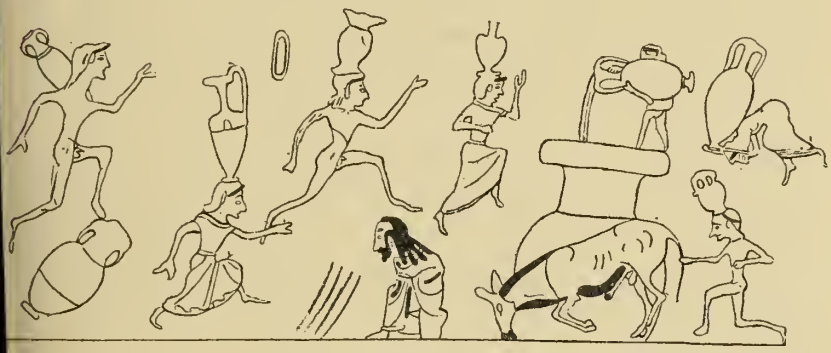


Fig. 264.

[1] A. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* rightly interpreted the lame ass and the lame driver looking stupidly at the sticks, which have fallen from his pack, by a reference to Apul. *met.* 6. 18 iamque confecta bona parte mortiferae viae conti*nab*eris (so J. van der Vliet for *continuaueris* codd. F. δ. g. *contingueris* codd. φ. g (man. rescript.).) claudum asinum lignorum gerulum cum agasone simili, qui te rogabit decidentis sarcinae fusticulos aliquos porrigas ei; sed tu nulla voce deprompta tacita praeterito (a variant version of Oknos and his ass). F. Boll 'Oknos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 151—157 holds that this curious figure originates in a 'Traumphantasie' of the sort known as 'Behinderungstraum' (cp. *Il.* 22. 199 ff. (=Verg. *Aen.* 12. 908 ff.), 23. 99 ff., Enn. *ann. frag.* 28. 6 ff. Baehrens). He cites (after A. Grünwedel in the *Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der königl. Museen zu Berlin* 1885 i. 42, W. H. D. Rouse in *Folk-Lore* 1890 i. 409, Frazer *Pausanias* v. 377 f.) a Buddhist parallel from the seventh dream of the king of Kosala (*Jātaka Tales* edd. H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas Cambridge 1916 p. 84 f.: '"A man was weaving rope, sir, and as he wove, he threw it down at his feet. Under his bench lay a hungry she-jackal, which kept eating the rope as he wove, but without the man knowing it. This is what I saw."' Etc.).

[2] O. Gruppe and F. Pfister in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 43 f. discuss the appearance of the Underworld in the comic and satyric drama of *s.* v B.C.

[3] The same grave yielded the Medeia-*kratér*, described and illustrated *supra* i. 251 f. pl. xxii.

[4] *Supra* p. 370.

decorated with an essentially Orphic[1] design (pl. xxxvii)[2]. Hades, sceptre in hand, sits on a sumptuous throne in his nether palace, while before him, holding a cross-topped torch, stands his bride Persephone. Round them are grouped the stock denizens of their realm. To the right appear the judges of the dead—the kingly figure of Aiakos, Triptolemos wreathed with the springing corn of Eleusis[3], Rhadamanthys with hoary hair and a brow furrowed by thought[4]. Above these is Dike, who executes their sentence. She guards with drawn sword Peirithoos; for he must remain a prisoner, though his friend Theseus, thanks to Herakles, is about to return to the upper air[5]. Below we see Herakles himself dragging a three-

[1] The Orphic character of this and similar vases from south Italy was justly emphasised by Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 599 ff. ('Orphic Vases of Lower Italy'). See, however, the discussion of the point by E. Kuhnert 'Unteritalische Nekyien' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii. 104—113, A. Milchhoefer '"Orphisch"-Unterweltliches' in *Philologus* 1894 liii. 385—399, E. Kuhnert 'Orpheus in der Unterwelt' in *Philologus* 1895 liv. 193—204, and W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London (1935) pp. 187—191.

[2] Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 273 ff. no. 849, A. L. Millin *Description des Tombeaux de Canosa* Paris 1816 p. 4 ff. pls. 3—6 (inadequate, but often copied *e.g.* by E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1837 ix pl. 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 258, 4, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 121 ff. pls. 392—395, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 54 ff. pl. 56, 275 *a—c*, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1928 f. pl. 87 fig. 2042 B and fig. 2042 C, O. Benndorf in *Wien. Vorlegebl.* E pl. 1, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. cxlv ff. fig. 38), Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 47—54 pl. 10 (= my pl. xxxvii), P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze 1922 ii. 457 ff. fig. 330, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 576, 718.

[3] *Supra* p. 299 n. 7.

[4] The three judges of this vase have been variously identified:

Tantale	Cronos	Rhadamanthe (A. L. Millin *op. cit.* p. 22 f.)
Lynceus	Kronos	Rhadamanth (F. Creuzer in the *Heidelbergische Jahrbücher der Litteratur* 1817 ii. 798)
Tantalo	Crono	Radamanto (Inghirami *op. cit.* iv. 124 f.)
Rhadamanthys	Kronos	Minos (E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1843 i. 202)
Rhadamanthys	Aeakos	Minos (C. O. Müller *op. cit.* i. 55)
Minos	Aiakos	Rhadamanthys (A. Winkler *Die Darstellungen der Unterwelt auf unteritalischen Vasen* Breslau 1888 pp. 10, 25)
Minos	Triptolemos	Rhadamanthys (Harrison *op. cit.* p. cxlvi f.)
Aiakos	*Triptolemos*	*Rhadamanthys* (Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* i. 48)
Eaco	Trittolemo	Radamanto (P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 458).

An analogous group on the vase from Altamura (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 510 ff. no. 3222, *infra* p. 423 n. 2 (2)) is inscribed ΤΡΙΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ, ΑΙΑΚΟΣ, [ΡΑΔΑ]ΜΑΝΟΥΣ. The only reasonable doubt is, therefore, whether on our vase the series should be called A + T + R or R + T + A. I have followed Furtwängler and Ducati, though with some hesitation.

[5] Variants of the myth are collected and discussed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 470 n. 3, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 1079 f., *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 42 f., Sir J. G. Frazer on Apollod. 2. 5. 12, and Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 703—706. W. Deonna '*Thésée assis aux Enfers*' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1931 xliv. 361—367 studies the

Kratér from Canosa, now at Munich :
Orpheus leads a family of initiates into the presence of Hades and Persephone, whose palace is surrounded by the stock denizens of the Underworld.

See page 401 ff.

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl. 10 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G. Munich.]

headed[1] Kerberos away from Hekate and her torches towards some

folk-lore *motif* of the immobilised hero and thinks that it may have originated in dream-phenomena [cp. *Il.* 22. 199 f.] ultimately occasioned by paralysing fear.

[1] Both in literature and in art there was a natural tendency to make the monster more monstrous still. Heads could always be multiplied, and tails turned into snakes. It must, however, be borne in mind that a dog with fifty or a hundred heads could hardly be visualised unless, as Acr. and Porphyr. *in* Hor. *od.* 2. 13. 34 long since suggested, the heads were those of snakes. Similarly J. P. Postgate in his preface to M. Bréal *Semantics* trans. Mrs H. Cust London 1900 p. xvii ff. (*id.* in the *Class. Rev.* 1905 xix. 412) argues that such polycephalism connotes a frill of serpentine heads, like those of Typhoeus (J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1429 f.) or the Hydra (Bölte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 45 f.).

Hes. *theog.* 767 ff. gives the dread hound of the under-world god a tail and two ears, presumably therefore one head. But the same author (according to F. Jacoby ed. Berolini 1930 p. 87, a rhapsode of *s.* vii—vi[1]) *ib.* 310 ff. describes ravening Kerberos, the bronze-voiced hound of Hades, as fifty-headed. Hor. *od.* 2. 13. 34 f., perhaps in imitation of Pind. *frag.* 249 Bergk[4] *ap.* schol. A.B.V. *Il.* 8. 368 (though schol. Hes. *theog.* 311 suggests some confusion with the Typhos of Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 16 or the Typhon of Pind. *frag.* 93 Bergk[4] *ap.* Strab. 627), makes him a beast with black ears and a hundred heads. Aristophanes more than once paints Kleon as a Kerberos (*eq.* 1017, 1030, *pax* 313) whose head was fringed by a hundred flatterers with flickering tongues (*vesp.* 1029 ff. =*pax* 751 ff.). Hor. *od.* 2. 19. 29 ff. mentions Kerberos' tail and his 'three-tongued mouth,' *trilingui* | *ore* —a curious phrase, which does not mean (as A. F. Naeke supposed) a single mouth with three tongues, or a triply forked tongue, in it, but (as J. C. Orelli—J. G. Baiter—W. Hirschfelder urge) three mouths with a tongue in each. Horace was pleased with the conceit, for he repeats it in *od.* 3. 11. 15 ff., where the hound has a hundred snakes about his head and a 'three-tongued mouth,' *ore trilingui*—again a precious description of the three-headed type (*pace* S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 272). Soph. *Trach.* 1097 ff., normal in this as in so much besides, calls him "Αιδου τρίκρανον σκύλακ'... | δεινῆς Ἐχίδνης θρέμμα, and Eur. *H.f.* 24 f. βέβηκ' ἐς "Αιδου τὸν τρισώματον κύνα | ἐς φῶς ἀνάξων, 611 καὶ θῆρά γ' ἐς φῶς τὸν τρίκρανον ἤγαγον, 1277 f. "Αιδου πυλωρὸν κύνα τρίκρανον ἐς φάος | ὅπως πορεύσαιμ' follows suit. Latin writers in general settled down to the belief that he was three-headed (Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 10 triceps apud inferos Cerberus, 2. 22 (in a rendering of Soph. *loc. cit.*) tricipitem...Hydra generatum canem, Verg. *Aen.* 6. 417 latratu...trifauci, Tib. 3. 4. 88 cui tres sunt linguae tergeminumque caput, Prop. 4. 7. 52 tergeminusque canis, Ov. *trist.* 4. 7. 16 tergeminumque canem, *met.* 10. 21 f. villosa colubris | terna Medusaei...guttura monstri, Sen. *H.f.* 787 ff. saevus...Stygius canis | qui trina vasto capita (R. Peiper cj. *latera*) concutiens sono | regnum tuetur, *Oed.* 594 triceps...Cerberus, Sil. It. 13. 629 triplicis monstri, Stat. *Theb.* 2. 53 f. Letique triformis | ianitor, *silv.* 3. 3. 27 tergeminus custos, Hyg. *fab.* 151 canis Cerberus triceps, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 13 triceps inferorum canis, Fulgent. *myth.* 1. 6 tria habere capita). Hence he was Τρικάρηνος *par excellence* (Loukian. *philopatr.* 1, cp. *pseudolog.* 29). But the title Τρικέρβερος, which frequently figures in late sources (Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 133, Fulgent. *myth.* 1. 6, Myth. Vat. 1. 92, 1. 102, 1. 108, 2. 11, 2. 154, Io. Malal. *chron.* 3 p. 62 Dindorf, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 81 c (i. 143 Bekker), Souid. *s.v.* Κόρη, Tzetz. *chil.* 2. 751, Kosmas of Jerusalem *ad carm. Greg. Naz.* index 64 (xxxviii. 676, cp. 493, Migne)), is of less certain interpretation: the rationalists at least took it to mean merely a dog of monstrous size.

On the 'ring of Nestor,' a handsome gold signet found by a peasant in the largest *tholos*-tomb at *Kakovatos* above the Pylian Plain, Sir A. J. Evans claims to detect 'the solitary glimpse that we possess of the Minoan Underworld, and of the admission of the departed into the realms of bliss' (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 1—74 figs. 42, 44, 45, 55 (=my fig. 265 : scale $\frac{4}{1}$), pl. 4, 2 intaglio, col. pl. 5 restoration of fresco (!), *id. The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 2. 482 fig. 289, 1930 iii. 145—157 figs. 94, 95, 96, 104, col. pl. 20A, S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1925 ii. 302 f. fig. 16,

P. Couissin *ib.* 1926 ii. 81 f. (is sceptical of 'le Hadès avec Hermès psychopompe et Cèrbère, et l'arbre sacré qui rappelle de si près l'*ulmus opaca* de Virgile[2] ([2] *Enéide*, VI, 283)'), J. Charbonneaux in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1926 xxxix. 100 fig. 1, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 549—556 (compares the 'Tree of Life' in the garden of the Hesperides protected by the snake Ladon, but thinks that the whole ring 'may merely represent some cult scenes performed in an open-air sanctuary beneath the shadow of an aged tree')). The chief feature in the design is an old, leafless tree, with wide-stretched boughs, springing from a mound, on which couches 'an animal, apparently intended for a dog.' Here Sir Arthur sees a parallel to the Scandinavian world-tree, the ash of Odhin's steed, Yggdrasil, whose roots were gnawed by the serpent Níðhöggr (K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*[5] Bonn 1878 p. 36 ff. ('Die Weltesche'), J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 796 ff., 1888 iv. 1331, 1536 f., E. H. Meyer *Germanische*

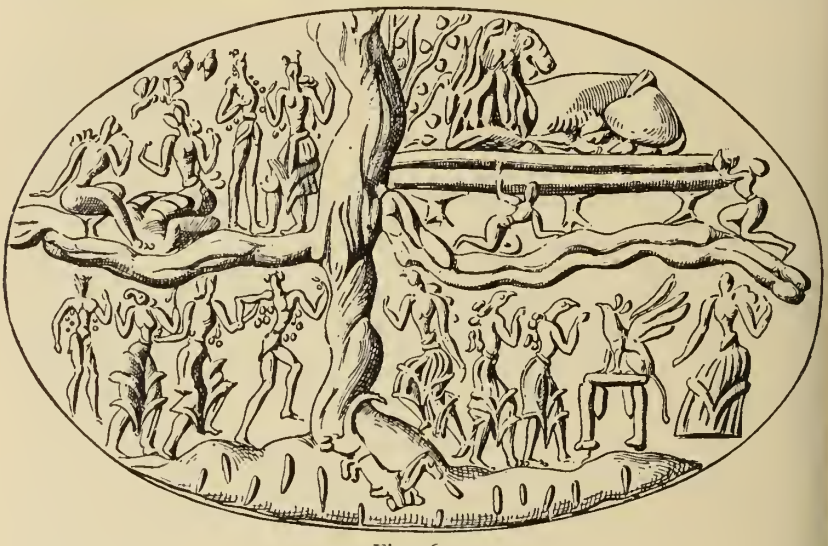


Fig. 265.

Mythologie Berlin 1891 p. 81 ff., H. M. Chadwick *The Cult of Othin* London 1899 p. 73 ff., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 347 ff., E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 379 f., *id.* in Hoops *Reallex.* iv. 573, P. Herrmann *Nordische Mythologie* Leipzig 1903 p. 588 ff. ('Der Weltenbaum'), R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 474 ff. ('Yggdrasil'), J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 708[b], S. G. Youngert *ib.* 1911 iv. 178[a–b], Miss E. Welsford *ib.* 1917 ix. 253[b], Miss N. Kershaw (Mrs H. M. Chadwick) *ib.* 1921 xii. 252[b], 254[a], 257[b], P. A. Munch *Norse Mythology* New York 1926 pp. 6 f., 30, 289, A. H. Krappe *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 204 ('L'arbre mondial, le fameux frêne Yggdrasil, qui en est la colonne centrale, n'est au fond que l'arbre autour duquel les anciens Germains aimaient à construire leurs maisons'). See further the monographs of E. Magnússon *Odin's Horse Yggdrasill* London 1895 pp. 1—64 = *id. Yggdrasill Óðins Hestr* Reykjavík 1895 pp. 1—64, S. N. Hagen 'The origin and meaning of the name Yggdrasill' in *Modern Philology* 1903—1904 i. 57—69, A. Olrik 'Yggdrasil' in *Danske Studier* København 1917 pp. 49—62. F. Magnusen *Eddalæren og dens Oprindelse* Kjöbenhavn 1825 iii pl. 1 attempts a picture of Yggdrasil, which is reproduced as a coloured Frontispiece in Bishop Percy's trans. of Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* ed. I. A. Blackwell London 1859). He also cites the 'Tree of Paradise' described *c.* 1500 A.D. in a metrical

paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Choumnos of Chandax (Candia) in Crete (F. H. Marshall *Old Testament Legends from a Greek poem on Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Chumnos* Cambridge 1925 p. 24 ff. 4. 71 ff. κεῖδεν δένδρον πολλὰ ψιλὸν σιμὰ πρὸς τὸ ποτάμιν, | ὁποῦ τὴν Εὔαν ἐδόλεψεν ὁ ὄφις στὸ καλάμιν. | κῆσαν θεριὰ πᾶσα λογὴς ἄγρια καὶ τριγυρίζα | αὐτούνον τὸ ψιλὸν δενδρόν, ἀποκοντὰ στὴν ῥίζαν. | ἀραχνιασμένον ἤτονε τὸ φλούδιν τουππεσμένον, | ἤτον ξερὸν παντέρημον, τὰ φύλλα μαδισμένον. |...βλέπει τὲς ῥίζες τοῦ δενδροῦ, μέσα τῆς παραδείσου, | καὶ αὐτοῦνες κάτω ξεπερνοῦν στὰ βάθη τῆς ἀβύσσου. | καὶ ἕναν παιδάκιν φασκιοτὸν εἰς τὴν κορφὴν τοῦ δένδρου, | ὡς νήπιον βιζανόμενον ἔκλεγεν δίχος μέτρον, 'Hard by the river-banks there rose a tree exceeding tall, | Wherewith the serpent had deceived his (*sc.* Seth's) mother to her fall. | Wild beasts of every tribe and kind were gathered all around, | About the roots of that high tree they couched upon the ground. | The bark had fallen to the earth o'erspun with spider's weft; | The tree was dry and desolate and of all leaves was reft. | ...There in the midst of Paradise he looked at the tree's roots, | Down to the bottom of the abyss its fibres deep it shoots. | And lo! on the tree-top a babe, and swaddling bands he wears. | That babe incessantly did weep unmeasurable tears'), and compares for some details the Arab fable of *Kalila and Dimna* [of which a Greek version was made *c.* 1080 A.D. by Symeon Seth: K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der*

Fig. 266.

byzantinischen Litteratur[2] München 1897 pp. 615, 617, 896] (*Kalila and Dimna, or the Fables of Bidpai* trans. W. Knatchbull Oxford 1819 p. 80 f. cap. 4 'I therefore compared the human race to a man, who, flying from a furious elephant, goes down into a well; he suspends himself from two branches, which are at the brim of it, whilst his feet rest upon something projecting out of its sides, which proves to be the heads of four serpents appearing out of their holes; at the bottom he discovers a dragon with its mouth open ready to swallow him if he should fall; and raising his eye towards the two branches, he sees two rats, one white and the other black, which are incessantly gnawing their stems; at the same moment his attention is arrested by the sight of a bee-hive, and beginning eagerly to taste the honey, he is so taken up with its sweetness, that he forgets that his feet are resting upon the serpents, that the rats are gnawing the branches to which he is hanging, and that the dragon is ready to devour him, and thus his inconsiderateness and folly only cease with his existence,' cp. Io. Damask. (more probably a Greek monk Ioannes writing *c.* 600—650 A.D. in the ancient Palestinian monastery of S. Sabas: see K. Krumbacher *op. cit.*[2] p. 888) *v. Barlaam et Ioasaph* 12 (xcvi. 976 A—C Migne, p. 186 ff. ed. H. Mattingly)). A harvest of relevant material is garnered by U. Holmberg in the *Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ* Series B xvi. 3 ('Der Baum des Lebens') Helsinki 1922—1923 pp. 1—157 with 50 figs. and in *The Mythology of all Races: Finno-Ugric, Siberian* Boston 1927 pp. 333—360 with pl. 42 and figs. 13—15. See also *supra* ii. 88 n. 3. Sir A. J. Evans concludes: 'The hound that on the ring is seen acting as guardian of the World Tree may legitimately be regarded as the Minoan forerunner of

Fig. 267.

Fig. 268.

Cerberus.' If so, on a ring which Evans would refer to the period 'Late Minoan i *a*' (*c.* 1550—1500 B.C.) Kerberos has but a single head.

H. B. Walters in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 296 f. draws up a list of 49 vases representing the subject of Herakles and Kerberos. Of these—

1	Corinthian *skýphos* shows Kerberos with	1 head and a frill of snakes.
2	'Caeretan' *hydríai* show . . .	3 heads and a frill of snakes.
1	Attic black-figured vase shows . .	3 heads.
1	Attic black-figured vase shows . .	2 dogs' heads and 1 snake's head.
31	Attic black-figured vases show . .	2 heads.
5	Attic red-figured vases show . . .	2 heads.
1	Attic red-figured vase shows . . .	1 head.
6	'Apulian' vases show	3 heads.
1	relief-vase shows	3 heads.

I illustrate the main ceramic types: (1) the Corinthian *skýphos* from Argos (A. Conze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1859 xvii. 34 ff. pl. 125, 3*a* (half of which = my fig. 266), 3*b*, 3 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 389, 1, 2, 5, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2205, O. Immisch *ib.* ii. 1121 with fig. 1. Hades, threatened with a stone by Herakles, springs up from his throne in alarm and leaves Persephone to face the intruder, whom Hermes has conducted in safety past the entrance of the underground palace and its ravening watch-dog). (2) a 'Caeretan' *hydría* (E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 66 no. E 701, A. Conze in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1859 xxxi. 398 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 36 (= my fig. 267) = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 153, 3, F. Dürrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 98 fig. 3771. Herakles brings Kerberos to Eurystheus, who takes refuge in his *píthos*). (3) an Attic black-figured *amphora* from Aigina, now in the British Museum (H. B. Walters in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 292 ff. fig. 6 (= my fig. 268). Herakles, escorted by Hermes, drags Kerberos from the palace of Persephone. The monster has 2 heads, a leonine mane, and a snaky tail). (4) the 'Apulian' *kratér* from Canosa (*supra* pl. xxxvii).

On coins there is a like variation. An electrum *statér* of Kyzikos, struck *c.* 450—400 B.C., shows two heads, with a collar round either neck, and a snaky tail (B. V. Head in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1876 xvi. 284 pl. 8, 24, W. Greenwell 'The electrum coinage of Cyzicus' *ib.* Third Series 1887 vii. 116 f. no. 141 pl. 6, 3, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 31 pl. 8, 2 (= my fig. 269), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1443 f. (wrongly described) pl. 176, 8 (cp. *ib.* 9 a similar *hékte* at Paris), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 525). A unique silver *drachmé* (?) of some Etruscan town, now in the British Museum, has for reverse design a three-headed hound with a snaky tail (F. Bompois 'Drachme inédite frappée dans l'Étrurie' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1879 ii. 28—38 with fig., Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 49 f. pl. 71, 30 (= my fig. 270), Sambon *Monn. ant. It.* i. pl. 1, 21, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 15). Bronze coins of Italy inscribed RVB and possibly issued by the *gens Rubria* (J. Millingen *Considérations sur la numismatique de l'ancienne Italie* Florence 1841 p. 233, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 13 no. 50) have *obv.* bearded head of Hercules with club, *rev.* three-headed Cerberus (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 59 pl. 77, 1 and 2 (= my fig. 271), Babelon *Cat. Monn. gr. de Luynes* i. 6 no. 18 pl. 1). Similarly bronze coins of Capua have *obv.* beardless head of Hercules with club, *rev.* three-headed Cerberus (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 88 pl. 86, 28, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 35). At Sebastopolis in Pontos, a town so devoted to Herakles that it was also known as Herakleopolis (W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 956), Caracalla struck a bronze piece with *rev.* Herakles, wearing lion-skin and grasping club, as he drags after him a three-headed Kerberos (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 57 no. 68 pl. 5, 4 Berlin, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 104 no. 15 pl. 15, 3 (= my fig. 272) Berlin). Other renderings of the same scene on bronze coins of Germe (Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 650) and Saittai in Lydia (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 182 no. 1 pl. 6, 14). See further Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 477 f., Suppl. i. 1738 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 454 f., F. Gnecchi in the *Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini* 1916 xxix. 38 ('Cerbero').

The variation in gem-types is even greater. A cornelian scarab in the British

Museum, early Ionic rather than Etruscan in character (A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2212 fig.), shows Herakles carrying off the Delphic tripod: the hero is accompanied by Kerberos, a hound with a single head, snakes starting from his back, and a snaky tail (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 75 no. 620 pl. 11, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 8, 9, ii. 38, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 38, 13 p. 173 ('Archaisch (italisch-griechisch)'). My fig. 273 is after Lippold: scale $\frac{2}{1}$). A cornelian scarab of late Etruscan style, formerly in the Durand collection, gives the hound three heads (E. Braun in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1839 p. 103 no. 38, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 18, 49 (= my fig. 274: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), ii. 90, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 83, 6 p. 180). Another Etruscan scarab, of the same material and style, now at Berlin, shows the three heads facing, not in profile (Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig

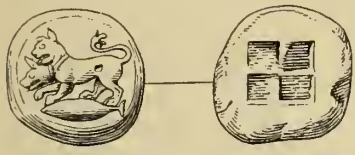


Fig. 269.

Fig. 270.

Fig. 271.

Fig. 272.

Fig. 273.

Fig. 274.

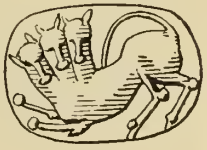


Fig. 275.

1889 p. 151 f. pl. 25, 36 (= my fig. 275: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 27 no. 263 pl. 5), and yet another, of the same description, in the British Museum, makes Herakles lead Kerberos by a triple leash fastened to a collar on each of his three necks (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 89 no. 723 pl. 12, A. S. Murray and A. H. Smith in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[11] Cambridge 1910 xi pl. 2, 48, H. B. Walters *The Art of the Greeks* London (1906) pl. 93, 17). But a fourth scarab of the same sort, likewise in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 258 f. no. 2273 fig. 73, 19 pl. 46 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 105 no. 895 fig. 42, 19. My fig. 276 is from a cast: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), and a convex chalcedony of early Roman date in the Berlin collection (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 104 no. 2153 (cp. no. 2154 paste) pl. 19, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 29, 2 (= my fig. 277: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), ii. 143) give the hound two heads only. A sardonyx of late imperial style at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 322 no. 8792 pl. 62

(= my fig. 278 : scale $\frac{2}{1}$) and a jasper of like kind in the British Museum (Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 151 pl. 25, 35 (= my fig. 279: scale $\frac{2}{1}$)) figure him with a canine body, but three serpentine heads.

It would thus appear that Kerberos started with one head, and that in Attic art he normally has two, but that in old Ionic art he had already acquired three, and that this threefold type ultimately prevailed. J. P. Postgate in M. Bréal *Semantics* trans. Mrs H. Cust London 1900 p. xx ff. rightly insists on his snaky adjuncts (for which see especially O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1133 (citing Hekataios *frag.* 346 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 27 Müller) = *frag.* 27 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 14 Jacoby) *ap.* Paus. 3. 25. 5 Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Μιλήσιος λόγον εὗρεν εἰκότα, ὅφιν φήσας ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ τραφῆναι δεινόν, κληθῆναι δὲ Ἄιδου κύνα, ὅτι ἔδει τὸν δηχθέντα τεθνάναι παραυτίκα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ· καὶ τοῦτον ἔφη τὸν ὄφιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀχθῆναι παρ' Εὐρυσθέα) and S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 274),

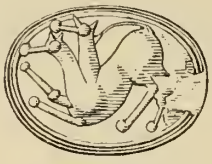


Fig. 276.

Fig. 277.

Fig. 278.

Fig. 279.

but *ib.* p. xxiv wrongly explains his double and treble heads ('Let us hazard a conjecture. May not the double head of the κύων Ἄιδου, the *ianitor Orci*, whose duty it was to keep the threshold of the lower world from being trespassed on from either side, be compared to the double aspect of the god of the doorway, upon which his triple head is a later refinement to symbolize the τρίοδος or forking of the ways, the one leading to Elysium and the other to Tartaros [Plat. *Gorg.* 524 A]?'). We should rather conceive of the duplication and triplication as early efforts at multiplication, implying intensified power to watch and to bite.

Single, double, and treble heads are found again in the case of Orthros or Orthos, the hound of Geryones (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1217 f.), who had the same mother as Kerberos, *viz.* Echidna (*id. ib.* iii. 1215), and appears in fact to have been his doublet.

At this point we must note the ingenious view of M. Bloomfield 'The Two Dogs of Yama in a New Rôle' in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1893 xv. 163—172,

id. Cerberus, The Dog of Hades Chicago 1905 pp. 1—41, *id.* in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1910 iii. 316[a]—318[a]. This eminent philologist revived an idea originally put forward by F. Wilford in *Asiatic Researches* London 1799 iii. 408 f. ('Yama, the regent of hell, has two dogs, according to the *Purânas*, one of them, named CERBURA and SABALA, or *varied*; the other SYÂMA, or *black*; the first of whom is also called *Trisiras*, or *with three heads*, and has the additional epithets of *Calmásha*, *Chitra*, and *Cirmíra*, all signifying *stained*, or *spotted*: ... the CERBURA of the *Hindus* is indubitably the CERBERUS of the *Greeks*') and later supported by numerous scholars including A. Kuhn (in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 1848 vi. 125 ff. (equating *Sârameyas* with 'Ερμείας, 'Ερμῆς) and 'Namen der milchstrasse und des höllenhunds' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1853 ii. 311 ff. (accepting A. Weber's *çyâma* and *çabala*, *çavara*, *karvara* = κέρβερος)), F. Max Müller (in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 14 April 1848 (Kerberos = sarvarî 'night'), *id.* in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1856 v. 149 ff., *id. Chips from a German Workshop*[2] London 1868 ii. 185 ff., *id. The Science of Language* London 1891 ii. 595 ('Kerberos and Orthros'), *id. Contributions to the Science of Mythology* London 1897 ii. 627 ff. ('Kerberos')), A. Weber (*Indische Studien* Berlin 1853 ii. 295 ff. (*çyâma* 'scheckig' and *çabala* 'schwartz,' later *çavala*, glossed *karbura* = Κέρβερος), *id. The History of Indian Literature* trans. J. Mann and T. Zachariae London 1878 p. 35 (Śabala = Κέρβερος), *id.* in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1895 p. 848 f. (çabala = Κερβερος)), M. Bréal (*Hercule et Cacus* Paris 1863 p. 122 f. (accepting A. Kuhn's dog *Sârameya* = the god 'Ερμείας, 'Ερμῆς and A. Weber's *Çarvara* = Κέρβερος)). Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 114 summarises their case thus. In a prayer interpolated into the earliest collection of Veda and in several of the more recent Vedic poems (see especially *Rig-Veda* 10. 14. 10—12) Yama is invoked to protect the deceased from the two spotted four-eyed dogs of *Saramā*, watchers that with wide nostrils and ravening mouths roam the world as dark messengers of death. These dogs in the *Rig-Veda* have no names, but in later Indian writings are called respectively *çyāma* 'the Black' and *çabala* 'the Motley'—epithets presumably drawn from the aforesaid passages of the *Rig-Veda*. The dictionary of Amara [Amarasiṃha *Amarakosha*] gives also *karvura*, *karbura*, *karvara* as meaning 'dappled,' and this according to Kuhn was the form from which *çabala* arose. *Karvura*, *Karbura* is to be compared with Κέρβερος. See further Monier Williams *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary* Oxford 1872 p. 995[c] ('*sárvara* ... darkness—[cf. probably Gr. Κέρβερος]'), J. van den Gheyn *Cerbère*. Étude de mythologie comparée Bruxelles 1883, E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 132 n. 3 ('Κέρβερος (= *Çabála*) = *Çárvara*'), Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 408 ('Kerberos, der "Bleiche," cp. Hesych. *s.v.* κέρβερος· κίνδυνος. τάρταρος. ὠχρός. καὶ κύων μέγας ᾅδου (τρικάρηνος)). Doubts are expressed by H. Oldenberg *La religion du Véda* Paris 1903 p. 459 n. 3, Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 306 n. 0, A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 173, J. P. Postgate in the *Class. Rev.* 1905 xix. 412, Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 561 ('Jedenfalls haben sich alle sprachlichen Gleichungen wie griech. Κέρβερος = scrt. *çárvara-*, *çabála-* (Beiname eines indischen Totenhunds), griech. Τάρταρος = scrt. *talâtala-* (später Name einer bestimmten Hölle), griech. 'Ερμείας = scrt. *sârameyá-* (von den Hunden der indischen Totenwelt gesagt), griech. Μίνως = scrt. *mánu-* u.a., von denen man früher auf das Bestehen derartiger und zwar schon sehr ausgebildeter idg. Toten- und Höllenreiche geschlossen hat, als hinfällig erwiesen').

Uncertainties abound; but on the whole I incline to accept as probable the following conclusions: (1) The two hell-hounds of Yama, at first nameless, then called *Çyāma* 'Black' and *Çabala* 'Motley' (cp. *çárvara* 'dappled, dark'), came to be viewed as Night and Day respectively, and even as Moon and Sun (F. Max Müller *Contributions to the Science of Mythology* London 1897 ii. 628 f. 'Thus in the Kâṭhaka-saṃhitâ XVII, 14, it is simply stated that the two dogs of Yama were day and night. And in the Kâṭh.-brâhmaṇa we read: "Sabala, the speckled, is the day, Syâma, the dark, is the night."... Sometimes these two dogs represent not only day and night, but even sun and moon.... Thus we read in Ath.-veda VI, 80:—"He (the sun) flies through the air, looking down upon all beings, we desire to do homage with havis to thee (who art) the majesty of the heavenly dog."...

But the moon also was called the heavenly dog. In Sat.-br. XI, 1, 5, 1, we read: "He (the moon) is the heavenly dog; he watches the animals of the sacrifice."' See further M. Bloomfield in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1910 iii. 317[a–b]). (2) The name Κέρβερος is akin to *çárvara* 'dappled, dark.' But we can hardly suppose that Kerberos and Orthros formed an original pair resembling the dogs of Yama. And that for two reasons. In the first place, Kerberos and Orthros belong to different myths, and are brought together only by a pedigree-making rhapsode of the seventh or even sixth century B.C. (Hes. *theog.* 309 ff. *Ὄρθον μὲν πρῶτον κύνα γείνατο Γηρυονῆι· | δεύτερον αὖτις ἔτικτεν ἀμήχανον, οὔ τι φατειὸν | Κέρβερον ὠμηστήν, Ἀΐδεω κύνα χαλκεόφωνον, | κ.τ.λ.* with the comments of F. Jacoby ed. 1930 p. 87). In the second place, if Kerberos corresponds with *Çabala* (cp. *çárvara*), he ought to be the dog of daylight. And, if Orthros is analogous to *Çyāma*, he should be the dog of darkness. But, of the two, Kerberos is the more suggestive of darkness, and Orthros of dawn. Accordingly I infer that the Greeks had but one hell-hound—Kerberos, of whom Orthros or Orthos was a mere variant or doublet.

Kerberos is still remembered by the peasants. At *Koilioméno*, a village in Zakynthos, B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 pp. 178 ff., 266 f. heard a song containing a graphic description of the three-headed hound that keeps guard over the dead (no. 39. 13 ff. Charon says *ἔχω ὀχτρὸ ἐγὼ σκυλί, π' οὔλους μας μᾶς φυλάει, | κῆ ἄνταις μὲ ἰδῇ, ταράζεται καὶ θέλει νὰ μὲ φάῃ. | εἶναι σκυλὶ τρικέφαλο, ποῦ καίει σὰ φωτία, | ἔχει τὰ νύχια πουντερὰ καὶ τὴν ὠρὰ μακρύα. | βγάνει φωτιὰ 'φ' τὰ μάτια του, ἀπὸ τὸ στόμα λάβρα, | ἡ γλῶσσά του εἶναι μακρυά, τὰ δόντια του εἶναι μαῦρα. | κῆ ἄνταις πεινάει, τὰ δόντια του τ' ἕνα μὲ τ' ἄλλο σκάνε, | σὰν νὰ ἤτουνα ἐκεῖ κοντὰ φάβροι ποῦ πελεκᾶνε*). Schmidt's suspicion that this song was not an 'echtes Volkslied' (*id. Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 245 n. 2) is countered by J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 99 f., who notes (*a*) that in a folk-tale from Zakynthos the hero, enamoured of the Mistress of Earth and Sea (*τσῆ κυρᾶς τσῆ γῆς καὶ τσῆ θαλάσσης*), has to obtain the skin of the three-headed snake and the crest (?) (*τὸ κόκκαλο*, literally 'bone') that it wears on its heads (B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* pp. 79 ff., 227 no. 7 'Die Herrin über Erde und Meer' translation of an unpublished text, J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* pp. 91 ff. summary and identification of *ἡ δέσποινα* with Demeter, 99 'This is Cerberus without doubt; and if the story calls him "serpent" rather than "dog," ancient mythology and art alike justify in part the description'); (*b*) that in an Albanian tale from *Riça* the hero, who descends into the Underworld to get a golden hair from the Beauty of the Earth, finds her guarded by a three-headed hound that sleeps neither by day nor by night (J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 112 ff., 310 no. 97 'Das Haar der Schönen der Erde' translation of an unpublished text, J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 97 '"the beautiful one of the earth"...can be none other than Persephone'); (*c*) that a traveller in Makedonia, *teste* G. F. Abbott, heard recently of a three-headed dog belonging to Charos (J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 100). Further, B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* i. 245 n. 2 observes: 'ebenso kennen die Romänen einen Höllenhund (vgl. Schuller Volksthüml. Glaube und Brauch I, S. 13, Anm. 41). Der Name des Kerberos selbst kommt vor bei Georgillas *Θανατικὸν τῆς Ῥόδου* v. 213 Wagn., eine Stelle, die mir übrigens nicht recht verständlich ist [E. Georgillas *τὸ θανατικὸν τῆς Ῥόδου* (Oct. 1498 A.D.) 210 ff. (W. Wagner *Carmina Graeca medii aevi* Lipsiae 1874 p. 39) *πολλοί σὲ* (*sc.* Charos) *ζωγραφήσασιν καὶ κάθεσαι ἐπάνω— | ἀμμὴ ἐγὼ θωρῶντά σε εἶμαι διὰ ν' ἀποθάνω, | καὶ ἂν σκιαστὸν τρομάσω σε—νά 'σαι σὰν τὸν τρομάρχην, | ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν Κέρβερον σατανοδιαβολάρχην, | πρόσωπον ξενοχάραγον, κορμὶν καὶ ὄντα πρᾶγμα, | μετὰ γυμνὰ τὰ πράτσα σου, νὰ 'πῇ δὲν σώνει γράμμα, | ταῖς εὐμορφιαῖς καὶ κάλλη σου τὰ ἔχεις βασιλειά σου, | κρατῶν πασίλογ' ἅρματα καὶ μὲ τὰ δρέπανά σου*]. Endlich sei noch an ein Lied bei Passow n. 467 b erinnert, das ich indessen auch nicht für ein wahres Volkslied halte, wo v. 16 die Wörte *Στὴν κόλασιν ἐπάησεν* (?) *ἡ σκύλα τὴ ψυχή της* schwerlich anders als auf den Höllenhund bezogen werden können (vgl. Pass. Ind. Verb. p. 633 u. Σκύλα ['canis Tartari']), wiewohl die Art seiner Erwähnung seltsam genug ist [A. Passow *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 p. 350 no. 467 b *ὁ ἄπιστος νέος* (after

T. Kind) 11 ff. *ἤστειλε καὶ ἀγόρασε τὸ ἔρημο φαρμάκι, | στὴν κάμερά της τὄβαλε, σφαλίστηκε μονάχη, | μέσα στὴν κοῦπα τὄβαλε μὲ τόση γληγωράδα, | τὸ σήκωσε καὶ τὄπινε σὰν νἄπινε χουμάδα. | μὲς σταῖς εἰκοσιτέσσεραις ἐβγῆκεν ἡ ψυχή της, | στὴν κόλασιν ἐπάησεν ἡ σκύλα τὴ ψυχή της, | ἐπέσαν της καὶ τὰ μαλλιὰ ἀπὸ τὴν κεφαλή της*].'

On the hound as chthonian see K. Dilthey in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1873 xxxi. 83 f. (Erinyes, Keres, etc. as hounds), G. Loeschcke *ib.* 1877 xxxv. 137 (the hound of Erinys), W. H. Roscher in the *Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 xvii. 3. 25—50 ('Die Beziehungen des Hundes zu den Dämonen des Todtenreiches'), Rohde *Psyche*[3] ii. 83 n. 3 (Hekate as *κυνοκέφαλος* (Hesych. *s.v.* *Ἑκάτης ἄγαλμα*, Bekker *anecd.* i. 336, 31 ff., cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1714, 42 f.) or *κύων* (Kallim. *frag.* 100[b]. 4 Schneider *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1714, 43 ff., cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 336, 33 ff.; pap. Par. 4. 1432 f. Preisendanz *κυρία Ἑκάτη,... | εἰνοδία, κύων μέλαινα*), identified with Kerberos (Lyd. *de mens.* 3. 8 p. 42, 4 f. Wünsch *ὅθεν καὶ Κέρβερον αὐτὴν οἱονεὶ κρεωβόρον οἱ ποιηταὶ προσαγορεύουσιν*). Hekabe, metamorphosed into a bitch, was one of Hekate's hounds (Lyk. *Al.* 1174 ff., cp. *frag. lyr. adesp.* 101 Bergk[4], 31 Diehl *ap.* Dion. Chrys. *or.* 33 p. 20 Dindorf), [if not rather—as her name indicates—originally a form of Hekate herself (P. Kretschmer in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiii. 467 n. 1, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 133, F. Bechtel *Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a. d. S. 1914 p. 116 f. See further E. Sittig in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2661 f.)]), O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 137 f. (Hekate, Hekabe), 140 (Kerberos), F. Orth *Der Hund im Altertum* Schleusingen 1910 pp. 35, 35 f., 37 f. = *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2577 f., 2578 f., 2580 f. (Hekate, Hekabe, Kerberos), S. Eitrem *ib.* xi. 274 ff.

G. Loeschcke *Aus der Unterwelt* Dorpati Livonorum 1888 pp. 1—12 with fig. argues from the fragment of a Clazomenian *sarcophagus* in the British Museum (not in A. S. Murray *Terracotta Sarcophagi Greek and Etruscan in the British Museum* London 1898, but published by F. Winter in *Ant. Denkm.* i. 34 frags. E pl. 46, 3, copied by P. Perdrizet in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1904 p. 14 fig. 2 and thence by C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1925 xxvi. 93 fig. 3), which represents a boy holding in either hand a hen between two bitches flanked by cocks, that the Greeks like the Indians recognized two dogs of the Underworld. But dogs and cocks may be merely apotropaeic.

S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 274 f. thinks that the conception of the soul of the dead as a hound (*e.g.* Pythagoras in Xenophanes *frag.* 7 Diels *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 36) had deep and wide-spread roots on Greek soil. He cites in this connexion, not only Hekate [*Σκυλακῖτις* (Orph. *h. Hek.* 1. 5), cp. Artemis *Σκυλακῖτις* (Orph. *h. Artem.* 36. 12): see further B. Kock in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 619] and Skylakeus [Quint. Smyrn. 10. 147 ff. tells how Skylakeus, returning alone from the Trojan war to Lykia, was stoned by the mothers and wives of his comrades, how his cairn adjoined the precinct and tomb of Bellerophontes at Tlos, and how at the behest of Apollon he was later honoured as a god. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 804 n. 3 assumes an 'Apollon Skylakeus'], but also the Cretan Zeus *Σκύλλιος* [Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Σκύλλιον, ὄρος Κρήτης. οἱ παροικοῦντες Σκύλλιοι· Σκύλλιος γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτοῦ τιμᾶται, ἔνθα φασὶν ἀποθέσθαι τοὺς Κουρῆτας μετὰ τῶν †Σπαρτιατῶν† τὸν Δία.* Salmasius' cj. *Κορυβάντων* may be right, *pace* Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1146 ff. who defends *Σπαρτιατῶν* = *Σπαρτῶν*. Zeus *Σκύλλιος* is apparently one with the Zeus *Σκύλιος* invoked by Gortyna, Hierapytna, and Priansos (*supra* ii. 723 n. o)] and the Coan Dionysos *Σκυλλίτας* [W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 77 ff. no. 37, 45 f., 58 f., 63 = P. Müllensiefen in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 357 ff. no. 3636, 45 f., 58 f., 63 = J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 19 ff. no. 5, 45 f., 58 f., 63 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 716, 45 f., 58 f., 63 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1025 (ritual calendar of *c.* 300 B.C.), 45 f. *Διονύσωι [Σκ][υλλίτ]αι χοῖρος καὶ ἔριφος*, 58 f. *Διονύσωι Σκυλλίται χοῖρος [καὶ]|[ἔρ]ιφος*, 63 *[Διονύσωι] Σκυλλίτα[ι χοῖρος καὶ ἔριφος]*]. J. N. Svoronos too in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1893 pp. 3—8 ('*Ζεὺς ὑπὸ κυνὸς τρεφόμενος*') pl. 1, 1 ff. and in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 116 would relate Zeus *Σκύλιος* to *σκύλλος, σκύλαξ, σκύλα*, contending that coins of Kydonia (*id. Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 104 pl. 9, 22—26, 107 pl. 10, 2, 109 pl. 10, 10, 111 ff. pl. 10, 12—14, 21, 26,

Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 1029 ff. pl. 261, 5—8, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 28 ff. pl. 7, 4, 7, 15, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 179 ff. pl. 41, 8 (= my fig. 280), 11, 12 (= my fig. 281), 14 (= my fig. 282), *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 492 f. pl. 239, 9, 13, *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 521 f. nos. 4437, 4446 pl. 161, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 463 f. fig. 247) have for reverse type, not Miletos, son of Apollon by Akakallis daughter of Minos, suckled by a wolf (Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1134 'lupa infantem lactans, vel cerua est, Mileto vbera praebens.' Ant. Lib. 30 (after Nikandros *ἑτεροιουμένων β'*) *τοῦτον ἡ Ἀκακαλλὶς δείσασα Μίνω ἐξέβαλεν εἰς τὴν ὕλην, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιφοιτῶντες λύκοι βουλῇ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐφύλαττον καὶ ὤρεγον παρὰ μέρος γάλα*), nor yet Kydon, the eponymous founder of the town, suckled by a bitch (so first W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. xxxiii, followed by most modern authorities. Wroth notes that Kydon, like Miletos, was a son of Akakallis by Apollon (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Κυδωνία*, cp. schol. *Od.* 19. 176. Schol. vet. Theokr. 7. 12 c p. 83, 1 f. Wendel says, by Hermes, cp. Alex. Polyhist. *frag.* 32 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 231 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1492), though admittedly 'no legends of his infancy are related in the Authors'), but Zeus nurtured by a

Fig. 280.

Fig. 281.

Fig. 282.

Fig. 283.

hound—a contention insufficiently supported by the thunderbolt, which on certain specimens (*e.g.* fig. 281) appears as a symbol beside the type. W. Aly in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 430 n. 8 proposes to connect Zeus *Σκύλλιος* of Crete, Dionysos *Σκυλλίτας* of Kos, and *Σκυλλίης* the mythical diver of Skione (Hdt. 8. 8) with *Σκύλλα*. This amounts to the same thing, if Skylla was early interpreted as *σκύλαξ* (*Od.* 12. 85 ff. *ἔνθα δ' ἐνὶ Σκύλλη ναίει δεινὸν λελακυῖα· | τῆς ἤτοι φωνὴ μὲν ὅση σκύλακος νεογιλῆς | γίνεται, αὐτὴ δ' αὖτε πέλωρ κακόν·* κ.τ.λ.) and perhaps represented as a dog (on a clay seal-impression of the Middle Minoan iii period (1700—1580 B.C.) from Knossos published by Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 57 f. fig. 36 (= my fig. 283 : scale $\frac{2}{1}$) and *da capo* in his *Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 697 f. fig. 520 as 'Prototype of Skylla'). Even in her later semi-human form she remains essentially connected with dogs (O. Waser *Skylla und Charybdis in der Literatur und Kunst der Griechen und Römer* Zürich 1894 p. 78 ff. I figure a few characteristic examples: (*a*) a 'Melian' relief from Aigina now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 135 no. B 374, E. Vinet in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1843 xv. 194 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 53, 2, P. Jacobsthal *Die melischen Reliefs* Berlin—Wilmersdorf 1931 p. 54 f. no. 71 pl. 34 (= my fig. 284). Height $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. Length 7 ins.). (*b*) A silver tetradrachm of Akragas, struck 413—406 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 12 no. 61 fig., *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 239 pl. 65, 13, Imhoof-Blumer and

O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 74 pl. 13, 4 (= my fig. 285), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 121). (*c*) A *hydría* of 'Campanian' style from Apulia, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 109 no. F 218, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii. 87 ff. pl. 36 (= my fig. 287), J. E. Harrison *Myths of the Odyssey* London 1882 p. 186 pl. 51, O. Waser in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1046 fig. 12). (*d*) A *denarius* struck by Sex. Pompeius Magnus *c.* 38—36 B.C. (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 352 f. figs., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 563 f.

Fig. 284.

Fig. 285.

Fig. 286.

nos. 18—20 pl. 120, 13—15, G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 126 ff. no. 79 pl. 13. Fig. 286 is from a specimen in my collection). It should be noted that other tetradrachms of Akragas replace Skylla by a large fish (Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 121. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *op. cit.* p. 44 pl. 7, 3, after E. v. Martens, say 'Polyprion cernium, ital. cernia' [our 'stone-bass']. S. W. Grose *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 239 pl. 65, 14, after Sir A. E. Shipley, says 'a Gurnard, *Genus Trigla*') perhaps called σκύλλος or σκύλλα (?), but not to be confused with the σκύλιον or 'dog-fish' (H. Bonitz *Index Aristotelicus* p. 686 a 37 ff.), and that the 'Campanian' *hydría* attaches to her the head of this fish in lieu of a

exit pointed out to him by Hermes. On the left Sisyphos, lashed by an Erinys, vainly pushes his great stone up a hill. On the right Tantalos suffers perpetual terrors on account of an overhanging rock, which threatens to crush him[1]. At their feet flows the river Acheron, with a duck pecking here and there and asphodel growing

dog's head). Indeed, it is not impossible that Σκύλλα *ab initio* meant 'Dog' (O. Waser in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1071, J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 658. Cp. Hesych. *s. vv.* κύλλα· σκύλαξ (so I. Voss for κύλλας. κύλαξ cod.). Ἡλεῖοι and σκύλλον· τὴν κύνα λέγουσιν, *et. mag.* p. 720, 19 f. σκύλος· κυρίως ἐπὶ κυνὸς νεογνοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπισχεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ὑλακτεῖν, σκύλαξ τὶς ὤν. Ὦρος = Zonar. *lex. s.v.* σκύλλος = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1663, 18 ff. (reading, rightly, σχύλαξ τὶς ὤν) and Tzetz. *chil.* 6. 482 τὸ δὲ Κανδαύλης Λυδικῶς τὸν σκυλοπνίκτην λέγει with schol. *ad loc.* in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iii. 351, 5 ff. citing Hipponax *frag.* 4 Diehl, 45 Knox Ἑρμῆ κυνάγχα Μῃονιστὶ Κανδαῦλα (cited also by Tetz.

Fig. 287.

in Il. p. 843 Bachmann)), and that as a mythical monster she was 'eine Abart des Totenhundes' (Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 166). Be that as it may, E. Maass in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 188 derives Dionysos Σκυλλίτας from σκύλλοι 'die Hunde, besonders die Seehunde, von denen die griechischen Gewässer wimmelten,' cp. W. Aly in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 430 n. 8. But that Zeus Σκύλλιος had anything to do with dogs is at best a remote possibility. And Dionysos Σκυλλίτας is explained with far greater probability by W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 86, H. Dibbelt *Quaestiones Coae mythologae* Gryphiswaldiae 1891 p. 62 f., Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 306, who quote Hesych. σκυλλίς· κλῆματίς = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1663, 18.

[1] The literary evidence for Tantalos is most fully collected by J. E. Hylén *De Tantalo* Upsaliæ 1896 pp. 1—129. But the best survey of all our sources is that given by W. Scheuer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 75—86. See also E. Thraemer *Pergamos* Leipzig 1888 pp. 84—99 ('Tantalos'), S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 172—177 (=*id. Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 ii. 177—182), Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 277 f. (helpful), H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 pp. 81, 97 (slight).

It is within the bounds of possibility that Tantalos began his career as an actual man. G. Poisson 'Tantale, roi des Hittites' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1925 ii. 75—94 seeks to identify him with Todḥalijas (S. A. Cook in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1923 i. 236: 'The name of Tidal of Goiim ("peoples, hordes") [Gen. 14. 1, 9] may be the Hittite Dudkhalia, known in the thirteenth century'), and R. J. H. Jenkins, accepting Poisson's identifica-

tion, urges that Pelops son of Tantalos may well have been an Achaean prince of the East-Achaean empire, who as a Hittite vassal would be called the 'son,' *i.e.* the servant, of the great Hittite king.

Tantalos' grave was shown in two localities, both Hittite centres. He had a shrine at Polion in Lesbos (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Πόλιον, *ἐν Λέσβῳ τόπος, ὅπου τὸ ἡρῷον Ταντάλου*), where a mountain bore his name (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τάνταλος, *ὄρος Λέσβου, ἀπὸ Ταντάλου*). The mountain has not been identified with certainty (L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 2116), but is probably the height near Cape *Plagiás* on which stands the modern *Pólis* (*id. ib.* xii. 2131), despite the reported absence of ancient remains (A. Conze *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos* Hannover 1865 p. 50 pl. 1 map). Again, Tantalos had a famous grave on Mt Sipylos in Lydia. In view of Paus. 2. 22. 3 *τοῦ δὲ λεγομένου Διός τε εἶναι καὶ* Πλουτοῦς (*πλητοῦς* cod. M. *λητοῦς* codd. Vab. M. La. R. Pa., the last two with *πλουτοῦς* in marg. *Supra* i. 156 n. 13) *ἰδὼν οἶδα ἐν Σιπύλῳ τάφον θέας ἄξιον* and 5. 13. 7 *Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταντάλου τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐνοικήσεως σημεῖα ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε λείπεται, Ταντάλου μὲν λίμνη τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένη* (cp. 8. 17. 3) *καὶ οὐκ ἀφανὴς τάφος, Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος κ.τ.λ.* (*supra* i. 137 ff., ii. 956 n. 2) Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 607 justly concludes: 'Tantalos is a real king, with a real grave. Pausanias...mentions no cult, but a grave so noteworthy would not be left untended.' It must also be remembered that the bones preserved in a bronze *cista* (?) close to the tomb of Pelasgos in the precinct of Demeter Πελασγίς at Argos were by some taken to be those of Tantalos (*supra* ii. 1144 n. 2). P. Friedlaender *Argolica* Berolini 1905 p. 74 with n. 17 holds that Tantalos was originally connected with Lesbos, later located 'a poeta aliquo' on Sipylos, and never had any substantial existence in the Peloponnese.

Tantalos in Greek times became almost a doublet of Atlas (F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1836 i. 9 'einem Atlas des Morgenlandes,' G. Dumézil *Le festin d'immortalité* Paris 1924 p. 91 '*Atlas*, où l'on a depuis longtemps deviné un doublet de *Tantale*,' cp. *ib.* p. 121, J. Karst *Die vorgeschichtlichen Mittelmeervölker* Heidelberg 1931 p. 433 'Der "Phryger-Lyder" Tantalos ist eine Doppelfigur des hesperidischen Atlas'). How this happened is far from clear. Conceivably the Lesbian mountain Tantalos was locally regarded as a sky-pillar, and the place Polion mistakenly connected with *pólos*, the 'sky.' If so, Tantalos supporting Polion might be suggestive of Atlas bearing his *pólos* (Aisch. *P.v.* 430, Eur. *frag.* 594 Nauck[2] (Kritias *frag.* 18 Diels) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 6 p. 350, 13 Stählin and schol. Aristoph. *av.* 179 = Souid. *s.v.* πόλος, Ov. *fast.* 5. 180). A parallel is afforded by Tanagra: here was a tomb of Orion, a Mt Kerykion on which Hermes was born, and a place called Polos where Atlas sat to ponder the things under the earth and the things in heaven—Atlas *ὅς τε θαλάσσης | πάσης βένθεα οἶδεν, ἔχει δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς | μακράς, αἳ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν* (Paus. 9. 20. 3 citing *Od.* 1. 52 ff.). Another reason likely to assimilate Tantalos to Atlas is that both names were of kindred significance (W. Scheuer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 82 'Τάνταλος wird allgemein gestellt zu den Wurzeln *τελ-*, *ταλ-*, *τλη-*, deren Grundbedeutung "heben, aufheben, tragen" ist. Also ist der Name herzuleiten von *ταλάω* ~ *τλῆναι* "tragen"; *ταλ-* ist zur Intensivform reduplizierl worden. Demnach lautete die Form ursprünglich Τάλταλος "der Träger" (nicht "der viel Duldende", sondern wohl eher "der das Himmelsgewölbe Stützende"...), wobei dann das erste λ durch Assimilation an Dentale (*τ*, *θ*) zu *ν* geworden ist. ...Zu Τάνταλος gehört etymologisch auch der Heros Ἄτλας (*α intensivum* und der Stamm *τλα-*), also "der schwer Tragende."' Cp. A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 p. 410, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 938, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 739).

Accordingly, Euripides tells how 'Tantalus, the reputed son of Zeus, hangs suspended in mid air, quailing at the crag which looms above his head' (*Or.* 5 ff. trans. E. P. Coleridge), and makes Elektra sigh 'Oh! to reach that rock which hangs suspended midway 'twixt earth and heaven, that fragment from Olympus torn, which swings on chains of gold in ceaseless revolution, that I may utter my lament to Tantalus my forefather, who begat the ancestors of my house' (*Or.* 982 ff. trans. E. P. Coleridge). The schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1. 91 a (p. 38, 6 ff. Drachmann) claims that in these passages Euripides,

on either bank[1]. In sharp contrast with these doleful surroundings is a group of three persons approaching the palace. They are not mythical characters at all, but just a typical human family—father, mother, and child[2]. The father sets a myrtle-wreath[3] on his brow

as disciple of Anaxagoras, is referring to the sun, and the schol. A.B.M.I. Eur. *Or.* 981 agrees with him. That may be so (Diog. Laert. 2. 8 *οὗτος ἔλεγε τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον εἶναι διάπυρον καὶ μείζω τῆς Πελοποννήσου· οἱ δέ φασι Τάνταλον, 12 τὸν δὲ Ἀναξαγόραν εἰπεῖν ὡς ὅλος ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐκ λίθων συγκέοιτο· τῇ σφοδρᾷ δὲ περιδινήσει συνεστάναι καὶ ἀνεθέντα κατενεχθήσεσθαι. κ.τ.λ.*, cp. Ioseph. *c. Ap.* 2. 265, Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἀναξαγόρας, Plout. *de plac. phil.* 2. 20 and Stob. *ecl.* 1. 25. 3ª p. 209, 21 ff. Wachsmuth = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 349 a 6 f., b 6 f., Olympiod. *in Aristot. meteor.* p. 17, 19 ff. Stüve). In any case, the notion of Tantalos terrified by the rock about to fall is a moralising version of Tantalos as supporter of the sky and involves the old-world dread of a collapsing heaven (*supra* ii. 54 ff.). Morality bulks bigger still in John Bunyan's allegory of Christian under Mount Sinai. Nonn. *Dion.* 18. 32 *Τάνταλον ἠεροφοίτην* (the Count de Marcellus wrongly accepted C. F. Graefe's cj. *ἠπεροπευτήν*) and 35. 295 f. *οἷος ἀλήτης | Τάνταλος ἠερόφοιτος* is trying by means of a single allusive epithet to recall both Pind. *Ol.* 1. 58 *εὐφροσύνας ἀλᾶται* and Eur. *Or.* 7 *ἀέρι ποτᾶται.* The epithet is of course modelled on Homer's *ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινύς* (*Il.* 9. 571, 19. 87).

The change from the world above to the world below probably hangs together with the conception of Tantalos as a Giant or Titan (M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst* Berlin 1887 p. 88 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 277, 434 n. 2, W. Scheuer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 78, H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 97 n. 12). As such, he was buried beneath Mt Sipylos (J. E. Hylén *De Tantalo* Upsaliæ 1896 pp. 44 ff., 54), and S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 172 ff. (= *id. Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 ii. 177 ff.) explains the Homeric description of Tantalos agonising among the shades (*Od.* 11. 582 ff.) by reference to local conditions (Demokles of Pygela or Phygela (*s.* v or iv B.C.) *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 20 Müller) cited by Demetrios of Skepsis (*s.* ii B.C.) *ap.* Strab. 58 *μιμνήσκεται δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ὑπὸ Δημοκλέους λεγομένων, σεισμούς τινας μεγάλους τοὺς μὲν πάλαι περὶ Λυδίαν γενομένους καὶ Ἰωνίαν μέχρι τῆς Τρωάδος ἱστοροῦντος, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ κῶμαι κατεπόθησαν καὶ Σίπυλος κατεστράφη, κατὰ τὴν Ταντάλου βασιλείαν, καὶ ἐξ ἑλῶν* (S. Reinach cj. *ὑλῶν*) *λίμναι ἐγένοντο, τὴν δὲ Τροίαν ἐπέκλυσε κῦμα, id.* 579 *καὶ τὰ περὶ Σίπυλον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνατροπὴν αὐτοῦ μῦθον οὐ δεῖ τίθεσθαι·...ἀκούειν δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν συγγραφέων, οἷά φησιν ὁ τὰ Λύδια συγγράψας Ξάνθος, διηγούμενος, οἵαι μεταβολαὶ κατέσχον πολλάκις τὴν χώραν ταύτην, ὧν ἐμνήσθημέν που καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν* (*ib.* 49) = Xanth. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 36 f. Müller), cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 205, 5. 117). Reinach concludes: 'Le roi Tantale est l'éponyme de la ville de Tantalis. Cette ville fut engloutie dans un lac à la suite d'un tremblement de terre qui ébranla toute la montagne du Sipyle. Donc, l'image funéraire de Tantale pouvait le représenter dans un lac, ayant de l'eau jusqu'au menton et cherchant vainement à se raccrocher à des branches d'arbres; ou elle pouvait le figurer sous des rochers du Sipyle prêts à l'écraser sous leur masse. Ces deux images ont dû exister et les supplices de Tantale, tels qu'ils sont décrits par les textes et reproduits par les monuments de l'époque classique, ne sont que des traductions de ces formules graphiques beaucoup plus anciennes.' But it is dangerous to assume that the details of a Greek myth originated in the misunderstanding of an earlier representation, if no example of such a representation has come down to us.

[1] Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 49 ('der *Styx* oder der *Acheron*. An dem Uferrande spriessen Pflanzen, wobei wohl an Asphodelos zu denken ist, und Enten suchen ihre Nahrung').

[2] This is well argued by Furtwängler *op. cit.* i. 48 with n. 3.

[3] Cp. Plat. *rep.* 363 C *ἐστεφανωμένους* (of Orphic *mýstai* feasting in Hades). The initiate at Eleusis wore a myrtle-wreath, perhaps as prospective consort of a chthonian

as he turns unconcernedly to his wife, who is followed by her little son with his toy. They are in fact the souls of the blest, Orphists who can claim intimacy with 'the Mistress, the Queen of the Underworld[1]'; and Orpheus in person, making music on his *kithára*, conducts them into her presence[2]. Led by him, they have escaped the 'well-spring to the left of the house of Hades[3],' from which the

deity (*supra* ii. 1165 n. 1), the *ἀνάδεσις καὶ στεμμάτων ἐπίθεσις* being the penultimate stage of initiation (*supra* ii. 1168 n. 3).

[1] *Supra* ii. 132 f.

[2] Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 48 f.

[3] A gold tablet of *s.* iv—iii B.C., found at Petelia on the east coast of Bruttium and now in the British Museum (G. Kaibel *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 638, Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 102, Michel *Recueil d Inscr. gr.* no. 1332, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 573 ff., G. Murray *ib.* p. 659 f., H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 175 (Orph. 'Altbezeugte Fragmente' 17). See also *supra* ii. 118 n. 2), is engraved with a

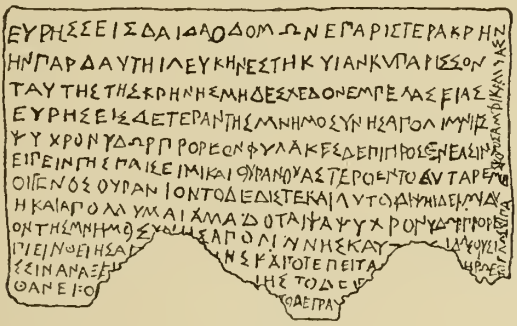


Fig. 288.

text (fig. 288 is the facsimile published by D. Comparetti in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 112 'slightly larger than its real size') printed by O. Kern *Orphicorum Fragmenta* Berolini 1922 p. 104 f. ('Fragmenta veteriora' 32 a) as follows:

εὑρήσσεις δ' Ἄϊδαο δόμων ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κρήν|ην,
πὰρ δ' αὐτῇι λευκὴν ἑστηκυῖαν κυπάρισσον· |
ταύτης τῆς κρήνης μηδὲ σχεδὸν ἐμπελάσειας. |
εὑρήσεις δ' ἑτέραν, τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης |
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον· φύλακες δ' ἐπίπροσθεν ἔασιν. |
εἰπεῖν· 'Γῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
αὐτὰρ ἐμ|οὶ γένος οὐράνιον· τόδε δ' ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί.
δίψηι δ' εἰμ[ὶ] αὖ|η καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ' αἶψα
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέ|ον τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης.'
καὐτ⟨οὶ⟩ σ⟨ο⟩ι δώσουσι | πιεῖν θείης ἀπ⟨ὸ κρή⟩νης[1]*,*
καὶ τότ' ἔπειτ' ἀ⟨λλοισι μεθ'⟩ ἡρώε|σσιν ἀνάξει⟨ς.⟩
.....ιης το δειγ...16 litt....| θανεῖσθ⟨αι⟩
.....τόδ' ἔγραψ⟨α[2]*..... |*
τογλως?[3] *εἰπα. σκότος ἀμφικαλύψας.*

[1] Suppl. Goettling, *ἀπ⟨ὸ λίμ⟩νης* Franz. [2] *ἔνραψ⟨α* suppl. Diels, *ἔγραψ⟨ε* (sc. *Ὀ[ρφεύς]* Comp[aretti]. [3] *τὸ κλέος* (=notitia) Ol[ivieri]. Sententia versuum 12—14 obscura; tentamina invenies ap. [A.] Ol[ivieri *Lamellae aureae Orphicae* Bonn 1915 p. 13].

The Otherworld landscape, here described in language of haunting beauty and profound significance, includes the palace of Hades, with a white cypress standing beside it, and a fountain on either hand. The soul must avoid that on the left—the water of Lethe—and beg a draught from the other, the water of Mnemosyne. Guardians are set before it; but he is to challenge them boldly with the words:

> I am the child of Earth and starry Sky.
> Sky-born—ye know it of yourselves—am I.
> Now parched with thirst I perish; cool the cup
> Of Memory's water—let me drink it up.

At this the Guardians will suffer him to drink from the fountain divine, and thereafter he shall live as a king among heroic peers.

The same scenery appears in the Celtic Elysium—the palace, the silver apple-tree beside it, the shining well with its five streams (*Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 144 ff.). Much the same is implied by the quests undertaken in south-European 'Expulsion' Tales—the golden seat, the apple-tree beside it, the Dancing Water with its formidable guardians (*supra* ii. 1016). Nay more, the self-same landscape furnishes not a little of the imagery in *The Revelation of St John*—the throne of God, the tree of life, the river proceeding out of the throne (*Rev.* 2. 7, 22. 1 ff.). All such pictures, if I am not mistaken, presuppose in a more or less sublimated form the essential features of the old-world king, as Sir James Frazer first descried him. He is the local champion, the strongest man of the district, who is prepared to defend his title against all comers. He is found at an appropriate centre, beneath a sacred tree, beside a sacred river. He must keep up his strength by feeding perpetually upon the fruit of his tree. He fights, indeed, with a branch of it in his hand. And if he feels faint with the effort, there is the magic water gushing at his feet. Last but not least, he is a divine personage, at once mortal and immortal, a priestly king, a kingly priest. In such an one we recognise not only the Orphic votary, but the Otherworld visitant, the folk-tale hero, and 'him that overcometh.'

As to details, the λευκὴ κυπάρισσος is hardly to be explained as a white-poplar (D. Comparetti *Laminette orfiche* Firenze 1910), despite the name (λεύκη) and chthonian associations of that tree (*supra* ii. 467 ff.). One recalls, by way of warning, Joshua Barnes' comment on Eur. *Hel.* 384 'figura Leaenae, *i.e.* Ursae,' or for that matter Sir John Sandys' note on Eur. *Bacch.* 1017 'It is highly probable that by the "lion" in these passages a panther is really meant'! That κυπάρισσος was not used at random appears from its recurrence on the three gold tablets of *s.* ii B.C., found at Eleuthernai in Crete and now in the Museum at Athens (A. Joubin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 121 ff., T. Gomperz *ib.* p. 124, J. L. Myre[s] *ib.* p. 629, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 245 no. 4959 a, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 574, G. Murray *ib.* p. 660 f., H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 176 (Orph. 'Altbezeugte Fragmente' 17[a]), A. Olivieri *Lamellae aureae Orphicae* Bonn 1915 p. 14 f., O. Kern *Orphicorum Fragmenta* Berolini 1922 p. 105 f. ('Fragmenta veteriora' 32 b)), of which the archetype as restored by Olivieri runs: '*δίψαι αὖος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι.*' '*ἀλλὰ πίε μμου | κράνας αἰενάω ἐπὶ δεξιά, τῆ⟨ι⟩ κυφάρισσος. | τίς δ' ἐσί; [πῶ δ' ἐσί;]*' '*Γᾶς υἱός ἠμι καὶ Ὠρανῶ ἀστερόεντος.*' But why should a cypress be described as λευκή? F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal* Paris 1854 pp. 156 ff., 311 f., observes that the oracular trees of the Sun and Moon consulted by Alexander the Great in Prasiake are said to have been cypresses (pseudo-Kallisthenes *hist. Alex. Magn.* 17. 27 ff. Kroll *καὶ εἰσήνεγκαν ἡμᾶς εἴς τινα παράδεισον, ἔνθα...ἥλιος καὶ [ἡ] σελήνη ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου·† κατὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς φρουρὰ...ἱερὸν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης. δύο δὲ ἦν δένδρα τὰ προειρημένα, ἃ ἦν παραπλήσια κυπαρίσσοις...κύκλῳ δὲ ἦν δένδρα [τὰ προειρημένα] παρόμοια τῇ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μυροβαλάνῳ, καὶ ὁ καρπὸς ὅμοιος. προσηγόρευον δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀρρενικὸν ἀρρένων λογισμόν, τὸ δὲ θηλυκὸν θηλειῶν· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τοῦ ἑνὸς ἥλιος, τῆς δὲ θηλείας σελήνη, ⟨ἃ⟩ ἔλεγον τῇ ἰδίᾳ φωνῇ μουθοῦ ἐμαοῦσαι. ταῦτα δὲ περιεβέβλητο δοραὶ παντοίων ⟨θηρίων⟩, τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν ἀρρένων τὸ δὲ θῆλυ θηλειῶν. παρ' αὐτοῖς δὲ σίδηρος οὐχ ὑπῆρχεν οὔτε χαλκὸς οὔτε κασσίτερος οὔτε πηλὸς ⟨εἰς⟩ πλάσιν. ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐρωτῶντος τίνες αἱ δοραὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, ἔφησαν λεόντων καὶ παρδάλεων. οὐκ ἔξεστι δὲ ὧδε τάφον ἔχειν εἰ μὴ*

τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης (ἱερέα). περιβολαῖς δὲ ἐχρῶντο τῶν θηρίων ταῖς δοραῖς, cp. Iul. Val. 3. 24 ff.), that the Florentine priest Jacopo di Carlo in his poem *Alessandro Magno* or *Alessandreide* describes the Sun-tree as having leaves red like burnished gold, the Moon-tree as having them white like pure silver (canto 10 ed. Venezia 1627 'L' arbor del Sole le sue foglie hauia | Rosse si come lo oro lustrante; | Quello della luna bianche le tenia | Si come argento chiare, candidante'), and that in Chinese—according to the Sinologue Stanilas Julien—the pyramidal cypress is called *pe*, the 'white' tree, because, while other trees turn towards the south, it alone turns towards the west and white is the western colour. Lajard concludes that the λευκὴ κυπάρισσος was 'à la fois symbole de la lune et emblème funéraire' (*op. cit.* p. 312). O. Gruppe in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 27, 1912 p. 105 f. makes no such attempt to link up Europe with Asia, but is content to say: 'Zwar nicht von der Farbe ihres Laubes, wohl aber nach dem weissen Stamm.' Another line of explanation is suggested by the fact that the tablets mentioning κυφάρισσος hail from Eleuthernai. Coins of the town show Apollon flanked by storax-trees (*supra* ii. 491 f. fig. 377), which bear some resemblance to the pyramidal cypress but, like the λεύκη, have a white under-surface to their leaves (Steier in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 65 'das Blatt des S[torax]-Baumes...länglich, lederartig und unterseits weissfilzig ist'). Hence O. Gruppe's conjecture that on Greek soil λεύκη was a surrogate of στύραξ (*supra* ii. 492). Yet another possibility would be to suppose that the λευκὴ κυπάρισσος was in fact the East Indian species *Cupressus glauca* (J. Lindley—T. Moore *The Treasury of Botany*[2] London 1884 i. 362, *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[11] Cambridge 1910 vii. 694), or the *Cupressus nivea* (R. Thompson—W. Watson *The Gardener's Assistant*[2] London 1900 i. 2. 330). On the whole, however, it seems most likely that the tree of the tablets was a miraculous cypress, its peculiarity consisting in its assimilation to that other Borderland tree, the white-poplar. It would thus come into line with such marvels as the silver apple-tree of the Celts or the twelve-fruited tree of *The Revelation*.

On the waters of Lethe and Mnemosyne see an interesting section in M. Ninck *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten* Leipzig 1921 p. 104 ff. together with the comments of W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 2141—2144. It seems to me probable (*a*) that the two fountains of the Petelia tablet were an Orphic conception (Orph. *h. Mnem.* 77. 9 f. ἀλλά, μάκαιρα θεά, μύσταις μνήμην ἐπέγειρε | εὐιέρου τελετῆς, λήθην δ' ἀπὸ τῶνδ' (so G. Hermann for τῶν codd.) ἀπόπεμπε), traceable back to the time of Pindar (Pind. *frags.* 129, 130 Bergk[4] *ap.* Plout. *de occulto viv.* 7 καίτοι τῆς γε δόξης καὶ τοῦ εἶναι† φύσιν (D. Wyttenbach cj. φύσει εὐσεβῶν χῶρος. I should prefer φασι μετέχειν or the like) εὐσεβῶν χῶρον, 'τοῖσι λάμπει' κ.τ.λ., καὶ ποταμοί τινες ἄκλυστοι καὶ λεῖοι διαρρέουσι, καὶ διατριβὰς ἔχουσιν ἐν μνήμαις καὶ λόγοις τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ὄντων, παραπέμποντες αὐτοὺς καὶ συνόντες. <.....> ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ἀνοσίως βεβιωκότων καὶ παρανόμων ὁδός ἐστιν εἰς ἔρεβός τι καὶ βάραθρον ὠθοῦσα τὰς ψυχάς, 'ἔνθεν τὸν ἄπειρον ἐρεύγονται σκότον | βληχροὶ δνοφερᾶς νυκτὸς ποταμοί,' δεχόμενοι καὶ ἀποκρύπτοντες ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ λήθῃ τοὺς κολαζομένους), (*b*) that this conception presupposes a folk-belief in two contrasted fountains of Death (Forgetfulness) and Life (Memory) (cp. Theopomp. *frag.* 76 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 289 ff. Müller)=*frag.* 75 c (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 551 f. Jacoby) *ap.* Ail. *var. hist.* 3. 18 rivers of Ἡδονή and Λύπη near Anostos in the land of the Meropes, Theophr. *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 19 springs called Κλαίων and Γελῶν near Kelainai in Phrygia, Mela 3. 102 springs causing death from laughter and restoration to health in one of the Fortunatae Insulae, Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 231 in Carrinensi Hispaniae agro duo fontes iuxta fluunt, alter omnia respuens, alter obsorbens, Isid. *orig.* 13. 13. 5 in Sicilia fontes sunt duo, quorum unus sterilem foecundat, alter foecundam sterilem facit. in Thessalia duo sunt flumina: ex uno bibentes oves nigras fieri, ex altero autem albas, et ex utroque varias (from Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 13), 7 in India Siden locari stagnum, in quo nihil innatat sed omnia merguntur. at contra in Africae lacu Cuscidamo omnia fluitant, nihil mergitur (from Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 21 f.), 10 in Epiro esse fontem, in quo faces extinguuntur accensae et accenduntur extinctae. apud Garamantes ontem esse ita algentem die ut non bibatur, ita ardentem nocte ut non tangatur (*supra* i. 68)—a list which could easily be lengthened), and (*c*) that the said folk-belief was itself n extension of the very ancient (and originally oriental?) belief in the Fountain of Life

water of Lethe can be seen gushing. These happy ones have no sorrows to forget. But beside that fountain the vase-painter has placed another family—Megara and her murdered boys. Despite the bandages bound tightly about them, the blood still trickles from the wounds inflicted by their father in his madness. No wonder that they linger beside the waters of oblivion. Finally, on the brink of the infernal river is an object interpreted by A. Furtwängler[1] as a large sieve with many holes in its upper surface. Rather, perhaps[2], we should see in it the mouth of a big *píthos*, sunk in the soil and riddled with holes. The context in which it is found favours

(A. Wünsche *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser* Leipzig 1905 pp. 71—90 'Das Lebenswasser in seiner eigentlichen Bedeutung in den verschiedenen Kulturreligionen,' 90—104 'Das Wasser des Lebens als Zauberbrunnen in den Märchen der Völker'). Local appropriations and adaptations of the idea are found at Lebadeia (Paus. 9. 39. 8 ἐνταῦθα δὴ χρὴ πιεῖν αὐτὸν Λήθης τε ὕδωρ καλούμενον, ἵνα λήθη γένηται οἱ πάντων ἃ τέως ἐφρόντιζε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄλλο αὖθις ὕδωρ πίνειν Μνημοσύνης· ἀπὸ τούτου τε μνημονεύει τὰ ὀφθέντα οἱ καταβάντι, Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 15 in Boeotia ad Trophonium deum iuxta flumen Hercynnum e duobus fontibus alter memoriam, alter oblivionem adfert, inde nominibus inventis, Isid. *orig.* 13. 13. 3 in Boeotia duo fontes alter memoriam, alter oblivionem affert), at Ephesos (E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 221 f. Oxford 1890 no. 600, *a* 2 f. [τὰ ἱερὰ τοῦ παντοκράτ]ορος θεοῦ Διονύσο[υ] | [καὶ Διὸς Πανελλ]ηνίου καὶ Ἡφαίστου, *c* 28 f. [Μν]εία(ς) Μένα[νδρος] | [Λή]θης Ἀλεξ..... This inscription, discovered by J. T. Wood on the site of the great theatre, gives a list of persons who on a certain occasion in honour of Dionysos, Zeus Πανελλήνιος (?=Hadrian: *supra* ii. 1120 f. n. o) performed a mystic play, taking the parts of Mneia, Lethe, etc.: see W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 265 ff.), and perhaps in Lusitania, where the river Limia (the modern *Lima*) was identified with Lethe (Strab. 153, Appian. *Iber.* 71 f.) or Oblivio (Mela 3. 10, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 115 (112), Flor. 1. 33. 12, Liv. *perioch.* 55, cp. Sall. *hist.* 3. 44, Sil. It. 1. 235 f., 13. 555, 16. 476 f.), if not also in Kyrenaïke, where the river Lethon was similarly explained (Lucan. 9. 355 f., Solin. 27. 54).

O. Kern in *Hermes* 1916 li. 555 infers from lines 6 f. of the Petelia tablet that the mystic, though a child of Gaia as well as Ouranos, claims to be essentially οὐράνιος and as such contrasted with the χθόνιοι (Orph. *h. Tit.* 37. 6 ff. ἐξ ὑμέων γὰρ πᾶσα πέλει γενεὴ κατὰ κόσμον. | ὑμᾶς κικλήσκω μῆνιν χαλεπὴν ἀποπέμπειν, | εἴ τις ἀπὸ χθονίων προγόνων οἴκοισι πελάσθη). *Id. ib.* 1917 lii. 475 interprets in the same manner the epigram on a temple of the Meter Theon at Phaistos (F. Halbherr in the *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 1890 iii. 735 f. no. 183, E. Maass in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 272 ff., K. Wernicke *ib.* 1894 xix. 290 ff., E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 309 ff., G. de Sanctis in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1901 xi. 542 ff. with a facsimile (the inscription is not earlier than *s.* ii B.C.), F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 360 no. 5112) θαῦμα μέγ' ἀνθρώποις πάντων μάτηρ πρ(ο)δίκνυτι· | τοῖς ὁσίοις κίνχρηται καὶ οἱ γονεὰν ὑπέχονται· | κ.τ.λ. ('die ihren Adel (ihre Abstammung von Uranos) nachweisen können').

[1] Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 50.

[2] This explanation is dismissed by Furtwängler *op. cit.* i. 50 n. 1 (...'noch das Fass der Danaiden, das im Boden stecken müsste, auch nicht das umgekehrte Fass, das ganz andere Form haben müsste'...). But the analogy of the Munich *amphora* (*supra* p. 399 fig. 262) and of the Palermo *lékythos* (*supra* p. 400 pl. xxxvi) affords the strongest presumption that the doubtful object is really meant for the mouth of a great jar buried in the ground. And how else should the vase-painter have indicated that it was leaky except by the naïve expedient of adding dots to represent the leaks?

the supposition that by means of it the artist wished to suggest the pains awaiting any who would not undergo initiation into the Orphic mysteries[1].

Other 'Apulian' vases of a similar kind substitute the Danaïdes with their *hydríai* for the aforesaid *píthos*[2]. For example, a fine *kratér*

Fig. 289.

[1] The allusion *may*, of course, be to the punishment of the Danaïdes. But if so, one or more of them would surely have been shown beside the *píthos*, as on the vases mentioned in the next paragraph.

[2] (1) Hermitage (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 223 ff. no. 424, Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1833 p. 179 n. 3 pl. 45, E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1844 ii. 223 f. pl. 13 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 355, O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* E pls. 4 and 5, 1). Six Danaïdes with their pitchers—four of them hasting from right to left, the fifth and sixth seated with two mirrors and a casket.

(2) Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 510 ff. no. 3222, U. Köhler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 283 ff. pl. ST, 1, 2, *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 9 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 167, O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* E pl. 2, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1927 fig. 2042 A). Three Danaïdes, seated and standing, who hold their pitchers, but give no sign of haste.

(3) Karlsruhe (Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 99 ff. no. 388, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1837 ix. 219 ff. pl. H, 1—5, *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pls. 49, 50 = Roscher *Rép. Vases* i. 108, F. G. Welcker in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1843 i. 177 ff. pl. 11, C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1805 with fig. on p. 1809 f., O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* E pl. 3, 1). One of the Danaïdes, listening to Orpheus, holds her empty pitcher (Hor. *od.* 3. 11. 22 f., Ov. *met.* 10. 43 f.), while two others—one of whom originally carried a *hydría* in her

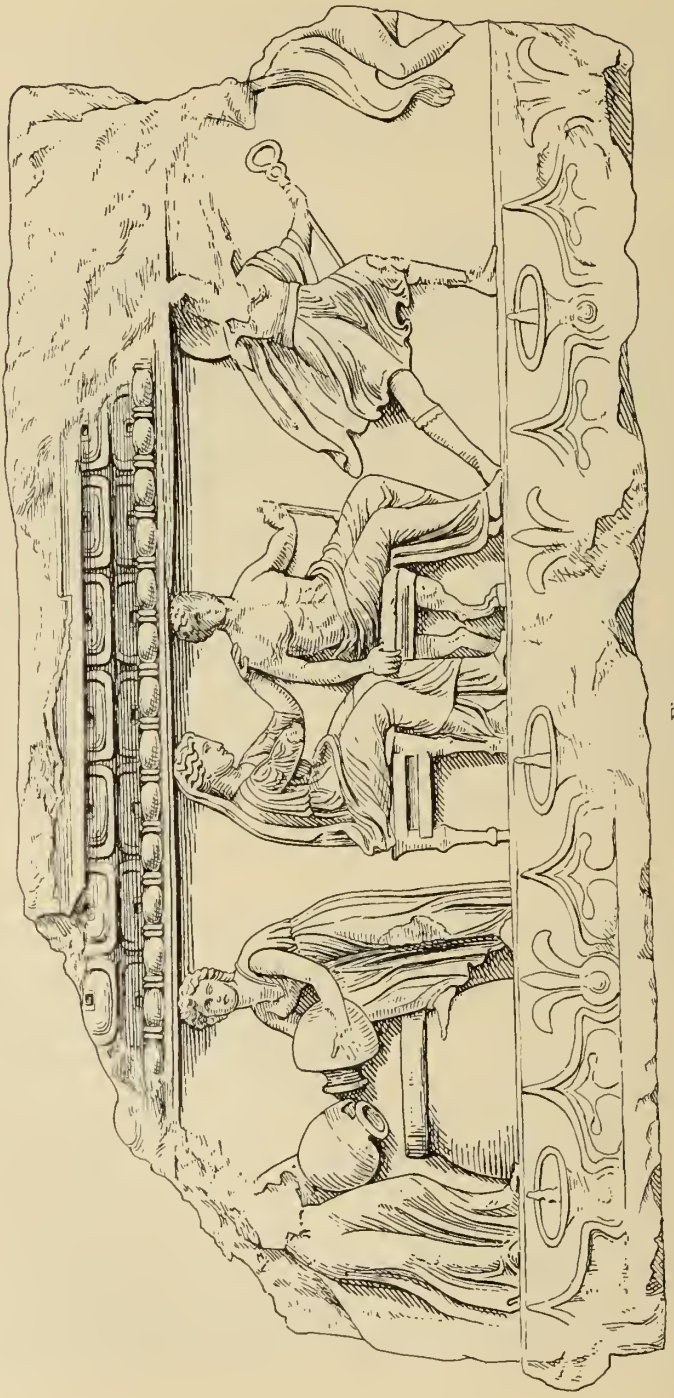


Fig. 290.

from Campania, now in the Hermitage collection (fig. 289)[1], shows four Danaïdes sitting or standing on the further bank of the Acheron. They have their *hydríai* with them, but seem more intent on talking together or surveying their charms in a mirror than on drawing water from the river. A fifth sister, busier than the rest, empties her vessel into a large unburied *píthos*.

Comparable with these 'Apulian' vases both in subject and in style, and referable to approximately the same period (350—300 B.C.[2]), is a limestone relief from Apulia now in the Glyptothek at Munich (fig. 290)[3]. It probably formed the left-hand half of a frieze decorating the plinth of a *naïskos*-tomb at Tarentum[4]. In the centre of the extant portion sit Hades and Persephone. On the left stand two Danaïdes emptying their pitchers into a large half-sunk jar. On the right Hermes hastens towards Herakles, whose lion-skin flutters in the breeze. Beyond the break would come Kerberos, Erinys, and other familiar figures of the Underworld.

(δ) Conclusions with regard to the myth of the Danaïdes

In view of the foregoing evidence, both literary and monumental, E. Rohde[5] and A. Dieterich[6] drew the following conclusions. The mysteries and marriage are analogous, for both involve rites of lustration. Those that neglect such rites in the world above must perform them in the world below. Hence on the one hand the uninitiated, and on the other hand the unmarried, are bound to carry

lowered left hand (J. Overbeck in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 xlii. 261)—stand idly by, facing in the same direction.

(4) Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 816 ff. no. 709 in the Santangelo collection, O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* E pl. 3, 2, P. Hartwig in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 xlii. 260 f. pl. 18 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 455, 1). One of the Danaïdes, leaning at ease on a rock as she chats with Erinys: above her head is seen a *píthos* with pointed base.

(5) *Infra* n. 1.

It should be noticed that, where Orpheus is present ((2), (3), (4)), the Danaïdes are idling; where he is absent ((1), (5)), some at least of them are at work.

[1] Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 233 ff. no. 426, G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1854 iii. 49 ff. pl. 3 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 479, O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* E pl. 6, 2.

[2] *Supra* p. 370.

[3] P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix *Arch. Anz.* p. 453 f. (no. 1) with fig., *id. Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwigs I. zu München* München 1922 p. 38 no. 494 with fig. (= my fig. 290). Cp. A. W. Lawrence *Later Greek Sculpture* London 1927 p. 54 pl. 90, *b* for 'a limestone version of the floral decoration common on painted Apulian vases.'

[4] R. Pagenstecher *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler* (*zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes* xciv) Strassburg 1912 p. 22.

[5] Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 326—329.

[6] A. Dieterich *Nekyia* Leipzig 1893 p. 70 n. 1.

water themselves after death, or at least to have it carried for them by others. The Danaïdes undergo this *post mortem* penalty because they died unmarried.

The explanation advanced by Rohde and Dieterich is not, in my opinion, altogether satisfactory. It assumes that the Danaïdes were typical spinsters[1]. But this is not the case. They were duly married to the Aigyptiadai, and Hypermnestra was the only one of them who retained her virginity[2]. Rather, their marriage was, as I have suggested[3], in the nature of a fertility-charm, the operation of which would be hindered, indeed absolutely nullified, by the guilt that they incurred through murdering their husbands. The guilt of murder would suffice to bring drought upon the land. Thebes, for instance, stricken for the unavenged death of king Laïos, is described as—

> Blighted in fruitful buds and grazing kine,
> Blighted in throes of barren womanhood,
> While, lo, the fiery god, the fever dread,
> Has fallen and makes havoc of the town[4].

If the Danaïdes thus frustrated an all-important fertility-charm, they deserved to be punished. And the punishment meted out to them consisted, appropriately enough[5], in the perpetual performance of a similar charm[6].

[1] Somewhat different, but exposed to a like objection, is the view taken by H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1925 xix. 148: 'the half-married are clearly in a very parlous state, belonging neither to one class nor to another, and therefore in a tabu condition, from which they can release themselves only by fulfilling the rite they have begun. This, doubtless, is the reason why in Hades we find not only the Danaids, who on the most plausible explanation of their punishment spend eternity in trying to get married, but also a host of unhappy lovers, who have nearly all this in common, in Vergil[1] ([1]*Aen.* vi. 444 sqq.), that at the time of their death they were betwixt and between in some way or other.'

[2] *Supra* p. 356.

[3] *Supra* p. 369.

[4] Soph. *O. T.* 25 ff. Similarly when Lykourgos, king of the Edonoi, slays his son Dryas in a frenzy-fit, his land remains barren and, according to an oracle, cannot recover its fertility till he himself be put to death (Apollod. 3. 5. 1, *supra* i. 75). Again, when Orestes kills Klytaimestra and is acquitted of the deed, the Erinyes (*supra* ii. 206 n. 2 with fig. 146, *a*) threaten to bring a blight upon the land (Aisch. *Eum.* 778 ff.).

[5] There is, of course, no need to bring in the far-fetched symbolism of the schol. Aristeid. p. 158, 12 ff. Dindorf τῶν δὲ Δαναΐδων ὁ τετρημένος πίθος (*sc.* αἰνίττεται) τὸ μήποτε ταύτας μετὰ τὸν φόνον τῶν φιλτάτων τὴν ἀναψύχουσαν ταύτας ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρῴας κηδεμονίας χάριν παρ' ἄλλων τυγχάνειν, πᾶσι γενομένας ὑπόπτους διὰ τὸ ἄγος, καὶ μηδαμόθεν ταύτην πληρουμένην εὑρεῖν.

[6] In the Swiss canton of Valais it is believed that old bachelors, when they die, are bound to live in a certain place and there spend their time bringing up sand from the Rhone in baskets with holes in them (E. L. Rochholz *Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit* Berlin 1867 i. 155, Haberland in *Globus* 1878 xxxiv. 205 cited by O. Waser in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1899 ii. 61).

iii. The holed vessel in Italy.

In the preceding sections it has been argued that certain phrases and beliefs current among the modern and Byzantine Greeks[1], taken together with the wording of a well-known Aristophanic verse[2], point backward to the existence of a primitive rain-charm, which consisted in pouring water through a sieve[3]. It has been suggested that such a custom would fitly explain the use of a sieve in divination[4] and of a holed vessel in various myths, rites, and doctrines—the water-carrying of the Danaïdes[5], the nuptial and sepulchral *loutrophóroi*[6], and the punishment of the uninitiated in Hades, who are doomed to bear water in broken pitchers, or in a sieve to a leaky *píthos*[7].

Now it seems *à priori* probable that the same ancient fertility-charm was at one time practised in Italy as in Greece. But that this was actually the case, cannot be proved. At most we may suspect that the usage underlies a few proverbial phrases and popular traditions.

Plautus[8], for example, makes a slave say to a lover, who is moping for his mistress:

> Unless you weep for her with tears of silver,
> That which you claim to prove by these your tears
> Is worth no more than rain-drops caught in a sieve.

Doubtless this is, as it is commonly assumed to be, a proverb for futile effort after the unattainable. But whether Plautus was here simply writing Latin or—as is certainly possible—translating from a Greek original (say, by Menandros[9]), we have no means of deciding[10]. In either event the form of the expression is peculiar and

[1] *Supra* p. 335 f. [2] *Supra* ii. 2, iii. 333 f. [3] *Supra* p. 336.
[4] *Supra* p. 336 n. 5. [5] *Supra* p. 355 ff.
[6] *Supra* p. 370 ff. [7] *Supra* p. 397 ff.

[8] Plaut. *Pseud.* 100 ff., where for the vulgate 'non pluris refert quam si imbrem in cribrum geras' G. Götz and F. Schöll, following the cod. Ambros., read 'legas.'

[9] M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1898 i. 53.

[10] There are several Greek variants of the proverb, but all of Roman or Byzantine date: (1) Plout. *prov.* 8 *κοσκίνῳ ὕδωρ ἀντλεῖς*, Makar. 5. 20 *κοσκίνῳ ἀντλεῖς· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτως καὶ μάτην πονούντων.* (2) Plout. *prov.* 50 *κοσκίνῳ φέρεις ὕδωρ*, Apostol. 9. 91 *κοσκίνῳ ὕδωρ φέρει· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων*, Souid. *s.v. κοσκινηδόν* (Loukian. *Tim.* 3, *epist. Saturn.* 24)...*καὶ παροιμία· κοσκίνῳ ὕδωρ περιφέρεις. ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων.* (3) Loukian. *Demon.* 28 '*οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν,*' *ἔφη*, '*ὦ φίλοι, ὁ μὲν ἕτερος τούτων τράγον ἀμέλγειν, ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ κόσκινον ὑποτιθέναι;*'

A similar locution substitutes a net for a sieve: (4) Plout. *prov.* 31 *παρὰ δικτύοις ὕδωρ κομίζεις*, Georgides *gnomologion* in Boissonade *anecd.* i. 29 *δικτύῳ κομίζειν ὕδωρ ἢ πλίνθον πλύνειν εὐπετές, ἢ κακίαν ποιωθεῖσαν χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἐν ἀνθρώπου ψυχῇ ἐξελεῖν δυνατόν;*

Both images are already combined in Sen. *de benef.* 7. 19. 1 'reddere est' inquit

may well have been derived from the rain-charm aforesaid. For, when men had once begun to distrust the magician and his magic, a charm to produce rain might easily pass into a proverb for labour wasted in the attempt to compass impossibilities.

Further, a typical impossibility of this sort would furnish the ideal test for an early ordeal[1], since the performance of it implies the manifest interposition of the gods in favour of the accused. Thus, when the Vestal Tuccia was charged with violation of her vows, she proved her chastity by successfully carrying water in a sieve from the river Tiber to the house of Vesta in the Roman Forum[2]. The event, which is said to have occurred in the year 235 B.C.[3], has repeatedly furnished artists with a theme. Count Clarac[4] published a couple of marble statues representing Tuccia with her sieve, one in the Museo Chiaramonti[5], the other at Dresden[6]. Montfaucon had previously made known a statuette belonging to a M. Boisot and an engraved gem from the cabinet of M. de la Chausse[7], not to mention a print communicated by Baron Crassier[8], all of which portrayed the same subject with minor variations. M. P. Lévesque de Gravelle was able to figure another gem illustrating the scene[9]. There are, however, grave doubts as to the authenticity of any of these representations[10]. They appear to be nothing but modern

'accepturo tradidisse. quid enim? si cui vinum debeas et hoc ille te infundere reticulo iubeat aut cribro, reddidisse te dices? aut reddere voles, quod, dum redditur, inter duos pereat?'

[1] Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 327, E. Fehrle in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 550.

On trial by ordeal among Greeks and Romans see K. H. Funkhänel 'Gottesurtheil bei Griechen und Römern' in *Philologus* 1847 ii. 385—402, R. Hirzel *Der Eid* Leipzig 1902 pp. 182—219, G. Glotz *L'ordalie dans la Grèce primitive* Paris 1904 pp. 1—136, P. Vinogradoff in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 521[a–b] (Greek), A. C. Pearson *ib.* 528[a]—529[b] (Roman).

[2] Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 69, Val. Max. 8. 1 absol. 5, Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 12, Tert. *apol.* 22, Liv. *epit.* 20, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 10. 16, 22. 11 (after Varro).

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 12 anno urbis DXVIIII (so codd. V (?). E. DCVIIII cod. R., followed by D. Detlefsen.—VIII codd. d. T.). Liv. *epit.* 20 supports the earlier date.

[4] Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iv. 359 f. pl. 771 figs. 1918, 1921, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 456 nos. 1, 2.

[5] Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 780 no. 686 pl. 84.

[6] H. Hettner *Die Bildwerke der königlichen Antikensammlung zu Dresden*[4] Dresden 1881 no. 168.

[7] Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 40 pl. 14 nos. 21 and 22.

[8] *Id. ib.* London 1725 Suppl. i. 39 pl. 6 no. 4.

[9] M. P. Lévesque de Gravelle *Recueil de pierres gravées antiques* Paris 1732 i pl. 88 (*Pierres de Stosch* p. 434 no. 170), Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 77 no. 88 pl. 77.

[10] In both the statues published by Clarac the sieve is a restoration: they may have portrayed priestesses carrying baskets (Clarac *loc. cit.*). The statuette and gems figured by Montfaucon and Lévesque de Gravelle do not inspire confidence, and seem to have vanished.

restorations or copies, just conceivably based upon some genuine antique which has since disappeared.

The probability that a holed vessel was formerly used as a rain-charm in Italy would be strengthened, if it could be shown that the Italians ever believed rain to fall through a hole or holes in the sky. Unfortunately direct evidence to that effect is altogether wanting, and indirect evidence is at best disputable. Nevertheless certain facts connected with the *mundus* and the *manalis lapis* at Rome appear to presuppose some such belief.

The *mundus*[1] was an underground dome or tholoid structure,

Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 159, 7—9 p. 186 are eighteenth-century works by L. Pichler and G. Pichler. The cut that appears even in the third edition of Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 943 has no more authority: it is a redrawing of Crassier's print (*supra* p. 428 n. 8) as seen in a mirror, *i.e.* with right for left and left for right.

Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 239 f. pl. Licinia 2, 5 and Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 450 would detect Tuccia on the reverse of a *semis* struck by P. Licinius Nerva, which shows a woman on the prow of a ship holding something. Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 129 f. no. 8 fig. says 'tenant une patère.' H. A. Grueber in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 275 fig. is non-committal ('female figure standing r.').

[1] During the last decade there has been much discussion of this difficult topic. The disputants include the following:

E. Täubler '*Roma quadrata* und *mundus*' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1926 xli. 212—226 (*Roma quadrata* was the early settlement on the Palatine surveyed as a *templum* with its *decimanus* extending from the *supercilium Scalarum Caci* to the *summa Sacra Via*. The *mundus*, an opening to the lower world, enclosed by a square stone wall, formed the centre of this *Roma quadrata*. When the Palatine settlement was enlarged into the city of the Four Regions, Rome ceased to be *quadrata* in the original sense, but antiquarians perpetuated the old name for the new foundation. Summary and criticism in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 494), *id.* 'Terremare und Rom' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1931/2 Abh. ii especially pp. 43—63 (the *mundus* was the central point of *Roma quadrata*, a *templum* or sacred square on the Palatine: it is therefore comparable with the ritual pits within the square Terremare settlements).

S. Weinstock '*Mundus patet*' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1930 xlv. 111—123 (most ancient authors speak of the *mundus* as connected with cult-usage: Ovid and Plutarch alone associate it with the legend of Rome's foundation by Romulus. *Mundus* must be carefully distinguished from *Roma quadrata*: there was no *mundus* on the Palatine—Boni's find was a mere cistern—nor is there the least reason to connect *mundus* with *templum* either square or round, with the ritual pits of Terremare villages, with the dedication of boundary-stones and the like. There was a *mundus* on the *Comitium* at Rome, and another at Capua (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 3926, *infra* p. 438 n. 5). The *mundus* was essentially a pit *in sacro Cereris* (schol. Bern. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 3. 105, *infra* p. 438 n. 5), the said *sacrum* being a small chamber built to contain it. Analogous structures are noted by F. Studniczka 'Altäre mit Grubenkammern' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1903 vi. 123—186. But the Ceres in question need not be the old Roman goddess: she might be the Latinised Demeter; she might be an Etruscan deity—F. Ribezzo in the *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di filologia, lingua, antichità* 1928 xii. 89 draws attention to Etr. *mutna*="sepolcro, cassa, ossuario"), *id. ib.* 1932 xlvii. 120 n. 1 (criticises Täubler's view that *Roma quadrata* was not identical with *mundus*, nor yet the special name of the Palatine settlement, but originally the square or *templum* round the *mundus*, and hence applied to the Palatine town. Weinstock reaffirms his belief that the *mundus* must be

sought neither on the Palatine, nor in Terremare, and that its sacred functions—Ovid and Plutarch notwithstanding—had nothing to do with the foundation of Rome).

L. du Jardin '*Mundus*, *Roma quadrata* e *lapis niger*' in the *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia* 1930 vi. 47 ff. (*mundus* and *Roma quadrata* were originally on the Palatine, but, when built over by Domitian's palace, were removed to the *Comitium*).

H. J. Rose '*The Mundus*' in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1931 vii. 115—127 (largely in agreement with Weinstock puts forward the following contentions: '(1) The word *mundus*, in the sense of a pit or underground shrine of some kind, is probably not Latin. (2) So far as we know, it was applied to at least two underground structures in Rome, one in the Comitium, the other of unknown locality, which were, or had been, used for wholly different rites. (3) Neither of these had anything to do with Roma Quadrata, or with the *lapis manalis*. (4) Neither of them had anything to do with the so-called *mundus* found on the Palatine in 1914. (5) The connection of either with the pit to be found in *terremare* is possible, but unproved').

W. Kroll '**Mundus**' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 560—564 (the *mundus* was a chthonian cult-centre, probably close to the *Comitium*. It was a circular pit opened thrice a year, on days that were all *comitiales*, for the emergence of souls of the dead (cp. the Greek Anthesteria: *supra* i. 687)—no concern of Ceres or any other deity. The *lapis manalis* of Festus (*infra* p. 432) must have been the famous *lapis manalis* outside the Porta Capena (*infra* p. 432 ff.) and should not—with E. Samter in the *Archiv. f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 332 f. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 784—be assumed to have closed the *mundus*. Weinstock and Rose rightly rejected the identification of this *mundus* with the *Roma quadrata* of the Palatine and doubted the analogy of the Terremare pits. As to etymology, the Etruscan goddess *munθuχ* (E. Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 643 f., *infra* p. 439 n. 2) is better ignored. P. Kretschmer suggests connexion with German *Mund*, Gothic *munþs*).

L. Deubner '*Mundus*' in *Hermes* 1933 lxviii. 276—287 (Ov. *fast.* 4. 821 ff. describes three successive rites: (1) *fruges* thrown into a deep *fossa*; (2) earth from the neighbouring soil likewise thrown in; (3) an altar placed above the filled-in *fossa* and kindled. The parallel in Plout. *v. Rom.* 11 proves that Ovid's pit was the *mundus*. Ovid's altar above the pit is due—as C. O. Thulin *Die etruskische Disziplin* iii (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 1909 i) p. 20 saw—to contamination with the rites of Terminus. Ovid's earth thrown in was another accretion wrongly connected by him with the *mundus*: the clods really symbolised Rome's mastery over all the neighbourhood (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 73 p. 124, 21 ff.). Ovid's *fruges* thrown in were a gift to chthonian powers made at the moment of founding the town. Kroll and Weinstock dismiss this association of the *mundus* with the founding of a town as an antiquarian figment. Deubner sees no ground for their scepticism: town-foundations, the planting of boundary-stones, the erection of buildings, all involved breaking into the earth and the earth-powers must in each case be propitiated by gifts. Ovid does not definitely state that the *mundus* was on the Palatine; but he is speaking of Romulus as the founder of Rome, and everyone knew that Romulus' foundation was on the Palatine. Weinstock wrongly refuses to admit the real existence of a Palatine *mundus*. Plutarch errs in locating Romulus' *mundus* on the *Comitium*. Probably there was a *mundus* there; but, if so, it was the *mundus* of a new foundation—the Etruscan town of Four Regions (Plout. *v. Rom.* 11 brings the experts from Etruria). Deubner thinks it likely that this *mundus* on the *Comitium*, though described by Plutarch as *βόθρος κυκλοτερής*, should be identified with the quadrangular pit for offerings in the Grave of Romulus: Plutarch may well have blundered here also and attributed to the *mundus* on the *Comitium* the shape of the *mundus* on the Palatine. As to the phrase *mundus patet*, that refers to the Palatine *mundus*. Weinstock misunderstands schol. Bern. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 3. 105 *mundus in sacro Cereris*: this might mean, not a *mundus* in a small chamber built to contain it, but a *mundus* in the sacred precinct of Ceres; more probably, however, it was a mere guess of the scholiast or his source. *Roma quadrata* too was on the Palatine and had something to do with the founding of the town (Fest. p. 310, 35 ff. Lindsay, *infra* p. 436 n. 0). Thulin *op. cit.* p. 20 n. 1 already compared it with the quadrangular

concerning which M. Porcius Cato—the jurist perhaps rather than his more famous father[1]—in his *Notes on Cases of Civil Law* remarks: 'The *mundus* gets its name from the "sky" above our heads; indeed in shape it resembles the sky, as I have been able to ascertain from those who have entered it[2].' Another jurist C. Ateius Capito, the *consul suffectus* of 5 A.D., in his work *On Pontifical Law*[3] states that thrice a year, on August 24, October 5, and November 8, the *mundus* was left open[4]. Festus adds that the lower part of it was consecrated to the Di Manes and kept closed except on these days, when their secrets were brought to light[5]. Varro emphasises the solemn character of the said days: 'When the *mundus* is open, it is as though the gate of gloomy underworld gods were left ajar. Hence it is taboo, not only for a battle to be joined, but even for a military

templa of the Terremare settlements. F. von Duhn in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 286 remarked that their east-to-west trench had five pits in it containing sherds, pebbles, mussel-shells, and animal-bones—'sacrale Dinge, die mit der Inauguration der Siedelung und dem, was die Römer später *mundus* nannten, in Zusammenhang stehen werden,' etc. Täubler was justified therefore in emphasising the resemblance of *Roma quadrata* and the *mundus* to the Terremare *templa* and their pits. Weinstock again was over-sceptical).

My own account of the *mundus*, which was penned before I had read any of the foregoing articles, is in the main compatible with Deubner's cautious and convincing conclusions. Deubner keeps clear of the *manalis lapis*, and ignores Boni's alleged *mundus*. Perhaps he was wise. At any rate I alone must bear the responsibility of conjecturing that the *mundus* on the Palatine was originally the Bronze-Age *thólos* of a Palatine king, and of seeking a parallel to it on the adjacent Capitol.

[1] See H. Jordan in his ed. of M. Porcius Cato (Lipsiae 1860) p. cv, F. P. Bremer *Iurisprudentiae antehadrianae quae supersunt* Lipsiae 1896 i. 21, H. Funaioli *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta* Lipsiae 1907 p. 14.

[2] Fest. p. 154 *b* 33 ff. Müller, p. 144, 17 ff. Lindsay qui quid ita dicatur sic refert Cato in commentaris iuris civilis (*frag.* 18 Funaioli): 'Mundo nomen inpositum est ab eo mundo, qui supra nos est: forma enim eius est, ut ex is qui intravere cognoscere potui, adsimilis illae.'

[3] P. Jörs in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1906.

[4] Fest. p. 154 *b* 30 ff. Müller, p. 144, 14 ff. Lindsay Mundus ut ait Capito Ateius in lib. VI. Pontificali (*frag.* 2 Funaioli), ter in anno patere solet, diebus his: postridie Volkanalia et ante diem < III. Non. Oct. et ante diem > VI. Id. Nov. The *lacuna* is filled from Paul. ex Fest. p. 156, 1 Müller, p. 145, 13 f. Lindsay. Cp. Fest. p. 142 *a* 22 ff. Müller, p. 126, 4 ff. Lindsay Cereris qui mundus appellatur, qui ter in anno solet patere: VIIII Kal. Sept. et III Non. Octobr. et VI Id. Novembr. Qui vel † enim † (so cod. W. *ideo* cod. X. *etiam* ed. princ. Ursinus cj. *omni*. I should prefer *inde* A. B. C.) dictus est quod terra movetur.

[5] Fest. p. 157 *a* 4 ff. Müller, p. 144, 21 ff. Lindsay eius inferiorem partem veluti consecratam Dis Manibus clausam omni tempore, nisi his diebus qui supra scripti sunt, maiores c....m (K. O. Müller cj. *censuerunt habendam*); quos dies etiam religiosos iudicaverunt ea de causa, quod quo tempore ea, quae occultae et abditae religionis Deorum Manium essent, veluti in lucem quandam adducerentur et patefierent, nihil eo tempore in republica geri voluerunt. itaque per eos dies non cum hoste manus conserebant: non exercitus scribebatur: non comitia habeba < ntur: non > aliud quicquam in republica, nisi quod ultima necessitas admonebat, administrabatur.

levy to be held, for a soldier to set forth, for a ship to weigh anchor, for a man to marry and procreate children[1].'

The *mundus*, then, was in some sense the gate of the Underworld. But Paulus epitomizing Festus, himself the epitomator of Verrius Flaccus[2], says that the portal of Orcus, through which souls of the dead (*Manes*) streamed[3] up to join the living (*ad superos manarent*), was known as *manalis lapis*[4]. Unless we are to suppose that Rome boasted of rival entrances to the nether regions, we are driven to conclude that this *manalis lapis* was a single stone by which the mouth of the bottle-shaped *mundus* was corked or stoppered. Paulus obviously connects the word *manalis* both with *Manes*, 'the dead,' and with *manare*, 'to stream.' The former connexion is possible[5], but improbable; the latter alone is valid. He continues[6]: 'They used the term *manalis lapis* also of a certain block (*petra*[7]), which was outside the Porta Capena close to the temple of Mars[8]. When in time of severe drought they dragged this block into the City, a shower immediately followed[9], and since the block streamed

[1] Macrob. *Sat.* i. 16. 16 ff. nam cum Latiar, hoc est Latinarum sollemne, concipitur, item diebus Saturnaliorum, sed et cum Mundus patet, nefas est praelium sumere: quia nec Latinarum tempore, quo publice quondam inducíae inter populum Romanum Latinosque firmatae sunt, inchoari bellum decebat, nec Saturni festo, qui sine ullo tumultu bellico creditur imperasse, nec patente Mundo, quod sacrum Diti Patri et Proserpinae dicatum est: meliusque occlusa Plutonis fauce eundum ad praelium putaverunt. unde et Varro ita scribit: 'Mundus cum patet, deorum tristium atque inferum quasi ianua patet: propterea non modo praelium committi, verum etiam dilectum rei militaris causa habere, ac militem proficisci, navem solvere, uxorem liberum quaerendorum causa ducere, religiosum est.'

[2] *Supra* ii. 1170.

[3] Cp. Mart. Cap. 160 Manes...qui parentum seminibus manaverunt.

[4] Paul. ex Fest. p. 128, 4 ff. Müller, p. 115, 6 ff. Lindsay Manalem lapidem putabant esse ostium Orci, per quod animae inferorum ad superos manarent, qui dicuntur manes. Manalem vocabant lapidem etiam petram quandam, quae erat extra portam Capenam iuxta aedem Martis, quam cum propter nimiam siccitatem in Urbem pertraherent, insequebatur pluvia statim, eumque, quod aquas manaret, manalem lapidem dicere.

[5] Ernout—Meillet *Dict. étym. de la Langue Lat.* p. 557: 'Pour la formation, cf. *fīnis*|*fīnālis*; *fūnis*|*fūnālis* etc.'

[6] *Supra* n. 4.

[7] A *petra* might be either a natural rock or an artificially shaped block of stone. Cp. Fest. p. 206 *b* 12 ff. Müller, p. 226, 12 ff. Lindsay, *id.* p. 206 *b* 23 ff. Müller, p. 226, 23 ff. Lindsay.

[8] O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 p. 345 f., H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 213 f., H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 24 f., S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 327 f.

[9] Cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 2, 12 f. Müller, p. 2, 24 ff. Lindsay Aquaelicium dicitur, cum aqua pluvialis remediis quibusdam elicitur, ut quondam, si creditur, manali lapide in urbem ducto. Since rain was sent by Iupiter, the old magical rite was attached to his cult (Petron. *sat.* 44. 18 antea stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Iovem aquam exorabant, itaque statim urceatim plovebat: aut tunc aut nunquam: et omnes redibant udi tanquam mures, Tert. *apol.* 40 denique cum ab imbribus aestiva

hiberna suspendunt et annus in cura est, vos quidem cotidie pasti statimque pransuri, balneis et cauponiis et lupanaribus operantibus, aquilicia Iovi immolatis, nudipedalia populo denuntiatis, caelum apud Capitolium quaeritis, nubila de laquearibus exspectatis, aversi ab ipso et deo et caelo, cp. *de ieiun.* 16 sed et omnem ταπεινοφρόνησιν ethnici agnoscunt. cum stupet caelum et aret annus, nudipedalia denuntiantur, magistratus purpuras ponunt, fasces retro avertunt, precem indigitant, hostiam instaurant). The stone was drawn by the priests (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 175 'manabat,' fluebat. hinc et lapis manalis quem trahebant pontifices, quotiens siccitas erat, cp. Varr. *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 877, 8 ff. Lindsay (cited *infra* p. 435 n. 2)), and was perhaps drenched with water as a magical or *quasi*-magical cure for the drought (*Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 268 f.). Why this particular stone was chosen, we do not know. Was it the sepulchral *stéle* of some once famous Etruscan water-finder (Varr. *Menipp. frag.* 444 Bücheler *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 97, 16 Lindsay at hoc pacto utilior te Tuscus aquilex) or rain-maker (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 310 n. 4)?

G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 310, *id. Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 121 approves the connexion of *aqua-elicium* with Iupiter *Elicius* propounded by O. Gilbert *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* Leipzig 1885 ii. 154 and accepted by E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 658, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2366 f., despite the objections of M. H. Morgan 'Greek and Roman Rain-Gods and Rain-Charms' in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1901 xxxii. 100 ff. (especially p. 105 f.). I was formerly attracted by this view (*Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 269), but am now satisfied that Iupiter *Elicius* was essentially a lightning-god, not a rain-god (*pace* J. B. Carter *De deorum Romanorum cognominibus* Lipsiae 1898 p. 42, P. Perdrizet in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 710). He had an altar on the Aventine (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 94) founded by Numa, whom he had instructed in lightning-lore (Liv. 1. 20). About this altar an odd tale was told by Valerius Antias (*frag.* 6 Peter *ap.* Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 1, cp. Ov. *fast.* 3. 285 ff., Plout. *v. Num.* 15). Numa, at the advice of Egeria, posted a dozen chaste youths in ambush beside a spring, from which Faunus and Martius Picus were wont to drink, and further mixed much wine with the water. The gods drank deep, fell into a stupor, and were bound fast by the young men (Sir J. G. Frazer in his note on Ov. *fast.* 3. 289 regards the incident as 'probably modelled on' the ruse by which Midas captured Silenos). Faunus and Martius Picus were thus forced to disclose to the king the means by which Iupiter could be enticed from heaven to earth. The king thereupon offered sacrifice on the Aventine, enticed Iupiter to come down, and pressed him to reveal the right method of expiating thunderbolts. 'With the head...,' said Iupiter: '...of an onion,' added Numa. 'With a human...,' said Iupiter: '...hair,' put in Numa. 'With a living creature,' said the god: 'With a sprat,' concluded the king. And so surrogates for the head and hair of a live man were found in an onion, a hair, and a sprat (apparently the 'hair' suggested a small fish, cp. the use of τριχίς, τριχίας, τριχίδιον, etc.), which things continued to form the ingredients of a lightning-spell (Plout. *v. Num.* 15) (in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 269 and 270 n. 1 I have discussed the similar mitigation of human sacrifice to Dis and Saturn (Varr. *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 28 ff., 1. 11. 48 f., cp. Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 19) and to Mania (Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 34 f.)). Iupiter returned to heaven in a 'gracious' mood and the place was called *Ilicium* in consequence (Plout. *v. Num.* 15 καὶ τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἵλεω γενόμενον, τὸν δὲ τόπον Ἰλίκιον ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσαγορευθῆναι). Later, however, he slew with a thunderbolt Numa's successor, Tullus Hostilius, who had made some slip in the due performance of these rites (L. Calpurnius Piso *frag.* 10 Peter *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 140 and *frag.* 13 Peter *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 14, Liv. 1. 31, Aur. Vict. *de viris illustr.* 4. 4).

Since the wooded slope of the Aventine (A. Merlin *L'Aventin dans l'antiquité* Paris 1906 p. 110) was 'black with the shade of the *ilex*' (Ov. *fast.* 3. 295), I conjectured years ago (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 270, *ib.* 1904 xviii. 365 f.) that Iupiter *Elicius* should rather be Iupiter *Ilicius*, god 'of the Oak' (*ilex, iliceus, ilignus, iligneus*). Prof. Goldmann tells me that he had independently hit upon the rendering *Elicius*, 'of the Oak.' He kindly drew my attention to a paragraph by H. Schuchardt in the *Zeitschrift für romanische*

with water they called it *manalis lapis*.' Once more we hear of *manales lapides* or *petrae* in a suggestive context. Fulgentius (*c.* 480—550 A.D.[1]) in his *Explanation of antiquated Phrases* asks what *manales lapides* are, and answers: 'Labeo[2], who expounded the Etruscan lore of Tages and Begoë(?)[3] in fifteen volumes, has the following observation: "If the lobes of the liver prove to be coloured like red arsenic, then you need to trail the *manales petrae*." These are blocks which the ancients used to draw like rollers round their boundaries with a view to curing a dearth of rain[4].' G. Wissowa denounced the extract from Labeo as a forgery[5], but there is no real ground for doubting the accuracy of Fulgentius' explanation. It is quite possible, indeed highly probable, that the *manalis lapis* outside the Porta Capena was an old sepulchral pillar of the Etruscan sort[6]: the *via Appia*, bordered with tombs, skirts the hill on which stood the temple of Mars[7]. Similarly the *manales petrae* mentioned

Philologie 1903 xxvii. 105 f. Schuchardt there quotes with approval the contention of W. Meyer-Lübke 'Zur kenntnis des altlogudoresischen' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1903 cxlv. 5. 7 ff. 'Die grundform ist *eilex*, woraus lat. *īlex*, umbrisch, volskisch, paelignisch, marrucinisch **elex*,' etc. and recalls his own previous statement in *Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins* Leipzig 1866—1868 ii. 77 'die romanischen Formen ein *eilex* voraussetzen.' See now Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 377 f. ('īlex...daneben *elex* bei Gregor von Tours und in Glossen (s. Ernout El. dial. lat. 156); die Formen der rom. Sprachen sind auf **ĕlex* zurückzuführen..., das als Dialektwort eine Gdf. **eilex* erwiese, oder auf **ilex* (Cuny IF. xxvi, 21 ff.); für letztere Form, die allerdings im Widerspruch zu der (nach Cuny der lebendigen Sprache fremden?) dichterischen Messung *īlex* steht, spricht auch mak. ἴλαξ (recte ἴλεξ, s. Hoffmann Mak. 42) "ilex," das (gegen Kretschmer Einl. 164) aus dem Lat. stammen wird, und das von Cuny verglichene zweite Glied von gr. αἰγ-ίλωψ; es liegt ein voridg. Mittelmeerwort vor') and Ernout—Meillet *Dict. étym. de la Langue Lat.* p. 452 ('Les langues romanes attestent aussi un doublet *ĕlex*, sans doute d'origine dialectale, cfr. M.L. 4256, *Einf.*[3], p. 148').

[1] Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 242.

[2] G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1351 'Cornelius Labeo, antiquarisch-theologischer Schriftsteller der späteren Kaiserzeit, wichtig als Vermittler älterer römischer Gelehrsamkeit an die christlichen Apologeten und an spätere Compilatoren.'

[3] G. Wissowa *ib.* iii. 194.

[4] Fulgent. *expos. serm. ant.* 4 [quid sint manales lapides.] Labeo, qui disciplinas Etruscas Tagetis et Bacitidis (so R. Helm for *bacittidis* cod. P. *Bacchiridis* cod. ℜ. *bacurtidis* cod. ℌ. *Baaetidis* codd. 𝔅. 𝔇. *baaccidis* cod. E. *baacidis* cod. B. G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2723 reads *Bachetidis* ('so der eine Gudianus, andre Hss. *Baccitidis*, *Bachidis*, *Bagidis* u.a.')) quindecim voluminibus explanavit, ita ait: 'fibrae iecoris sandaracei coloris dum fuerint, manales tunc verrere opus est petras,' id est quas solebant antiqui in modum cilindrorum per limites trahere pro pluviae commutandam inopiam.

[5] G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2723, iii. 194, iv. 1354. Cp. F. Skutsch *ib.* vii. 219 f. and C. O. Thulin *Die etruskische Disciplin* i *Die Blitzlehre* Göteborg 1906 p. 2. But see also M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* München 1920 iv. 2. 202.

[6] Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*[2] p. 128 fig. 141, *supra* i. 53 n. 1.

[7] H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 tab. 1.

by Fulgentius were in all probability Etruscan tomb-pillars or boundary-stones[1], which in time of distress would be trundled round the area under their especial protection. Finally, Varro informs us that *aquae manale* meant a small water-jug[2]. The term had an interesting history, and seems to have been re-interpreted as a basin for the hands in the *aquimanile* or *aquiminarium* of Christian ritual[3].

Early in 1914 Commendatore Boni, digging on the Palatine under the north-eastern part of the peristyle of the *domus Augustiana*, discovered a *thólos*, which he identified with the *mundus*. This identification was promptly accepted by T. Ashby[4], O. L. Richmond[5], A. L. Frothingham[6], and others[7] on grounds that seem *prima facie* plausible[8]. Ashby reports[9]: 'a chamber with a bee-hive roof was found, the sides of which are lined with blocks of cappellaccio (a soft tufa); in the centre of it a circular shaft descends to two underground passages cut in the rock...which diverge but (after forming a right-angled triangle with a hypotenuse of 12 metres) meet again in a rock-cut domed chamber, half of which has been destroyed by Domitian's foundations.' Some further details are given by Richmond[10] and L. A. Constans[11], but so far no complete ground-plan or section has been published.

[1] *Supra* i. 53, ii. 1090.

[2] Varr. *frag.* 198 Funaioli *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 877, 7 ff. Lindsay 'urceolum aquae manale vocamus, quod eo aqua in trulleum effundatur. unde manalis lapis appellatur in pontificalibus sacris, qui tunc movetur cum pluviae exoptantur; ita apud antiquissimos manale sacrum vocari quis non noverit? unde nomen illius.'

[3] E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 346, Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* i. 134, A. Mau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 310 f., W. Henry in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1907 i. 2647 f.

[4] T. Ashby in *The Times* for Jan. 8, 1914 p. 5, *id.* in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1914 p. 12 f.

[5] O. L. Richmond in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1914 iv. 225 f.

[6] A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 317.

[7] See now H. M. R. Leopold in the *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome* 1921 i. 45—61 (= *id.* 'Il "mundus" e la "Roma quadrata"' in the *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana* 1924 xliv. 193—206), W. Kroll 'Mundus und Verwandtes' in the *Festschrift für Universitäts-Professor Hofrat Dr. Paul Kretschmer* Wien—Leipzig —New York 1926 pp. 120—127, G. Lugli *La Zona Archeologica di Roma* Roma 1925 p. 208 (*id. The Classical Monuments of Rome and its Vicinity* trans. G. Bagnani Roma 1929 i. 235, 242 with fig. 57, 6, 284 f. with fig. 70).

[8] H. J. Rose, however, in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1931 vii. 134 f. argues that Domitian, being 'pious to the point of religiosity,' would never 'have allowed his architects to build over, far less break into, a monument so venerable and at the same time so ill-omened as the *mundus Cereris*.'

[9] S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 347.

[10] O. L. Richmond in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1914 iv. 226: 'The Commendatore

Now *à priori* a tholoid structure underground might be one of three things—a granary, a well, or a tomb. And arguments are not wanting in support of each identification.

K. O. Müller[1] long since drew attention to Plutarch's[2] account

found that the ancient "mundus" had been excavated at the augural centre of the hill, on the true summit, and that the direction of the caverns followed the lines of "cardo" and "decumanus." Domitian covered it with indestructible concrete several feet thick, over which was his area Palatina. The position is to the east of the Apollo temple. It is thought that the mouth had been covered over and disused not later than the fourth century B.C....In 1913—1914 the excavators discovered over the round mouth of the ancient "mundus" on the Palatine a square depression, and a rectangular block of specially hard stone fitting one half of it. There were fragments of a second such block near by.'

Richmond naturally claims that these facts confirm his restoration of Fest. p. 258 *b* 5 ff. Müller, p. 310, 35 ff. Lindsay Quadrata Roma in Palatio ante templum Apollinis dicitur, ubi reposita sunt, quae solent boni ominis gratia in urbe condenda adhiberi, quia saxo < mundus > munitus est initio in speciem quadratam. eius loci Ennius meminit cum ait (*ann.* 2 *frag.* 75 Baehrens, *frag.* 3 Steuart): 'et †quis est erat† Romae regnare quadratae' (E. Baehrens and the latest editor Miss E. M. Steuart both accept C. O. Müller's cj. *qui* and Salmasius' cj. *se sperat*—a brilliant combination involving the change of but a single letter. J. Vahlen[2] prefers M. Hertz' cj. *qui sextus erat*). Sir J. G. Frazer in his note on Ov. *fast.* 4. 821 (p. 386 n. 3) says: 'Perhaps we should insert *locus* after *Quadrata Roma* or after *saxo* to correspond with *munitus*.' But Richmond's emendation is more atrractive.

[1] L. A. Constans in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1914 pp. 109—111: 'M. Boni a trouvé...une voûte à *tholos*, faite d'une superposition de blocs quadrangulaires, ouverte, et inclinée vers le midi, en telle sorte qu'elle ne forme pas une circonférence parfaite. Là s'ouvre un nouveau puits, creusé dans le tuf; au fond de ce puits, à 12 mètres au-dessous du niveau du sol, deux couloirs bifurquent: l'un, le plus étroit, est droit; l'autre, plus large, est coudé, au bout de quelques mètres, à angle droit, en telle sorte qu'il rejoint l'extrémité du premier, déterminant avec lui un triangle rectangle dont l'hypoténuse, formée par le couloir étroit, a une douzaine de mètres de long. M. Boni imagine que lorsqu'on portait dans le *mundus*, grenier sacré, les grains, prémices de la saison, on allait par le couloir large et revenait par le couloir étroit. On suivait la marche inverse quand on voulait chercher du grain dans le *mundus* pour les semailles. Ces deux couloirs aboutissent l'un et l'autre à une chambre circulaire, tout entière taillée dans le tuf, avec une coupole haute au sommet de laquelle un trou circulaire laisse voir le jour; sur les parois, des ouvertures à sommet formant angle aigu semblent être l'accès d'autres couloirs. Une banquette est ménagée à une assez grande hauteur en face de l'aboutissement des deux couloirs. Les couloirs et la chambre circulaire sont tapissés d'un enduit argileux: à la rencontre du sol et des parois, le tuf est taillé de façon à former une baguette arrondie; M. Boni prétend que, d'après un texte de Columelle [*de re rust.* 1. 6], ce serait une particularité de la construction des greniers, destinée à éviter des angles où des animaux pourraient faire leur nid. Le *mundus* en question se trouve à peu près sous l'emplacement du trône impérial, dans le fond du *tablinum* du palais des Flaviens.... M. Boni pense qu'au-dessus du *mundus*, et non dans la *Regia*, devait être le sanctuaire de Mars, protecteur de l'agriculture: les Saliens auraient conservé les armes sacrées dans la chambre à *thoios* du premier étage. On a recueilli au cours des fouilles un objet conique en bronze, avec des ornements en fer, formant douze lignes, qui rayonnent à partir du sommet. M. Boni y voit un casque.'

[1] K. O. Müller—W. Deecke *Die Etrusker*[2] Stuttgart 1877 ii. 100.

[2] Plout. *v. Rom.* 9 Ῥωμύλος μὲν οὖν τὴν καλουμένην Ῥώμην κουαδράτην, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τετράγωνον, ἔκτισε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐβούλετο πολίζειν τὸν τόπον, Ῥῶμος δὲ χωρίον τι τοῦ Ἀβεντίνου καρτερόν, ὃ δι' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὠνομάσθη Ῥεμώνιον, νῦν δὲ Ῥιγνάριον καλεῖται.... 11 ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλο

of the foundation of Roma Quadrata and inferred from the casting of first-fruits into the pit[1] that the *mundus* was the larder or store-house of the new city. W. Warde Fowler urged that, if it was used for storing grain, we can see why it should have been opened on August 24[2]. That date 'follows the Consualia [Aug. 21], a festival which almost beyond doubt has reference to harvesting, and immediately precedes the Opiconsivia [Aug. 25], which almost as certainly represents the storage of the grain as completed[3].' Warde Fowler further conjectured that on August 24 'the seed-corn for the autumn sowing was separated from the rest of the grain, and deposited in an underground storing-place[4],' the *mundus*. Since the rough old-fashioned wheat called *far* was sown throughout October[5], whereas the better wheat called *triticum* was not to be sown till after the setting of the Pleiades[6] (on or about Nov. 9), the other two days for the opening of the *mundus*—October 5 and November 8—are equally intelligible. When the city ceased to be a practical centre of agriculture, and the Etruscans established their dominion in Rome, 'the *mundus* took on a new meaning connected with the Etruscan ideas of a nether world[7]' and the *lapis manalis* was wrongly linked with the Manes. The transition would be facilitated by the fact, duly noted by Sir J. G. Frazer, that 'the spirits of the dead are often supposed to watch over or further the growth of the crops: that is why the firstfruits are often presented to them[8].'

ἐν τῇ Ῥεμωνίᾳ θάψας τὸν Ῥῶμον ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς τροφεῖς, ᾤκιζε τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεταπεμψάμενος ἄνδρας ἱεροῖς τισι θεσμοῖς καὶ γράμμασιν ὑφηγουμένους ἕκαστα καὶ διδάσκοντας ὥσπερ ἐν τελετῇ. βόθρος γὰρ ὠρύγη περὶ τὸ νῦν Κομίτιον κυκλοτερής, ἀπαρχαί τε πάντων, ὅσοις νόμῳ μὲν ὡς καλοῖς ἐχρῶντο, φύσει δ' ὡς ἀναγκαίοις, ἀπετέθησαν ἐνταῦθα. καὶ τέλος, ἐξ ἧς ἁφῖκτο γῆς ἕκαστος ὀλίγην κομίζων μοῖραν, ἔβαλλον εἰς ταῦτα καὶ συνεμίγνυον. καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν βόθρον τοῦτον ᾧ καὶ τὸν ὄλυμπον ὀνόματι μοῦνδον. εἶτα ὥσπερ κύκλον κέντρῳ περιέγραψαν τὴν πόλιν. κ.τ.λ.

[1] I take it that *βόθρος ... ὠρύγη περὶ τὸ νῦν Κομίτιον κυκλοτερής* means 'a round hole was dug in the neighbourhood of what is now called the Comitium,' not 'a circular trench was dug round what is now called the Comitium.' A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 315 and, apparently, Sir J. G. Frazer in his note on Ov. *fast.* 4. 821 (p. 386) mistranslate the passage.

[2] W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 211 f.

[3] *Id.* 'Mundus Patet' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 ii. 26 = *id. Roman Essays and Interpretations* Oxford 1920 p. 26.

[4] *Id.* in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 ii. 27 = *id. Roman Essays and Interpretations* Oxford 1920 p. 27.

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 205 far Septembri extremo usque in idus Octobres, alii post hunc diem in kal. Novembres.

[6] Verg. *georg.* 1. 219 ff., cp. Colum. *de re rust.* 2. 8.

[7] W. Warde Fowler in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 ii. 29 = *id. Roman Essays and Interpretations* Oxford 1920 p. 29.

[8] *Id.* in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 ii. 30 n. 1 = *id. Roman Essays and Interpretations* Oxford 1920 p. 32 n. 0.

Warde Fowler's explanation of the *mundus* as essentially a subterranean granary for the seed-corn commended itself to Professor F. M. Cornford, who worked out an interesting parallel in Eleusinian usage[1]. Boni too regarded the *mundus* that he found on the Palatine as the sacred granary of early Rome and sought to elucidate its arrangements on that assumption[2]. This granary-hypothesis, which obviously suits the name *Cereris mundus* used by Festus[3], Apuleius[4], etc.[5] and can at least be made to fit the accounts of *Quadrata Roma* given by Festus[6] and Plutarch[7], is in fact the accepted solution of the problem.

Still, it must be borne in mind that other *thóloi* on the Palatine are beyond question in the nature of early cisterns[8], and that the

[1] F. M. Cornford 'The ΣΠΑΡΧΑΙ and the Eleusinian Mysteries' in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 153—166. The seed-corn first buried in an underground granary (σιρός, cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 83, 10 ff. (*c.* 423/2 B.C.) cited *supra* p. 301 n. 0 (4)) and then taken out for sowing = Descent and Ascent of the Corn-maiden or Kore (*supra* ii. 295 n. 2).

[2] *Supra* p. 436 n. 11.

[3] *Supra* p. 431 n. 4.

[4] Apul. *apol.* 13 magis piaculum decernis speculum philosopho quam Cereris mundum profano videre.

[5] On the schol. Bern. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 3. 105 p. 774 Hagen (in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1867 iv) alii specum in Sicilia angusto ore, profunda altitudine, per quam rapta est Proserpina a Dite patre. alii 'mundum' in sacro Cereris, et caelum pro 'mundum' positum dicunt (cp. Philarg. *expl. in* Verg. *ecl.* 3. 105 p. 68 Thilo—Hagen) see S. Weinstock in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1930 xlv. 114 f., L. Deubner in *Hermes* 1933 lxviii. 283, *supra* p. 430 f. n. 0. Cp. the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 3926 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3348 (Capua) . . . icuria M. f. sacerdos | Cerialis mundalis | d. s. p. f. c. (*de sua pecunia faciundum curavit*).

[6] *Supra* p. 436 n. 0.

[7] *Supra* p. 436 n. 2. There is an important discrepancy here between Plutarch and Ovid. Plutarch places the *mundus*, into which at the foundation of the city first-fruits and earth were thrown, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the later Comitium. Ovid puts his corresponding *fossa* on the Palatine (*fast.* 4. 815 alter adit nemorosi saxa Palati.... 821 ff. fossa fit ad solidum, fruges iaciuntur in ima | et de vicino terra petita solo. | fossa repletur humo, plenaeque imponitur ara, | et novus accenso fungitur igne focus). It is usually assumed that Plutarch has blundered. But A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 316 f. notes 'the transfer to the Comitium of so many of the *sacra* and traditions of the Palatine' and concludes: 'When the city of the Four Regions was established and the new classification of the population was made that is associated in one tradition with the famous augur Attus Navius, it is reasonable to suppose that the founding of the new and larger *urbs* of Rome with its single and extended pomerium, centring in or near the Comitium, would be celebrated by a new *mundus* in the centre of the new *urbs*. It is curious that it is precisely with Attus Navius that tradition connects the transfer from the Palatine to the Comitium of the Ficus Ruminalis of Romulus and Remus, and also with him the establishment of the *puteal* or circular sacred enclosure in the Comitium. It seems probable that when Plutarch wrote, the old *mundus* of the Palatine had long ceased to be used, and may even have been forgotten; and that in speaking of the *mundus* as in the Comitium he was not making any blunder.'

[8] *Supra* p. 366 n. 1.

rock-cut chambers and channels of Boni's *mundus* could, not unreasonably, be explained as a somewhat more extensive reservoir[1]. Besides, such an explanation would make sense of the *manalis lapis*. The well-mouth would be appropriately closed by a 'streaming stone.' More than that. Recent philologists[2] derive the word *mundus*, both adjective and substantive, from a root meaning 'damp, wet, moisten, wash.' They suggest that *mundus* the adjective denoted successively 'watered, washed down, clean, clear, neat,' and that *mundus* the substantive continued the series 'neatness, adornment, order, cosmic order, world.' But on this showing it is thinkable that *mundus* the substantive at an early stage in its history meant 'place washed down, cistern' or the like, being perhaps a *Reimwortbildung* to pair

[1] So S. Weinstock in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1930 xlv. 121 with n. 3. Viewed in this way, some of the details mentioned *supra* p. 436 n. 11 become more understandable, *e.g.* the 'ouvertures à sommet formant angle aigu' in the walls of the 'chambre circulaire.'

[2] Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 501f. '**mundus**, *-a*, *-um* "schmuck, sauber, reinlich, nett," womit identisch *mundus* "Putz der Frauen; Weltordnung, Weltall," vgl. gr. *κόσμος* "Schmuck" und "Welt": wenn mit altem *u*, so wohl zu ahd. *muzzan*, mhd. *mutzen* "schmücken, putzen" (Vaniček 211...) und vielleicht weiter nach Schulze Qu. ep. 170 mit a 3 (s. auch Persson De orig. gerundii 75 [Niedermann IA. xviii, 81]) zu gr. *μύδος* "Nässe" usw. (vgl. *mulier*), mit einem Bedeutungsverhältnis wie zwischen nhd. *lauter* und gr. *κλύζω* "spüle." Eine genauere Gleichung ergibt sich aber bei der Annahme, dass *mundus* nach dem Kompositum *immundus* für lautgesetzliches **mondos* eingetreten sei (Niedermann a. a. O.; vgl. dipundius: pondus): ai. *maṇḍáyati* "schmückt (Vaniček a. a. O.), lit. *mañdagus* "anmutig, anständig" (Niedermann).' Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 250 (cp. *ib.* p. 251) 'Aus einem **mu-dnos* (*-d-* zur Wzerw. *meu-d-*; vgl. *χυ-δανός*: *χέω*, got. *giutan*) in der Bed. "gewaschen" deutet Schulze Qu. ep. 170 mit Anm. 3, KZ. 45, 235 (s. auch Vf. LEWb.[2] s.v.) auch lat. *mundus* "schmuck, sauber, rein, nett" Subst. "Putz der Frauen; Weltordnung, Weltall"; kaum nach *immundus* für **mondos* eingetreten und zu ai. *maṇḍayati* "schmückt (doch s. Uhlenbeck Ai. Wb. 211) und lit. *mañdagus* "anmutig, anständig" (doch s.u. *mendh-* "einen Sinn worauf richten") nach Niedermann JA. 18, 81. Von ders. Wzf. *meu-d-* in dieser Bed. wohl auch ahd. *muzzan*, mhd. *mutzen* "schmücken, putzen" (s. Vf. aaO.).'

See, however, F. Muller Jzn *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 277 ff., who distinguishes '*mūndus* < **móu(e)ndos orbis*....Schon die Alten stellten es zu *movēre*: Varro LL. 6, 3, Paul. 125 L., Isid. 3, 2, 8; 13, 1, 1' and '*mundus*, *-i*, "sauber, rein: schmuck"....Zur W. *meu* (+ $\bar{a}^{x}$)- "waschen," also **mū-ndo-s* altes Gerundiv oder **mŭd-no-s*...wie *χῡ-δανός*: *χέω* (Schulze QE. 170 ff., 469, KZ. 45, 235), vgl. Isid. 11, 1, 138: *quod eo* (sc. *lotio*) *lota id est munda vestimenta efficiantur*... [Wenn < **mŭd-no-s*, dann zur erweiterten W. *meu* + *d-*: gr. *μυδρός* "feucht," *μύδος* M. "Nässe," air. *mūad* "Wolke," ndl. *motregen* "feiner Regen," li. *máudyti* "baden"].—Hierher und identisch *mundus*, *-ī* M. "Schmuck," seit Fest., nicht rom.; genau wie d. *Schmuck* : *schmuck*.' Ernout—Meillet *Dict. étym. de la Langue Lat.* p. 608 f. likewise separate *mundus* the adjective from *mundus* the substantive meaning 'world,' but identify *mundus* the substantive meaning 'adornment' with the latter, not with the former, 'à l'imitation du gr. *κόσμος*.' They sum up: 'Pas d'étymologie claire. L'hypothèse d'une origine étrusque a été avancée (une déesse *munθυχ*, *munθχ*, *munθu*, dont le rôle est de parer et d'orner figure sur plusieurs miroirs étrusques; v. Deecke, dans Roscher, *Lexicon*, ii, 2, p. 3231). Sur le groupe de *mundus*, voir Kroll, *Festschr. Kretschmer*, p. 120 sqq., qui conclut par un "non liquet."'

with *fundus*[1]. The *mundus* on the Palatine may in fact be a religious survival, perpetuating the equipment of a primitive homestead.

Neither the granary- nor the well-hypothesis will quite adequately explain the dreadful sanctity that in Roman belief attached to the Palatine *mundus* or justify its description as 'the jaws of Pluto[2]', 'the gate of gloomy underworld gods[3]', and 'the portal of Orcus[4]'. These expressions point rather to a third possibility. Was the *mundus* originally neither a granary, nor a well, but a tomb—say the Bronze-Age *thólos* of the Palatine king? As such it might fairly be dubbed *mundus* by a later generation and held to imitate the celestial vault[5]. Offerings of food and other necessaries brought to the buried king might in Italy as in Greece lead to his grave being deemed a *thesaurós*[6] and even, in post-regal times, being treated as a real or symbolic store-house for the seed-corn of the community[7]. Lastly, the stone that formed the apex or finial of the tomb would doubly deserve its name *manalis*. For, while some would think of the Manes[8] returning from the Underworld to help their people in distress, others might remember that to open up the grave of a buried king was one method of inducing a deluge of rain[9]. In short,

[1] Not included as such by H. Güntert *Über Reimwortbildungen im Arischen und Altgriechischen* Heidelberg 1914. J. Vendryes 'La famille du latin *mundus* "monde"' in the *Mémoires de la société de linguistique de Paris* 1914 xviii. 305—310 regards *mundus* as a dialect-form of *fundus* ('C'est d'un ancêtre commun **bundo-* que *mundus* et *fundus* seraient sortis....On peut d'abord recourir à l'hypothèse d'une distinction dialectale et d'un *fundus* rural opposé à un *mundus* urbain; mais ce *mundus* urbain lui-même est peut-être d'origine étrangère (ombrienne?)' etc.), and both as related to a Celtic **dubno-* preserved in the Irish *domun* 'world,' the Gallic *Dubno*talos, *Dubno*coueros, *Dumno*rix, etc. But all this is highly speculative.

[2] *Supra* p. 432 n. 1. [3] *Ib.* [4] *Supra* p. 432 n. 4. [5] *Supra* ii. 1150.

[6] In the epitaph on Cn. Naevius preserved by Gell. 1. 24. 2 I should take *Orcho traditus thesauro* to mean 'handed over to Orchus as store-house.' F. Skutsch would render 'handed over to Orchus for a treasure,' cp. *dono dare*. E. Bährens in *Poet. Lat. min.* vi. 296 attributes the epigram to M. Terentius Varro and prints his own cj. *Orcho traditus thesaurus* ('coffer,' *i.e.* coffin). Cod. Buslidianus gives *orchi* and *thesauri*. Hence the restorations *Orci traditus thesauro* (possible) and *Orcino*, *Orcio*, *Orcivo traditus thesauro* (highly improbable): see De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'Orcīnus.'

The term *θησαυρός* as applied to the *thólos*-tombs of Greece is criticised by Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 356 f., Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 126, H. Hitzig and H. Blümner on Paus. 2. 16, J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Berkeley, California 1930 p. 382, and many others. [7] Cp. Sir J. G. Frazer on Ov. *fast.* 4. 821 (p. 390).

[8] On the Manes I have said my say in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 293 ff.

[9] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 284—287 ('Making rain by means of the dead'), *supra* p. 369 n. 3.

A striking case is that of Antaios king of Mauretania: Mela 3. 106 hic Antaeus regnasse dicitur, et signum quod fabulae clarum prorsus ostenditur collis modicus resupini hominis imagine iacentis, illius ut incolae ferunt tumulus: unde ubi aliqua pars eruta est solent imbres spargi, et donec effossa repleantur eveniunt. Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* ii. 105 n. 75, 132 n. 18 and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2340 think that the myth of Antaios

the assumption that the *mundus* was a prehistoric tomb is found to cover the whole spread of usages connected with it in historic days. Nor have we far to look for a somewhat analogous case. Adjoining the Palatine was the Capitol, and we have already seen that in the Capitoline temple, side by side with Iupiter on his throne, stood an ancient grave-*stéle* or boundary-stone[1], which was viewed as an appanage of the sky-god and in art portrayed as a blue globe resting on a square plinth[2]—a *mundus* of the celestial sort. Roman writers called it the stone of Terminus[3]. But such a stone, at its erection, had the blood of a burnt sacrifice along with incense, corn, honeycombs, wine etc. placed in the hole prepared for it[4]. In other words, it was treated as the tombstone of a man and received the offerings normally brought to the Manes[5]. Nor is the notion of an early tomb on the Capitol beyond the pale of possibility. The story of Aulus' head dug up on that very spot is more than a mere piece of bad etymology[6].

In this connexion it is impossible to ignore that most impressive of all Roman temples, the Pantheon[7]. For its amazing dome, while

has borrowed this trait from the myth of Kyknos (Hes. *sc. Her.* 472 ff. Κύκνον δ'αὖ Κῆυξ θάπτεν καὶ λαὸς ἀπείρων, | οἳ ῥ' ἐγγὺς ναῖον πόλιας κλειτοῦ βασιλῆος | ... τοῦ δὲ τάφον καὶ σῆμ' ἀιδὲς ποίησεν Ἄναυρος | ὄμβρῳ χειμερίῳ πλήθων· τὼς γάρ μιν Ἀπόλλων | Λητοΐδης ἤνωξ', ὅτι ῥα κλειτὰς ἑκατόμβας | ὅστις ἄγοι Πυθοῖδε βίῃ σύλασκε δοκεύων). But the resemblance between the two stories is remote.

[1] *Supra* i. 53. [2] *Supra* i. 42 pl. vi. [3] *Supra* i. 53 n. 5.

[4] Siculus Flaccus in the *Grom. vet.* i. 141 Lachmann cum enim terminos disponerent, ipsos quidem lapides in solidam terram rectos conlocabant proxime ea loca in quibus fossis factis defixuri eos erant, et unguento velaminibusque et coronis eos coronabant. in fossis autem [in (*om.* cod. G.)] quibus eos posituri erant, sacrificio facto hostiaque inmolata adque incensa facibus ardentibus, in fossa cooperti ('*an* cooperta?' K. Lachmann) sanguinem instillabant, eoque (eis qui cod. B.) tura et fruges iactabant. favos quoque et vinum, aliaque quibus consuetudo est Termini (terminis codd. B.G.) sacrum fieri, in fossis adiciebant. consumptisque igne omnibus dapibus super calentes reliquias lapides conlocabant adque ita diligenti cura confirmabant. adiectis etiam quibusdam saxorum fragminibus circum calcabant, quo firmius starent. tale ergo sacrificium domini, inter quos fines dirimebantur, faciebant.

[5] H. B. Smith in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* i. 893 f. See also E. Samter (*supra* ii. 1090).

[6] *Supra* ii. 290 n. 0. See now A. Blanchet 'Pierres gravées représentant la légende du Capitole' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1925 ii. 248—256 figs. 1—6, and W. Deonna 'Orpbée et l'oracle de la tête coupée' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1925 xxxviii. 44—69 (many parallels ancient, medieval, and modern).

[7] L. Beltrami *Il Pantheon* (results of investigation in 1892—1893, with plans and drawings by P. O. Armanini) Milano 1898 pp. 1—75 pls. 1—5, H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 581—589, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 29, W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Ancient Rome* rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 pp. 77—82 pl. 41 f. and fig. 19, S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 pp. 382—386, D. S. Robertson *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 pp. 246—251 pl. 16 f. and fig. 104 f.

obviously comparable in shape with the *mundus*, seems to have been in the nature of a vast imperial *herôion*[1] 'built for the glorification of the gens Iulia, and...dedicated in particular to Mars and

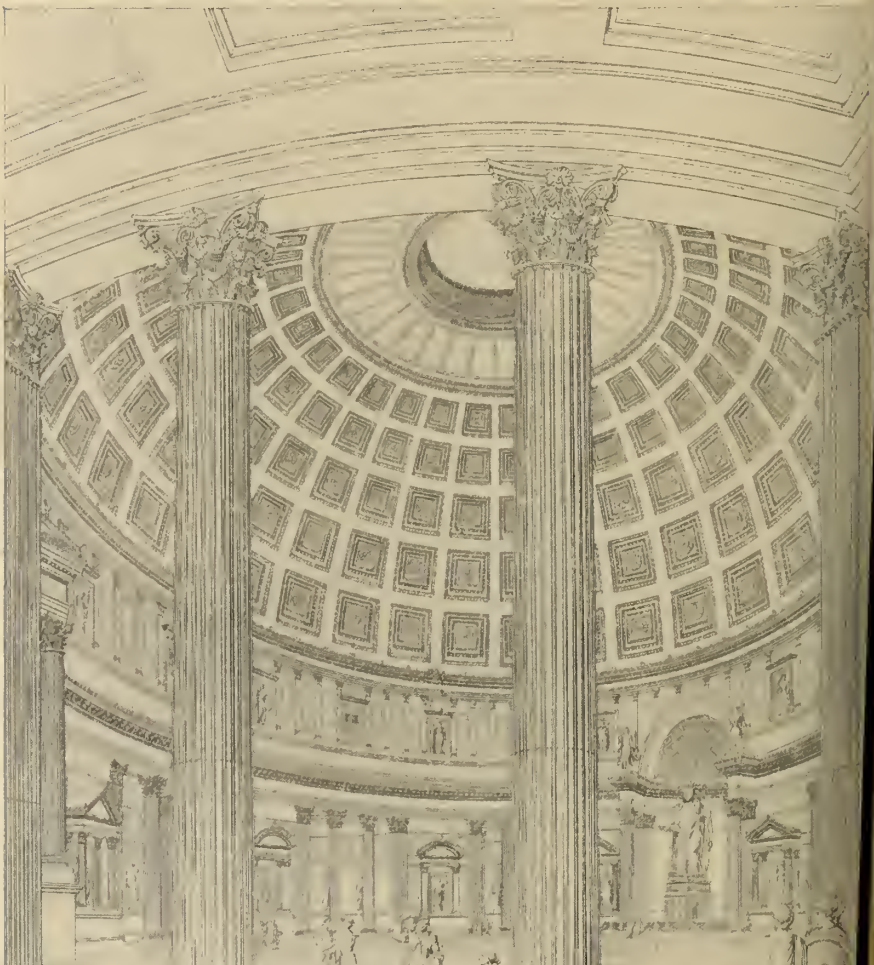


Fig. 291.

[1] In some respects the closest parallel might be found in the *Philippeion* at Olympia (Paus. 5. 20. 9 f., cp. 5. 17. 4), on which see F. Adler in *Olympia* ii. 128—133 pls. 79—82, E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1925 pp. 131—135 figs. 41, 43—45.

Venus, the most prominent among the ancestral deities of that family[1].' So much, indeed, is clear from Dion Cassius' account[2]:

'Also he (*sc.* Agrippa[3]) completed the building called the Pantheon. It has this name, perhaps because it received among the images which decorated it the statues of many gods, including Mars and Venus; but my own opinion of the name is that, because of its vaulted roof, it resembles the heavens. Agrippa, for his part, wished to place a statue of Augustus there also and to bestow upon him the honour of having the structure named after him; but when the emperor would not accept either honour, he placed in the temple itself a statue of the former Caesar and in the ante-room statues of Augustus and himself.'

Fig. 292.

[1] S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 382.

[2] Dion Cass. 53. 27 *τό τε Πάνθειον ὠνομασμένον ἐξετέλεσε· προσαγορεύεται δὲ οὕτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι πολλῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τε τοῦ Ἄρεως καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἔλαβεν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὅτι θολοειδὲς ὂν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέοικεν. ἠβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον ἐνταῦθα ἱδρῦσαι, τήν τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῷ δοῦναι· μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας ἔστησε* trans. E. Cary.

[3] Opinions differ as to the character and general aspect of Agrippa's Pantheon.

In 1892 the architect G. Chedanne, from careful examination of the consoles etc. in the existing portico, concluded that Agrippa's building was a decastyle, peripteral hall, originally facing south and covering the whole space now occupied by the *Piazza del Panteon* (H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 589). Further, by means of brick-stamps taken from many parts of the extant rotunda, he showed that this was constructed by Hadrian in 120—124 A.D. (*ib.* p. 587 n. 81).

Subsequent investigations have been held to establish the following points: '(1) that the temple built by Agrippa consisted of an oblong cella with a portico of ten columns facing the south; (2) that in front of this temple, viz., on the south side, was an immense circular piazza, of which a portion of the enclosing wall concentric with and contiguous to the rotunda has been found; (3) that this circular piazza was uncovered, as its pavement, found 8 feet below the floor of the Pantheon, sloped downwards from the centre to the circumference[3] ([3] It is probable that this piazza was surrounded with a portico, the founda-

The resemblance of the whole edifice (fig. 291)[1] to the sky would be enhanced by its ceiling coffered with bronze flowers[2] or stars (fig. 292)[3], and perhaps also by its seven niches tenanted—if Mommsen's conjecture is sound[4]—by the seven gods of the week

tion walls of which were uprooted when the rotunda was built); (4) that the rotunda was built on the site of the circular piazza, some 7 or 8 feet above the pavement of the same; and (5) that at a subsequent period Agrippa's temple and its portico were taken down and rebuilt at a higher level, to form the portico of the existing Pantheon facing north. In rebuilding the portico it was made octostyle instead of decastyle, the eight columns of the front resting on what must have been the rear wall of Agrippa's cella. The entablature, with the inscription on the frieze, and the pediment also belonged to Agrippa's temple' (W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Ancient Rome* rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 p. 79 f.).

Recently, however, the pendulum has swung back. G. Cozzo *Ingegneria romana* Roma 1928 pp. 255—297 ('La costruzione del Pantheon') with pls. 96—117 figs. 185—214 argues that the Pantheon of to-day is essentially the structure raised by Agrippa in 27 B.C.; that its original entrance was on the south through a great outer hall; that later this hall became part of the Thermae, the rotunda-entrance being then transferred to the north; and lastly that the solid projection and porch of the Pantheon were added, perhaps in the time of Septimius Severus, on the site of a quite separate pre-Agrippan building.

D. S. Robertson *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 p. 248 *à propos* of Cozzo's view concludes: 'This bold theory, which is supported by many arguments of detail, could perhaps be adapted to fit a Hadrianic date for the rotunda, but, even so, it seems very unlikely that it will win general acceptance.' *Id.* in the *Class. Rev.* 1934 xlviii. 229 demurs also to F. Granger's contention, 'most fully explained in *J. R. I. B. A.* 26 November 1932,...that the Pantheon is a huge sundial, designed to show the summer solstice by the passing of the sun's rays through the centre of the imaginary sphere of which the dome forms the upper half.'

An item of evidence hitherto, I think, unnoticed may be found in the fresco-work illustrated above (fig. 292). Wall-decoration of the 'Third Pompeian Style' (*c.* 25 B.C.—*c.* 50 A.D.) might well be inspired by Agrippa's Pantheon, a recent architectural triumph just finished in 25 B.C. No doubt, the *quasi*-architecture of the 'Third Style' was often fantastic and unreal. Still, the occurrence of this novel and striking *motif* demands some explanation. It is fittingly explained, if we admit that Agrippa's building was a domed structure like its Hadrianic successor.

[1] C. E. Isabelle *Les Édifices Circulaires et les Dômes* Paris 1855 p. 53 f. pl. 18 (=my fig. 291), D. S. Robertson *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 pl. 17.

[2] W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Ancient Rome* rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 p. 81: 'The coffers of the vault were all gilded with bronze flowers in the centre, and M. Chedanne found the bronze bolts in the vault.'

[3] A. Mau *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* Berlin 1882 p. 414 pls. 13 and 14 (=my fig. 292: scale ¼) from the right side-wall of the *tablinum* in the house of the banker L. Caecilius Iucundus (v. 1. 26), *id. Führer durch Pompeji*[6] bearbeitet von A. Ippel Leipzig 1928 p. 54 ff. fig. 19. The design shows a spacious dome as seen from below. Seven concentric rows of *lacunaria* in diminishing perspective lead the eye up towards the zenith of a cupola crowded with whitish stars on an imbricated ground of dull blue and purple. The whole rests on a widely spaced Ionic colonnade, and is cleverly illuminated by slanting shafts of sunlight. The Ionic columns, the concentric *lacunaria*, the stars, and the imbricated cupola are all suggestive of the Pantheon.

[4] H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 581 n. 61: 'Mommsens Vermuthung, in den sieben Nischen hätten die sieben Planetengötter gestanden, hat, wenn man an das jetzige Pantheon denkt, viel Bestechendes, begegnet aber Schwierigkeiten für das ursprüngliche,' S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topo-*

Saturnus, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurius, Iupiter, Venus[1]. Now at the very summit of this great rotunda, at a height of 43·20^{m} (144 ft.) above the coloured pavement, was a circular opening some 9^{m} (29 ft.) across, surrounded by an ornamental cornice of bronze. Through that opening rain fell, and still falls, unheeded. Is it fanciful to suggest[2] that such an arrangement of the louver[3] points to, or at least accords with, a long-standing belief that rain habitually fell through a hole in the sky?

iv. The holed vessel elsewhere.

An analogous Semitic conception, the 'windows of heaven' (*ʾarubboth hashshamayim*), has been mentioned in a foot-note[4], but is deserving of fuller treatment[5]. The Hebrew phrase is rendered by some the 'lattices of heaven[6],' and the late Dr A. Wright reminds us 'that in Egypt and Libya the open windows of the harem are regularly fitted with lattice work containing minute perforations[7].' The transition in meaning from a window to a sieve[8] was therefore not difficult. Hence we may explain the vulgate version of an obscure passage in the Old Testament: 'He made darkness a hiding-place round about him, sending waters from the clouds of the skies as through a sieve[9].' Hence too Theodoret in *s.* v A.D. could describe God as 'raining from the clouds...and separating the drops and letting them fall now in fine rain, now in copious streams, and parting as it were with a sieve the offspring of the clouds[10].' The

graphical Dictionary of Ancient Rome Oxford 1929 p. 382 f.: 'Mommsen's conjecture that the seven niches were occupied by the seven planetary deities is attractive, and Hülsen is now in favour of it.'

[1] *Supra* ii. 69 f. [2] *Supra* p. 353 n. 1.

[3] I have already touched upon ceilings made to represent the sky in the case of Babylonian palaces (*supra* i. 262 ff.), Egyptian tombs (*supra* i. 752 n. 1), Mycenaean *thóloi* (*supra* ii. 1150, iii. 364, *infra* 458), Greek temples (*supra* i. 751, 752 n. 1) and porticos (*supra* i. 752 n. 0), Roman arches (*supra* ii. 354 ff., 359 ff.), temples, and palaces (*supra* i. 751 n. 8). The subject could readily be expanded into a monograph (R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 has shown the way and collected much relevant material); for such treatment, losing its significance, passed into the repertory of renaissance and modern decorative art. To give but a single instance, the hall of Queens' College, Cambridge, has a timbered roof painted blue and spangled with stars of lead-gilt round its central louver.

[4] *Supra* p. 353 n. 1.

[5] See S. R. Driver on Gen. 1. 6. The views of the early church fathers are collected by J. A. Letronne 'Des opinions cosmographiques des pères de l'église, rapprochées des doctrines philosophiques de la Grèce' in the *Revue des deux mondes* 1834 i. 616 f.

[6] So Prof. A. S. Peake on Is. 24. 18.

[7] A. Wright in the *Class. Rev.* 1901 xv. 258. [8] *Supra* p. 335 ff.

[9] 2 Sam. 22. 12 (=Ps. 18. 11) posuit tenebras in circuitu suo latibulum, cribrans aquas de nubibus caelorum.

[10] Theodoret. *de providentia* 1. 34 (lxxxiii. 572 Migne) ὕων ἐκ νεφῶν...καὶ τὰς ψεκάδας διακρίνων καὶ νῦν μὲν σμικρὰς ἀφιεὶς νῦν δὲ μεγάλας καὶ κρουνηδὸν φερομένας καὶ οἷόν τινι κοσκίνῳ διαιρῶν τῶν νεφῶν τὰς ὠδῖνας.

alleged examples of rain-charms in Scripture[1] do not, however, illustrate the actual usage of a holed vessel or sieve[2].

A remarkable instance of rain-making through a celestial sieve is recorded by Major S. C. Macpherson in his account of the Khonds' religion. A great Janni with two smaller priests and some of the principal elders address the following prayer to the rain-god Pidzu Pennu:

'Oh, give us abundant rain, enough to melt the hill-tops. Go and fetch water for us, if need be, by force or fraud, from the stores of your friends the gods of rain. Bring it in brass vessels, and in hollow gourds, and resting on the sky above our land, pour the water down on it through your sieve until the sambur, unable to live in the forests, shall seek shelter in our houses, and till the soil of the mountains shall be washed into our valleys[3].' Etc.

In the Finnish *Kalevala* Louhi, the lady of the north country Pohjola, prays thus:

Maiden of the Clouds, Mist-Maiden,
Scatter from thy sieve the cloudlets,
And the mists around thee scatter,
Send the thick clouds down from heaven,
Sink thou from the air of vapour,
O'er the broad lake's shining surface,
Out upon the open water,
On the head of Väinämöinen,
Falling on Uvantolainen[4].

Over a great part of Germany we find the recognition of a supernatural and commonly beneficent being called *Frau Holda* (*Hulda, Holle, Hulle, Holl,* etc.[5]). She is a sky-power of some sort[6];

[1] D. B. Stade *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* Tübingen 1905 i. 190.

[2] A. Marmorstein 'Das Sieb im Volksglauben' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 235—238 shows that the sieve plays a considerable part in Rabbinic literature and popular Jewish custom.

[3] W. Macpherson *Memorials of Service in India.* From the correspondence of the late Major Samuel Charters Macpherson, C.B. London 1865 p. 355 ff., E. O. James in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1918 x. 564[a].

[4] *Kalevala* trans. W. F. Kirby 42. 338 ff. According to the Hon. J. Abercromby *The Pre- and Proto-historic Finns* London 1898 i. 306 f. (cp. ii. 341 f.), 'The daughter of nature (*luonto*), Udutar, and the sharp maiden Terhetär sifted mist in a sieve at the end of a misty promontory, thereby giving origin to fevers and pleurisy.'

In Languedoc it is said that the Drac or water-spirit has hands pierced like a sieve (F. Liebrecht *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia* Hannover 1856 p. 135 n. cited by F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 7 n. 1).

[5] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 265—272 ('*Holdâ* is the kind, benignant, merciful goddess or lady, from hold (propitius)'...'by the side of our dame Holde there are also *holden, i.e.*, friendly spirits, a silent subterranean people, of whom dame Holde, so to speak, is the princess'), 1888 iv. 1367 f., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 272 ff. ('Der Mythus der deutschen Wolkengöttin'...'*Frau Holda, Holle, Hulle, Wolle, Wulle, Holke?* von hold, g. hulþs freundlich,

for, when it snows, she is making her bed and the feathers fly[1]. She

geneigt oder an. huldr verborgen, wofür die jedenfalls wesensverwante dän. norweg. *Hulla*, *Huldra*, *Huldre* spricht'...'Wahrscheinlich gehört auch die engl. *Madame Gould* hieher, eine weisse Frau, die auf einem Pfluge sitzt und ihr Haar kämmt (§ 366. [W.] Henderson *Notes* [*on the Folk-lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders* London 1879 p.] 330 [ff.])'), 282 ff. ('Der Frühlingsmythus von der Erlösung der weissen Frau'), E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 278 f. ('Deutscher Volksglaube des späten Mittelalters und der Gegenwart weiss von einer Frau Holda oder Holle und Perchta zu erzählen, die mit ihren Scharen durch die Lüfte fahren, besonders zur Zeit des grossen winterlichen Seelenfestes sich den Menschen zeigen und sie bald belohnen, bald bestrafen'....'Nun findet sich für die seelischen Wesen neben *unhold* schon frühzeitig der Name *holden*. Die Wassergeister erscheinen als *Wazzerholde*, *Brunnenholde* ([J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 268 with n. 3]), als *Hollen* erscheinen die Zwerge ([A.] Kuhn *Sagen*[, *Gebräuche und Märchen aus*] *Westfal*[*en* Leipzig 1859] 1, 193 f., 200 u. öft.), überhaupt die Seelen Verstorbener (ebd. II. 124)'....'Überall sehen wir auf germanischem Gebiete den engsten Zusammenhang zwischen den Holden und den Seelen der Verstorbenen, und wir brauchen deshalb das *holdam* des Correctors des Burchard von Worms nicht in *unholdam* ([F. Kauffmann 'Dea Hluðana' in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 1894 xviii. 150]) zu ändern, wo es von der Schar der nachtfahrenden Dämonen heisst "*quam vulgaris stultitia holdam vocant* [leg. *vocat*]." Dies *holda* gehört aber etymologisch zu ahd. *helan* "verbergen" und berührt sich so mit an. *hel*, unserem *Hölle*. Demnach sind die Holden von Haus die Unterirdischen, die nach dem Tode noch ihr Wesen treiben. Wie das sprachliche Verhältnis dieser zu den *Unholden* gewesen ist, dünkt mich noch nicht genügend aufgeklärt. Aus dieser Schar der Holden ist nun in später, vielleicht erst in christlicher Zeit und z. T. unter dem Einflusse fremden Volksglaubens eine Führerin entstanden, der die Volksphantasie das nomen proprium aus dem Kollektivbegriff geschaffen, die aber im Laufe der Zeit die von ihr geführten Wesen zurückgedrängt hat. Das ist die *Frau Holle* oder *Holda* unserer Märchen und Sagen'), *id.* in Hoops *Reallex.* ii. 556 f. *s.v.* 'Holden; Frau Holda, Holle,' R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 114 (*Frau Holle* as 'eine Kollektivierung' of the *Holden*, originally 'freigewordene Seelen Verstorbener'), P. A. Munch *Norse Mythology* rev. M. Olsen, trans. S. B. Hustvedt New York 1926 p. 310 ('The name of the Huldre or Hill-Lady, *huldr*, probably comes from *at hylja*, "to hide," "to cover." The Germans are conversant with a somewhat similar being, *Holle*, *Frau Holle*, *Mutter Holle* or *Holde*, whose name appears at an early period to have been associated with the adjective *hold*, Old Norse *hollr*, "kind," "amiable," "friendly"....Our Huldre, on the contrary, bears a name which linguistically has always been kept distinct from the adjective *hollr*').

[6] See, however, A. H. Krappe *Études de mythologie et de folklore germaniques* Paris 1928 p. 101 ff., *id. The Science of Folk-Lore* London 1930 p. 90 ('Dame Holle is an old chthonic divinity, the Teutonic parallel of the Greek Persephone and the Roman Bona Dea and at the same time a divinity of the fertility of the soil. Wherever her procession passes the fields will produce twice their usual harvest'), *id. Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 pp. 196 ('Hel, apparentée à Holda, est une ancienne déesse de la terre, l'équivalent exact de la Perséphone hellénique. Seulement, son aspect purement chthonien et sinistre a prévalu sur ses qualités plus aimables. Dans le cas de Holda, d'autre part, les deux aspects de son caractère, l'affable et le terrible, se sont maintenus dans la tradition. Ce qui est encore plus intéressant, de même que sainte Agathe vint prendre la place de l'ancienne Perséphone chez les populations méditerranéennes, sainte Lucie prit celle de la Holda germanique'), 252 ('la *Holda* germanique (dont le nom est dérivé de l'adjectif *hold*)').

[1] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 267 f., where parallels are cited to Hdt. 4. 7 and 31.

also haunts lakes and fountains, where she may be seen at noon as a fair white lady[1]. In the Harz district it is believed that, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, she carries water in a vessel without a bottom[2]. Or again, in the same locality she appears as a black woman with two buckets that have no bottom to them[3].

The *motif* of the holed bucket is worked into the German folk-tale of 'Master Awl' (*Meister Pfriem*)[4]. This tells how a shoe-maker, who grumbled at everything, once dreamt that he was knocking loudly at the door of heaven. Saint Peter let him in, provided he gave up his grumbling ways and found fault with nothing inside.

'So he went in, and walked up and down the wide expanses of heaven. He looked around him, to the left and to the right, but sometimes shook his head, or muttered something to himself. Then he saw two angels who were carrying away a beam. It was the beam which some one had had in his own eye whilst he was looking for the splinter in the eye of another. They did not, however, carry the beam lengthways, but obliquely. "Did any one ever see such a piece of stupidity?" thought Master Pfriem; but he said nothing, and seemed satisfied with it. "It comes to the same thing after all, whichever way they carry the beam, straight or crooked, if they only get along with it, and truly I do not see them knock against anything." Soon after this he saw two angels who were drawing water out of a well into a bucket, but at the same time he observed that the bucket was full of holes, and that the water was running out of it on every side. They were watering the earth with rain. "Hang it[5]," he exclaimed; but happily recollected himself, and thought, "Perhaps it is only a pastime. If it is an amusement, then it seems they can do useless things of this kind even here in heaven, where people, as I have already noticed, do nothing but idle about." He went farther and saw a cart which had stuck fast in a deep hole. "It's no wonder," said he to the man who stood by it; "who would load so unreasonably? what have you there?" "Good wishes," replied the man. "I could not go along the right way with it, but still I have pushed it safely up here, and they won't leave me sticking here." In fact an angel did come and harnessed two horses to it. "That's quite right," thought Pfriem, "but two horses won't get that cart out, it must at least have four to it." Another angel came and brought two more horses; she [*leg.* he] did not, however, harness them in front of it, but behind. That was too much for Master Pfriem, "Clumsy creature," he burst out with, "what are you doing there? Has any one ever since the world began seen a cart drawn in that way? But you, in your conceited arrogance, think that you know everything best." He was going to say more, but one of the inhabitants of heaven seized

[1] J. Grimm *op. cit.* i. 268.

[2] H. Pröhle *Harzsagen, gesammelt auf dem Oberharz* Leipzig 1854 p. 155 quoted by A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 i. 203.

[3] H. Pröhle *op. cit.* p. 135 quoted by A. Kuhn *op. cit.* i. 203.

[4] *Kinder und Hausmärchen* gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm. Grosse Ausgabe[6] Göttingen 1850 ii. 414 ff. no. 178 ('Meister Pfriem'), Grimm's *Household Tales* trans. M. Hunt London 1901 ii. 279 ff. no. 178 ('Master Pfriem') with the note *ad loc.* (*ib.* p. 457 f.).

[5] '*Alle Hagel!*' *platzte er heraus.*

him by the throat and pushed him forth with irresistible strength. Beneath the gateway Master Pfriem turned his head round to take one more look at the cart, and saw that it was being raised into the air by four winged horses. At this moment Master Pfriem awoke.'

J. Bolte and G. Polívka[1] in a thorough-going commentary on this tale regard it as composed of two distinct elements—an early legend involving symbols of fruitless labour, and a popular story about an impudent fellow who pushed his way into heaven. They trace the former element back to a date *c.* 800 A.D., when it is found in a Greek legend of Saint Arsenios the Great[2], ex-tutor of Arcadius and Honorius (*c.* 334—449 A.D.). This anchorite saw in a vision three successive symbols of human vanity—(1) an Ethiopian trying to lift a pile of wood, but adding logs to his burden instead of subtracting them from it; (2) a man baling water out of a pit into a cistern, which had holes in it; and (3) two men on horseback carrying a pole between them, but endeavouring to enter the door of a sanctuary side by side, because neither of them was willing to let the other enter first.

Such symbols for labour lost may occur singly and give rise to proverbial phrases. Thus the Germans say:

Wasser in ein löcheriges Fass schöpfen[3].
Wasser in ein sybeckin schöpffen[4].
Wasser schöpfen mit einem Siebe[5].

Often the emptying of a lake or pool with a sieve is an impossible task laid upon a human by a superhuman being. In a folk-tale from Haute-Bretagne Blue Beard bids a man, who enters his service, drain a pond with a sieve[6]. In another from central Germany

[1] J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1918 iii. 297—305, especially p. 302 f.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Julius iv. 626 E—F ('Vita S. Arsenii anachoretæ' 3. 19) *καθημένου οὖν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ κελλίον ἦλθε φωνὴ λέγουσα αὐτῷ· 'Δεῦρο, δείξω σοι τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων.' καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθεν, καὶ ἀπήνεγκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τόπον τινὰ καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ Αἰθίοπα κόπτοντα ξύλα καὶ ποιοῦντα φορτίον* (leg. *φορτίον*) *μέγα, ἐπείραζε δὲ βαστάσαι αὐτὸ καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἆραι ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀπελθὼν πάλιν ἔκοπτε ξύλα καὶ προσετίθη τῷ φορτίῳ* (leg. *φορτίῳ*). *καὶ προβὰς ὀλίγον ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ τινα ἱστάμενον ἐπὶ λάκκου καὶ ἀντλοῦντα ὕδωρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταβάλλοντα εἰς δεξαμενὴν τετρυπημένην καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὕδωρ ἐκχέουσαν. καὶ πάλιν λέγει αὐτῷ· 'Δεῦρο, δείξω σοι.' καὶ θεωρεῖ ἱερὸν καὶ δύο ἄνδρας καθημένους ἵπποις καὶ βαστάζοντας ξύλον πλαγίως ἕνα κατὰ τοῦ ἑνός. ἤθελον δὲ διὰ τῆς πύλης τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰσελθεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὸ ξύλον αὐτῶν πλάγιον· οὐκ ἐταπείνωσε δὲ αὐτὸν* (leg. *δ' ἑαυτὸν*) *ὁ εἷς ὀπίσω* (leg. *εἷς ὀπίσω*) *τοῦ ἄλλου ἐνέγκαι τὸ ξύλον ἐπ' εὐθείας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔμειναν ἔξω τῆς πύλης. ἐπύθετο οὖν ὁ Ἀρσένιος τί ἦ ταῦτα; καὶ ῥηθὲν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.*

[3] K. F. W. Wander *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon* Leipzig 1876 iv. 1833 no. 794.

[4] *Id. ib.* no. 795. [5] *Id. ib.* no. 799.

[6] P. Sébillot in the *Revue des traditions populaires* 1894 ix. 168, *id. Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1905 ii. 460.

the ghost of a dead woman is put under a ban to empty a pool with the same utensil[1]. In an English tale a girl is ordered by her step-mother to fill a sieve at the Well of the World's End, and succeeds in so doing thanks to the advice of a friendly frog:

'Stop it with moss and daub it with clay,
And then it will carry the water away[2].'

The performance of manifest impossibilities[3] was throughout the middle ages held to be a signal proof of divine favour or at least of superhuman powers. As late as 1209 A.D. the Poles were confident of victory because a certain sorceress (*Pythonissa*) marched at the head of Duke Wlodislaus' army bearing water in a sieve[4].

In general it may be maintained that the frequent connexion of witches with sieves[5] depends on the belief that witches are rain-makers, and that rain can be made by pouring water through a sieve. It is not, however, easy to cite unequivocal evidence of a sieve

[1] E. Sommer *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Sachsen und Thüringen* Halle 1846 Sagen no. 10 quoted by A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 i. 204.

[2] J. Jacobs *English Fairy Tales*[3] London 1898 p. 215 ff. ('The Well of the World's End') with note on p. 260 ('The sieve-bucket task is widespread from the Danaids of the Greeks to the leverets of *Uncle Remus*, who, curiously enough, use the same rhyme: "Fill it wid moss en dob it wid clay."').

[3] Cp. *supra* p. 428.

[4] C. G. Hoffmann *Scriptores rerum Lusaticarum Antiqui & recentiores Chronica Montis Sereni* Lipsiæ & Budissæ 1719 iv. 62 Anno MCCIX *Conradus* orientalis Marchio *Lubus* castrum soceri sui *Wlodislai* Ducis Poloniæ, propter multas quas ab eo patiebatur injurias, obsedit. *Wlodislaus* vero obsidionem vi solvere volens collecto exercitu copioso, Marchioni mandavit, se ei altera die congressurum. Vespere autem diei præcedentis *Oderam* fluvium cum suis omnibus transgressus, improvisus supervenire hostibus moliebatur. Unus vero eorum, qui *Supani* dicuntur, vehementer ei cœpit obsistere, monens ne tempus pugnæ statutum præveniret, quia hoc factum nullius rectius, quam infidelitatis posset nomine appellari. Quem cum Dux timiditatis argueret, & fidelitatis, qua ei teneretur, commoneret, respondit: *ego quidem ad pugnam pergo, sed scio me patriam meam de cætero non visurum.* Habebat autem (*sc.* Wlodislaus) Ducem belli Pythonissam quandam, quæ de flumine cribro haustam nec defluentem, ut ferebatur, ducens aquam, exercitum præcedebat, & hoc signo eis victoriam promittebat. Nec latuit Marchionem adventus eorum, sed mature suis armatis & ordinatis occurrens, forti congressu omnes in fugam vertit, Pythonissa primitus interfecta. Ille etiam Supanus viriliter pugnans cum multis aliis interfectus est. J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 iii. 1111 f.

Cp. J. Michelet *Origines de droit français cherchées dans les symboles et formules du droit universel* Paris 1837 p. 350 'Les Indiens croient qu'une vierge peut serrer l'eau en pelote, ou la porter dans un tamis.'

[5] A. Kuhn—W. Schwartz *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche* Leipzig 1848 p. 262 f. no. 293 with n. on p. 501, A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 i. 18 no. 22, F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 7 n. 1, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 78, 90, 123, 135, 175.

On sieve-superstitions in general see *supra* p. 336 n. 5 and G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 pp. 96, 101, 219 n. 2.

being actually used in a rain-charm within the confines of Europe. Perhaps the clearest case is one quoted by Sir James Frazer[1]:

'In 1868 the prospect of a bad harvest, caused by a prolonged drought, induced the inhabitants of a village in the Tarashchansk district to dig up the body of a Raskolnik, or Dissenter, who had died in the preceding December. Some of the party beat the corpse, or what was left of it, about the head, exclaiming, "Give us rain!" while others poured water on it through a sieve.'

The last stage in the history of such a conception is reached, when it ceases to be serious and becomes merely jocular. Verbally there is not much to choose between the threat of the witch in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*—

But in a sieve I'll thither sail[2]—

and the performance of Edward Lear's Jumblies—

They went to sea in a Sieve, they did,
In a Sieve they went to sea[3].

Yet the two are poles asunder. Three centuries have intervened and brought with them the momentous change from belief to disbelief.

(e) Rain as the seed of Zeus.

i. Zeus identified with rain.

That rain was regarded by the Greeks as the water of Zeus, we have already seen[4]. It may next be shown that Zeus himself was thought to descend in the falling shower and thereby to fertilise Mother Earth.

Euripides speaks of rain as 'Zeus-drops' in the opening lines of the *Helene*:

See the fair virgin streams of Neilos, who—
Instead of Zeus-drops—waters all the plain
Of Egypt, fed by the white melting snow[5].

Similarly Greek magical papyri found in Egypt refer to rain more than once as 'Zeus-water[6].' These curious adjectival phrases are

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 284.

[2] Shakespeare *Macbeth* i. 3. 9.

[3] E. Lear *Nonsense Songs and Stories*[7] London and New York 1889 p. 25.

[4] *Supra* p. 333 f.

[5] Eur. *Hel.* 1 ff. (cp. Aristoph. *thesm.* 855 ff. and Aristeid. *or.* 48. 334 (ii. 442 Dindorf)) Νείλου μὲν αἵδε καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαί, | ὃς ἀντὶ Διὰς ψακάδος Αἰγύπτου πέδον | λευκῆς τακείσης χιόνος ὑγραίνει γύας. See further *supra* p. 348 f.

[6] *Supra* p. 322 n. o. The Paris papyrus appears to date from *s.* iv A.D. (F. G. Kenyon *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* Oxford 1899 p. 115 f., K. Preisendanz *Papyri Graecae magicae* Leipzig—Berlin 1928 i. 64). On Ζήνιον ὕδωρ consult also R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 634, S. Eitrem *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (*Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter.* II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1904 No. i) Kristiania 1915 p. 106 n. 3, T. Hopfner *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber. Seine Methoden* Leipzig 1924 p. 117 ff.

noteworthy, because they seem to imply that Zeus was in a very special sense connected with, perhaps even identified with, the rain that fell from the sky.

Direct identification of Zeus with the rain is, however, a product of philosophizing thought, and is not expressed in literature till Roman times. Thus Varro writes: 'These same deities, sky and earth, are Iupiter and Iuno; for, as Ennius puts it,—

> There is the Iupiter for me: the Greeks
> So name the air. He's wind and cloud, then rain,
> From rain turns cold, then once again thin air.
> Yes, the same things are Iupiter just because
> He helps both mortal crowds and all the beasts[1].'

Again, Arnobius makes a hypothetical opponent explain away the pagan belief in a union between Iupiter and Ceres by saying that 'Iupiter' really means the rain and 'Ceres' the earth—an easy method of allegorical interpretation, which he goes on to apply to other cases also[2].

ii. Zeus descends in rain to fertilise the earth.

More genuinely Greek is the conception of rain that occurs in a beautiful passage of Virgil's *Georgics*. The poet is describing the spring-time:

> Spring helps the leafy grove; spring helps the wood;
> Spring makes Earth swell and crave the seeds of birth.
> Then the omnipotent sire, the Burning Sky,
> Into the bosom of his joyous wife
> With fruitful rain comes down, and mightily
> Himself commingled with her mighty body
> Nurtures all life that thence originates[3].

[1] Ennius *frag.* 507 Bährens *ap.* Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 65 idem hi dei Caelum et Terra Iupiter et Iuno, quod ut ait Ennius: 'istic est is Iupiter quem dico, quem Graeci vocant aerem, qui ventus est et nubes, imber postea, | atque ex imbre frigus, ventus post fit, aer (Bährens cj. *tenuis post fit aer*) denuo. | haec (L. Spengel cj. *haece*) propter Iupiter sunt ista quae dico tibi, | qua mortalis atque urbes (Bährens cj. *aeque turbas*) beluasque omnis iuvat.' The *étymon* 'Iupiter...qua...iuvat' is untranslatable.

[2] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 32 itaque qui dicit: cum sua concubuit Iuppiter matre, non incestas significat aut propudiosas Veneris complexiones, sed Iovem pro pluvia, pro tellure Cererem nominat. et qui rursus perhibet lascivias eum exercuisse cum filia, nihil de foedis voluptatibus loquitur, sed pro imbris nomine ponit Iovem, in filiae significatione sementem.

[3] Verg. *georg.* 2. 323 ff. With 325 f. tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether | coniugis in gremium laetae descendit cp. *ecl.* 7. 60 Iupiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri. Similarly *pervig. Ven.* 59 ff. cras erit quom primus Aether copulavit nuptias | vel pater totum creavit vernis annum nubibus: | in sinum maritus imber (*ib.* 4) fluxit almae coniugis, | unde fetus mixtus omnis aleret magno corpore—a passage containing obvious echoes of Virgil.

Virgil's description, according to J. Conington[1], was evidently suggested by certain lines of Lucretius:

> Lastly rain perishes
> When downward dropped by the sire, the Burning Sky,
> Into the bosom of mother Earth[2].

Lucretius in turn, according to H. A. J. Munro[3], may have had in view a remarkable fragment from the *Danaïdes* of Aischylos, in which Aphrodite says:

> The pure Sky yearns to pierce the soil, and Earth
> Yearns likewise for that wedlock. Whereupon
> Rain falls from the bridegroom Sky and wets the Earth;
> And she brings forth her brood for mortal men—
> Grass for their sheep and grain, Demeter's gift,
> While trees from that same watery brilliance grow
> Their fruits to fullness. And I help them all[4].

But indeed the thought was a commonplace in classical poetry[5]. Euripides in words often cited by ancient writers expresses it thus:

> Earth yearns for rain, whenever her parched field
> Lacks moisture and a drought destroys the corn.
> The great Sky filled with rain is fain to fall
> Into the Earth through Aphrodite's might.
> Soon as the two are one, they generate
> And nurture for our sake all things whereby
> The race of mortal man may live and thrive[6].

[1] J. Conington on Verg. *georg.* 2. 325.

[2] Lucr. 1. 250 f. postremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater Aether | in gremium matris Terrai praecipitavit. Cp. the Lucretian colouring of a fine passage in Colum. *de re rust.* 10. 204 ff. maximus ipse deum posito iam fulmine fallax | Acrisioneos veteres imitatur amores | inque sinus matris violento depluit imbre. | nec genetrix nati nunc aspernatur amorem, | sed patitur nexus flammata cupidine tellus. | hinc maria, hinc montes, hinc totus denique mundus | ver agit: etc. (note 218 rerum causas).

[3] H. A. J. Munro on Lucr. 1. 250.

[4] Aisch. *Danaïdes frag.* 44 Nauck[2] *ap.* Athen. 600 A—B and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 978, 25 ff. *ἐρᾷ μὲν ἀγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι* (H. Grotius cj. *τρῆσαι*, B. Heath cj. *χρῶσαι*) *χθόνα,* | *ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν·* | *ὄμβρος δ' ἀπ' εὐνατῆρος* (so A. Nauck for *εὐνάεντος* Athen. *εὐνάοντος* Eustath.) *οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν* | *ἔδευσε* (so B. Heath for *ἔκυσε* codd.) *γαῖαν·* *ἡ δὲ τίκτεται βροτοῖς* | *μήλων τε βοσκὰς καὶ βίον Δημήτριον·* | *δένδρων ὀπώρα* (so J. A. Hartung for *δένδρων τις ὥρα* codd. J. G. J. Hermann cj. *δενδρῶτις ὡρα*) *δ' ἐκ νοτίζοντος γάνυς* | *τέλειός ἐστι. τῶνδ' ἐγὼ παραίτιος.*

[5] Plout. *amator.* 24 *οὕτω γὰρ ἐρᾶν ὄμβρου γαῖαν οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι καὶ γῆς οὐρανόν.*

[6] Eur. *frag.* 898, 7 ff. Nauck[2] *ap.* Athen. 600 A, Stob. *ecl.* 1. 9. 1 p. 111, 17 ff. Wachsmuth, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 978, 22 ff., *alib.* *ἐρᾷ μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖ',* *ὅταν ξηρὸν πέδον* | *ἄκαρπον αὐχμῷ νοτίδος ἐνδεῶς ἔχῃ·* | *ἐρᾷ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς οὐρανὸς πληρούμενος* | *ὄμβρου πεσεῖν εἰς γαῖαν Ἀφροδίτης ὕπο·* | *ὅταν δὲ συμμιχθῆτον ἐς ταὐτὸν δύο,* | *φύουσιν ἡμῖν* (*τίκτουσί μιν i.e. τίκτουσιν ἡμῖν* Stob.) *πάντα καὶ τρέφουσ'* (*καὶ ἐκτρέφουσ' i.e. κἀκτρέφουσ'* Stob.) *ἅμα,* | *δι' ὧν* (*ὅθεν* cod. P. Stob. *ὅθεν καὶ* cod. F. Stob.) *βρότειον ζῷῳ τε καὶ θάλλει γένος.* Cp. Menand. *frag. fab. incert.* 440 Meineke *ap.* schol. Hes. *theog.* 138 *ἐρᾷ μὲν ὄμβρων γαῖα.*

An equally famous passage from the *Chrysippos* of the same poet expands the idea:

> Mightiest Earth and Burning Sky of Zeus—
> He was the sire of men and gods alike,
> And she from him received
> The pelting watery drops
> And mortals bare, bare too both blade and beast,
> Wherefore aright we deem her mother of all.
> Yea, and the things that spring
> From Earth to Earth return,
> But such as grow from seed aetherial
> Home again go to the very height of heaven.
> Nothing that lives shall die,
> But, scattered now by this and now by that,
> Put on fresh forms of immortality[1].

Vitruvius informs us that Euripides took these views—views which left a lasting trace on the poetic thought of Rome—from the philosopher Anaxagoras[2]. But if so, it is merely one more case of Greek philosophy starting from the premises of folk-belief[3]. And that belief I take to have been that the rain falling from the sky was in very truth the seed of the sky-god.

Nowhere, perhaps, is this put more simply than in Proklos' commentary on the *Timaios* of Platon. After remarking that Orpheus speaks of the Earth as the first bride and of her union with the Sky as the very first marriage[4], he proceeds: 'The ordinances of the Athenians were aware of this, when they bade the preliminary marriage sacrifice be offered to Sky and Earth. It was with the same intent that at the Eleusinian rites they looked up to the Sky and shouted *hýe*, "rain," then down to the Earth and added *kýe*, "conceive": they realised, in fact, that all things spring from Sky and Earth as from a father and a mother[5].'

[1] Eur. *Chrysippos frag.* 839 Nauck[2] *ap.* Sext. *adv. mus.* 6. 17, Philon. *de incorr. mundi* 11, *de mundo* 11, *alib.* Γαῖα μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς Αἰθήρ, | ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν γενέτωρ, | ἡ δ' ὑγροβόλους (J. Toup cj. ὑγρόβολος) σταγόνας νοτίας | παραδεξαμένη τίκτει θνητούς, | τίκτει βοτάνην (E. Müller cj. βοτάναν for βοράν codd.) φῦλά τε θηρῶν· | ὅθεν οὐκ ἀδίκως | μήτηρ πάντων νενόμισται. | χωρεῖ δ' ὀπίσω | τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φύντ' εἰς γαῖαν, | τὰ δ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου βλαστόντα γονῆς | εἰς οὐράνιον πάλιν ἦλθε πόλον· | θνήσκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων, | διακρινόμενον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλου | μορφὴν ἑτέραν ἀπέδειξεν. This passage was translated by Lucr. 2. 991 ff. (cp. *ib.* 5. 318 ff.) and paraphrased by Pacuv. *Chryses frag.* 6 Ribbeck. *Supra* i. 26.

[2] Vitr. 8 *praef.* 1. See also Aët. 5. 19. 3 = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 430 a 10 ff., *id. Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 i. 398, 9 ff.

[3] *Supra* i. 11, 27 ff., 282 n. 7, 310 f., 357 n. 4, ii. 222 n. 1, 505 n. 1, 672 n. 1, 805 n. 6, 1132 n. 3, etc. For a fine expansion of the theme see Prof. F. M. Cornford's stimulating book *From Religion to Philosophy* London 1912.

[4] Orph. *frag.* 112 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* 40 E (iii. 176, 10 ff. Diehl).

[5] Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* 40 E (iii. 176, 26 ff. Diehl) cited *supra* p. 299 n. 2.

iii. The myth of Danaë and analogous myths.

The belief enunciated in the foregoing paragraph explains more than one incident belonging to an early stratum of Greek mythology[1].

Thus it was as a fall of golden rain that Zeus visited Danaë[2]. Apart from a few stray allusions[3], the oldest version of her myth is that given by Pherekydes of Athens, an ancient logographer who drew from epic sources[4]. His narrative is preserved by the learned scholiast on Apollonios Rhodios in the following form[5]:

'Pherekydes in his second book tells how Akrisios married Eurydike, daughter of Lakedaimon. They had a child, Danaë. But when her father consulted the oracle about male offspring, the god at Pytho replied that a son would be born, not to him but to his daughter, and that he himself would be slain by that son. Thereupon Akrisios returned to Argos and made an underground chamber of bronze in the courtyard of his house[6]. Here he brought Danaë with a nurse, and kept watch over her lest she should give birth to a son. But Zeus was enamoured of the maiden and poured from the roof in the likeness of gold. She received it in her bosom; and Zeus manifesting himself had intercourse with the maiden[7]. They had a son, Perseus. Danaë and the nurse reared him unbeknown to Akrisios. But when Perseus was three or four years old, Akrisios heard the voice of the child at play, and sent his servants to fetch Danaë and the nurse. The latter he slew. The former with the child he brought to the altar of Zeus *Herkeîos*, and asked her privily whence came the boy. She said "From Zeus." He did not believe it, but put her and the boy into a chest, shut the lid, and cast it into the sea. They drifted to the island of Seriphos, and there Diktys the son of Peristhenes when fishing with a net (*díktyon*) drew them to land. Then Danaë begged him to open the chest. He did so, and on hearing who they were took them to his home and brought them up as his own kith and kin.'

[1] *Supra* p. 364. See now M. P. Nilsson *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* Cambridge 1932 p. 41 f.

[2] H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 946—949, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 187 n. 6, J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2084—2087, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 229 ff., H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 pp. 272, 284 n. 61.

[3] *Il.* 14. 319 f., Hes. *sc. Her.* 216 ff., Hekat. *frag.* 358 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 29 Müller) =*frag.* 21 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 13 Jacoby) *ap.* Herodian. *περὶ μον. λεξ.* p. 912, 25 f. *εἰ δέ τις λέγοι καὶ ἡ Δανᾶ οὕτως εἴρηται παρ' Ἑκαταίῳ, "τῇ Δανᾷ μίσγεται Ζεύς,"* κ.τ.λ.

[4] Precise date uncertain: see W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 711 n. 1.

[5] Pherekyd. *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 75 Müller)=*frag.* 10 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 61 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1091. Cp. Eudok. *viol.* 40, Favorin. *lex.* p. 98, 43 ff., and the other secondary authorities cited by J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2085.

[6] *ὁ δὲ ἀναχωρήσας εἰς Ἄργος θάλαμον ποιεῖ χαλκοῦν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῆς οἰκίας κατὰ γῆς, ἔνθα* κ.τ.λ.

[7] *ἐρασθεὶς δὲ Ζεὺς τῆς παιδὸς ἐκ τοῦ ὀρόφου χρυσῷ παραπλήσιος ῥεῖ. ἡ δὲ ὑποδέχεται τῷ κόλπῳ, καὶ ἐκφήνας αὐτὸν ὁ Ζεὺς τῇ παιδὶ μίγνυται.*

The myth combines the episode of the golden rain with that of the floating coffer—a folk-tale *motif* which we have already had occasion to notice[1]. Both subjects are represented (figs. 293, 294) on a red-figured *kratér* in the Hermitage[2], found at Caere and attributed to the 'Foundry Painter[3]' or to the 'Triptolemos Painter[4].' In either case the artist must have been at work between 490 and 470 B.C.[5], a period when the relations of Athens to Persia might well quicken Athenian interest in the story of Perseus. The obverse shows Danaë sitting at the foot-end of a richly decorated couch and looking up in amazement as the long brown drops descend upon her. Mirror and *sákkos* hanging on the wall imply that this is her private bower.

The reverse gives the moment when the carpenter with mallet and bow-drill (?)[6] is putting the last touches to the chest, and

In Soph. *frag. incert.* 1026 Nauck[2], 1127 Jebb *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 401, 10 ff. Stählin (quoted by Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 38) Zeus as consort of Danaë is χρυσόμορφος. Was it a confused subconscious reminiscence (see the *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 258 ff.) of this epithet that led Lyk. *Al.* 838 to call Perseus τὸν χρυσόπατρον μόρφνον?

[1] *Supra* ii. 671 n. 4. See also A. Taylor 'Aussetzung im Boot' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1933 i. 155 f.

[2] Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 281 f. no. 1723. To the bibliography given *supra* ii. 1155 n. 9 no. (1) add J. E. Harrison & D. S. MacColl *Greek Vase Paintings* London 1894 p. 25 (Brygos) pl. 34, 1 and 2, P. Perdrizet in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 706 fig. 4229. My figs. 293 and 294 are reproduced from E. Gerhard *Danae ein griechisches Vasenbild* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xiv) Berlin 1854 pp. 1—10 with col. pl. But note the express statement of Stephani *op. cit.* ii. 282 'Von der angeblich vorhandenen Namensbeischrift des Akrisios ist auch nicht die leiseste Spur zu bemerken'.

[3] P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 395 f. ('Der Meister mit dem Liebling Diogenes'), J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 94. So also Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 458 f. no. 17 and R. Zahn in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 271 n. 1.

[4] J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 152 f. no. 14, p. 186.

[5] M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 192.

[6] Opinions differ as to what the carpenter is doing. G. P. Campana in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1845 p. 216: 'è intento alla sua opera adoperandosi col trapano a formare un foro nella cassa all' oggetto di chiuderla e di connetterla col coperchio, il quale scorgesi ancora semiaperto e prossimo a calare.' R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1853 p. 192 (the vase is described p. 189 ff. and the reverse figured pp. 181, 225): 'qui, penché en avant sur le *coffre*, est tout occupé à y pratiquer, à l'aide de la tarière ou du foret qu'il fait mouvoir de ses deux mains, un trou propre à y ajuster le couvercle.' Gerhard *op. cit.* p. 2: 'beschäftigt, mit beiden ausgestreckten Händen, deren eine einen Stab hält, etwa ein durch senkrechte Unterlage getragenes Schloss einzupassen.' Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* v. 280: 'Er setzt mit der Linken einen länglich viereckten Stöpsel mit einem schmäleren Ende auf den Kasten und hält daran mit der rechten, wie anpassend, einen unten und oben eigen zugeschnittnen Stab, fast von der ganzen Länge der Breite des Kastens, etwas schräg über diesen hin. Es muss diess, obgleich der Mechanismus selbst unbekannt ist, eine Art festen Verschlusses bedeuten,' etc. with n. 7 'Bohren eines Lochs ...scheint nicht ausgedrückt zu seyn: auch ist der Deckel, in welchen es gebohrt werden müsste, aufgesperrt. Dieser Nebenumstand ist völlig unklar.' Stephani *op. cit.* ii. 282:

Fig. 293.

Fig. 294.

Akrisios bids him close the lid upon the protesting mother and her unheeding child[1]. The starry decoration of the chest was perhaps traditional, for it occurs with equal insistence on other representations of the same scene (pl. xxxviii, figs. 295[1], 296[2]). Indeed, it is tempting to conjecture that the star-spangled coffer was, by those who first designed it, felt to be the equivalent of a gilded coffin[3], fitting sequel of the star-spangled vault in which Akrisios had confined his daughter.

A red-figured *oinochóe* in the Louvre again has Danaë sitting alone and looking upwards at the shower that falls upon her[4]. But

'scheint mit einem Maasstab die Grösse der Lade zu messen.' Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 412: 'mit einem in seinen Einzelheiten unaufgeklärten Apparat an dem Kasten arbeitet, entweder Maass nehmend...oder den Verschluss herrichtend.' H. de Villefosse in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 120 with fig. 453: 'un menuisier creuse un trou dans une des traverses du coffre en bois' etc., cp. H. Heydemann 'Zur Danaevase (No. 1723) der Petersburger Ermitage' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1872 xxx. 37 f., who makes out a strong case for regarding the disputed tool as a 'Drillbohrer' or '*wimble*'—Campana's original interpretation.

[1] There is a further difference of opinion as to whether mother and child are standing behind the chest (Welcker *op. cit.* v. 279) or already within it (R. Rochette *op. cit.* p. 191, Gerhard *op. cit.* p. 2, Stephani *op. cit.* ii. 281 f., Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 412). The former view is supported by the analogy of a red-figured *stámnos* from Caere now in the Hermitage (Stephani *op. cit.* ii. 139 ff. no. 1357. Bibliography *supra* ii. 1155 n. 9 (2). My fig. 295 is from the *Mon. ed Ann. d. Inst.* 1856 pl. 8) and a red-figured *hydría* at Boston (*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* Boston 1914 xii. 6 fig., J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 51 f. (attributed to the 'Painter of the Diogenes Amphora') fig. 32 = my pl. xxxviii, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 206 no. 1, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 111 (attributed to the Painter of the Munich Amphora 2303): both vases belong to the decade 490—480 B.C. and involve the same *personnel*—Akrisios, the carpenter, Danaë, Perseus, the nurse (hardly Eurydike). The latter view relies on another red-figured *hydría* at Boston (P. Hartwig in the *Mon. Piot* 1903 x. 55—59 pl. 8, R. Engelmann in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 166 fig. 75, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 162, *id. Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 364 no. 5 (attributed to the 'Danaemaler')), on the fragment of a red-figured bell-*krater* (?) formerly in Deepdene (E. M. W. Tillyard *The Hope Vases* Cambridge 1923 p. 81 no. 137 pl. 22 'Danae and Perseus in the chest....The fragment dates about 450 B.C. Beazley approaches it to the work of the Painter of the Boston Phiale'), and on the vase recorded in the following note.

[2] A red-figured *kotýle* of 'Italiote' style (J. D. Beazley *Greek Vases in Poland* Oxford 1928 p. 73 n. 0) from Nola, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 479 f. no. 3140, A. de Jorio in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1825 ii pl. 30, 4 (= my fig. 296) with p. 3 f. (Astyanax hidden in a tomb by his mother Andromeda *sic*), E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1844 ii. 268 f. (Tenes and Hemithea), R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1853 p. 196 (Perseus and Danaë), J. Overbeck 'Über die Lade des Kypselos' in the *Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1865 iv. 612 (24) no. 12 (Tennes and Hemithea), E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 362 fig. 454 (Tennes and Hemithea)).

[3] *Il.* 24. 795 καὶ τά γε (*sc.* ὀστέα) χρυσείην ἐς λάρνακα θῆκαν ἑλόντες. The word λάρναξ can mean 'coffin' as well as 'coffer.'

[4] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 407 no. 2. Unpublished.

Hydria at Boston:
The carpenter completes the chest in the presence of Akrisios, Danaë, and the nurse holding the infant Perseus.

See page 458 *n.* 1.

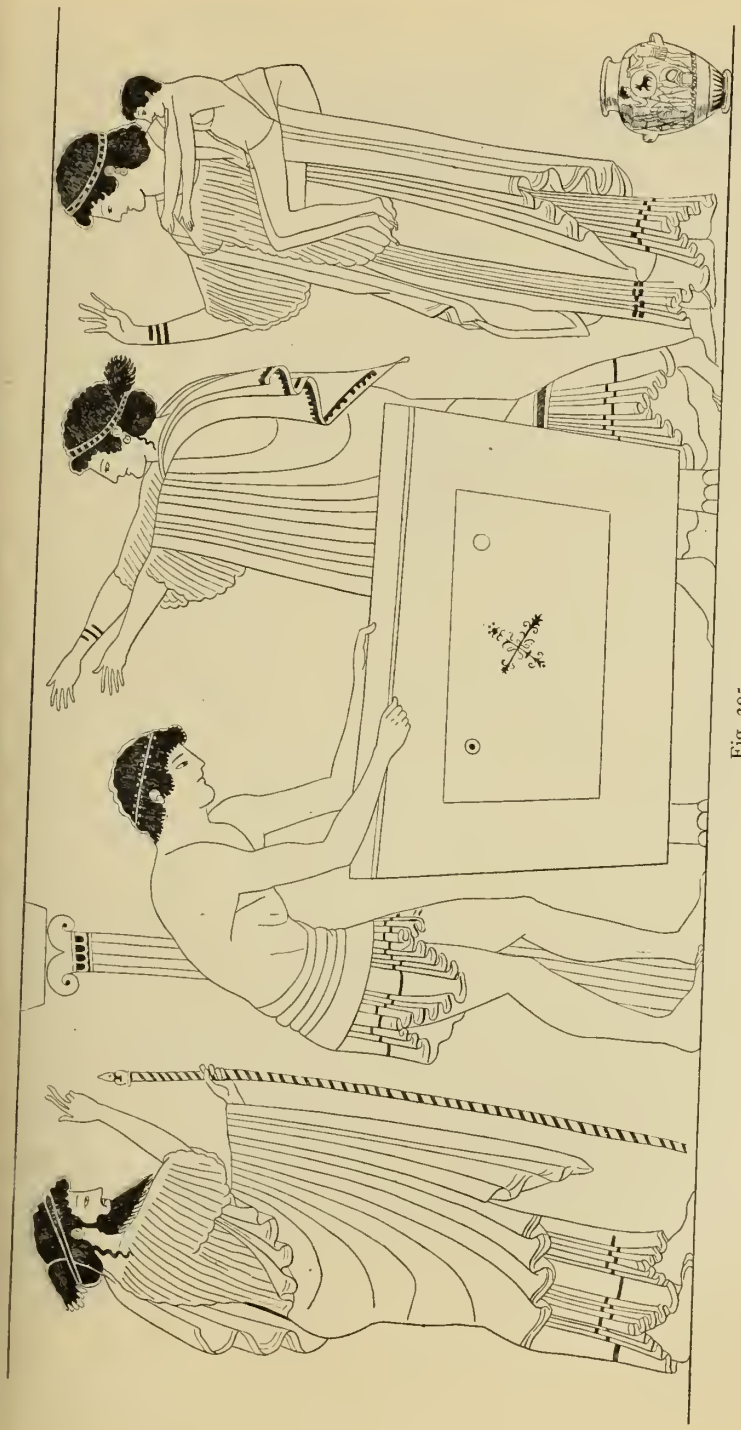


Fig. 295.

an *arýballos* of late, crude style, found in Kyrenaïke and now in London (fig. 297)[1], complicates the scene by the addition of Eros moving away with a gesture of encouragement on the right, and an attendant woman—presumably the nurse of Pherekydes' narrative—struck with wonder on the left. The painter has here used actual gilding to denote the golden drops.

Nikias of Athens, an artist who flourished *c.* 350—300 B.C.[2] and was famous at once for his careful rendering of women and his skilful *chiaroscuro*[3], must have found in Danaë a congenial subject. Tiberius is said to have dedicated this masterpiece, along with the same artist's Hyakinthos, in the temple of Augustus at Rome[4]. Not

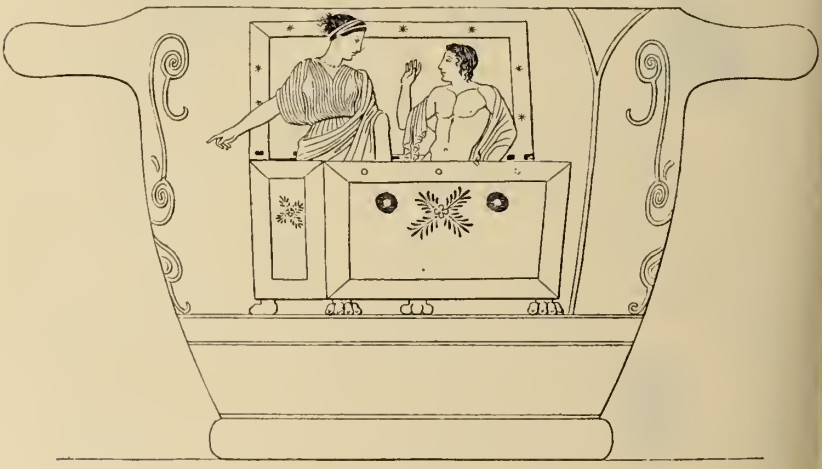


Fig. 296.

improbably[5] Danaë was depicted sitting on the nuptial couch and receiving the gold in her lap, as she did in a painting described by Terence[6] (or by Menandros whom Terence copied[7]). Martial's epigram

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 351 f. no. E 711; Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 407 no. 3. Hitherto unpublished. My fig. 297 is from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr F. N. Pryce.

[2] A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 286.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 130 f.

[4] Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 131.

[5] A. Reinach *op. cit.* i. 288 n. 1.

[6] Ter. *Eun.* 583 ff. dum adparatur, virgo in conclavi sedet | suspectans tabulam quandam pictam; ibi inerat pictura haec, Iovem | quo pacto Danaae misisse aiunt quondam in gremium imbrem aureum. | egomet quoque id spectare coepi: et qui consimilem luserat | iam olim ille ludum, inpendio magis animus gaudebat mihi, | deum sese in hominem convortisse atque in alienas tegulas | venisse clanculum per pluvium fucum factum mulieri. | at quem deum! qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit. | ego homuncio hoc non facerem? ego illud vero item feci ac lubens.

[7] M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1898 i. 82.

Fig. 297.

on a picture of Danaë[1] may well refer to the work of Nikias, with which the poet must have been familiar. But certainty is unattainable.

Variations on the same theme occur in Pompeian art[2]. The simplest and finest of these, which—I should suppose—perpetuates the scheme of Nikias with the addition of a conventional[3] landscape background, is a fresco from the *Casa di Pansa* (fig. 298)[4]. Danaë, recumbent, is half-draped in a purple garment. Zeus is represented

Fig. 298.

[1] Mart. *ep.* 14. 175 *Danaë picta.* cur a te pretium Danaë, regnator Olympi, | accepit, gratis si tibi Leda dedit?

[2] F. Knatz *Quomodo Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint* Bonnae 1893 p. 7 gives a list of four paintings, which—along with others of more doubtful interpretation—are figured in Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 10 nos. 2, 4, 7 and p. 11 no. 1.

[3] Hardly to be explained from Hyg. *fab.* 63 Acrisius eam in muro lapideo praeclusit.

[4] Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 34 no. 115, G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1825 ii pl. 36, 1 (=my fig. 298) with text pp. 2—4, Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* iii Peintures 2e Série p. 57 f. pl. 122, W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae* Berlin 1829 i pl. 68, 1 (inexact —see Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 407 f. no. 4).

only by the golden drops that fall from the sky upon her bare body. Another fresco, in the *Casa della Regina Margherita* (fig. 299)[1], shows Danaë seated on a couch within her chamber. She has a golden fillet in her hair, a bosom-band round her breast, and wrapped about

Fig. 299.

her right leg a *himátion*, which she lifts with both hands to catch the descending shower. Side by side with her on the same couch

[1] E. Petersen in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 167 f. with fig. 4 (in half-tone), Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 187 (=my fig. 299), Text p. 254 f., cp. A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*[6] Leipzig 1928 p. 43 (*Reg.* v. 2. 1).

sits a youthful beardless (?) Zeus with golden bay(?)-wreath, long scèptre, and reddish violet *himátion*— a kingly presence, but illogically

Fig. 300.

combined with the rain into which he had transformed himself. Perhaps he is to be thought of as not yet made manifest; for he

does not look at Danaë, nor Danaë at him. A third picture, from the *Casa della Caccia*, now at Naples (fig. 300)[1], imports fresh *motifs*. The advent of the god is symbolised by a great winged thunderbolt, which falls upon a neighbouring block. Danaë—to match a pendant figure of Leda[2]—stands erect, while a hovering Eros shoots the golden rain at her out of a big *amphora* on his shoulder. These

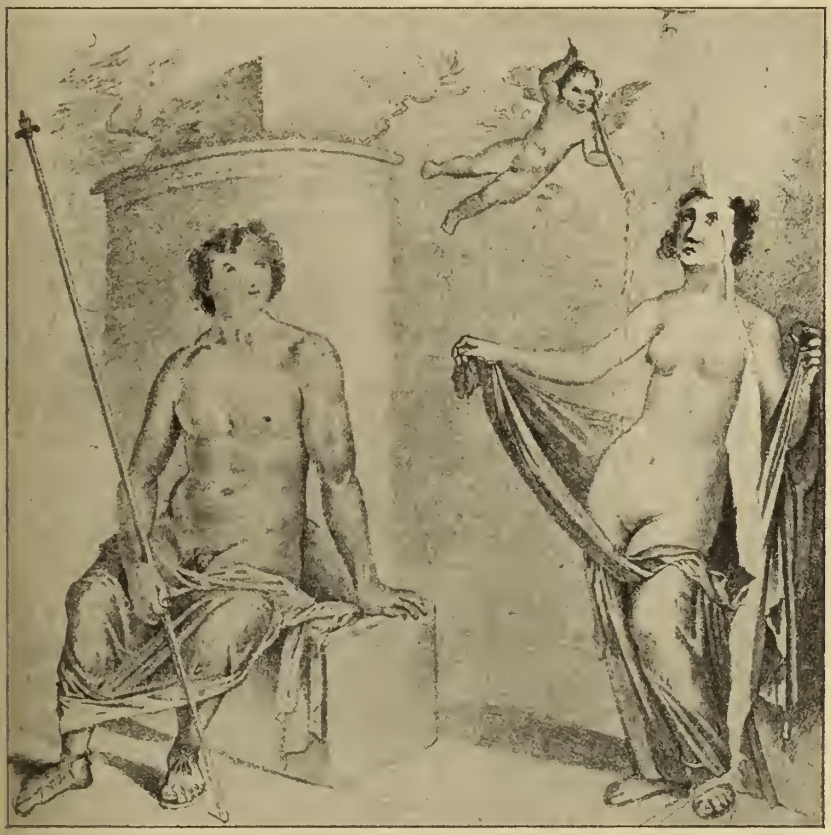


Fig. 301.

innovations are none too happy. The painter, however, had an eye for colour: the heroine's hair is dark, her snood rosy-red, her fluttering

[1] Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 35 no. 116, B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1835 xi pl. 21, 2 with text pp. 1—3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 408 no. 5 Atlas pl. 7, 1, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 66 f. pl. 6, 6, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 342 f. no. 1444, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 188 (= my fig. 300) Text p. 256, cp. A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*[6] Leipzig 1928 p. 251 (*Reg.* vii. 4. 48).

[2] A point noted by Herrmann *op. cit.* p. 256 n. 1.

himátion yellow with green lining and deep violet shadows. Yet another fresco, in the House of M. Gavius Rufus (fig. 301)[1], unites the standing Danaë and the hovering Eros with the youthful (?) seated Zeus in a novel, but thoroughly unsatisfactory, whole.

Zeus changing himself into a lapful of gold in order to win his *innamorata* was a subject not likely to escape the notice of comedians, rationalists, and moralising expositors. Terence (or Menandros?)[2] already makes capital of the situation. Latin poets, both Greek[3] and Roman[4], follow suit. Prudentius at the beginning of the fifth century talks roundly of the crafty god turning himself into hard cash (*nummi*)[5]. Indeed, the gibe had long been a commonplace with the Christian fathers[6] and is the accepted explanation of belated allegorists[7]. Small wonder, then, that Renaissance and *post*-Renaissance art perpetuated the libellous tradition[8]. Titian harped on the theme

[1] Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 454, Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 21 no. 75, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 602 Atlas pl. 7, 2 ('Nach Zeichnung Marianis vom Original') (=my fig. 301), Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* p. 254 f. fig. 76 ('nach einer Zeichnung im römischen Institut'...'von L. Schulz'), cp. A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*[6] Leipzig 1928 p. 74 (*Reg.* vii. 2. 16).

[2] *Supra* p. 460 n. 7.

[3] *Anth. Pal.* 5. 30. 5 f. (Antipatros of Thessalonike), 5. 32. 1 f. and 5. 33. 1 f. (Parmenion), 5. 216. 1 ff. (Paulus Silentiarius).

[4] Hor. *od.* 3. 16. 1 ff. with Acr. and Porphyr. *ad loc.*, *Aetna* 90, Ov. *am.* 3. 8. 29 ff., Petron. *sat.* 137. 9, Mart. *ep.* 14. 175 (quoted *supra* p. 462 n. 1), Sulpic. Luperc. *de cupiditate* 7 f. (*Poet. Lat. min.* iv. 108 Baehrens), Rutil. Namat. *de reditu suo* i. 360 (*Poet. Lat. min.* v. 17 Baehrens).

[5] Prudent. *c. Symm.* 1. 78 et nummos fieri et gremium penetrare puellae.

[6] Tert. *apol.* 21 amatorem in auro conversum Danaidis with J. E. B. Mayor *ad loc.*, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11 Danaen violaturus aureos nummos largiter in sinum eius infudit, haec stupri merces fuit, Epiphan. *ancor.* 105 (i. 208 Dindorf) πρὸς Δανάην δὲ χρυσὸς ἐγίνετο, ἵνα παρθένον σώφρονα θαλαμευομένην φθείρῃ. χρυσὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἠδύνατο γενέσθαι ποτε, ἀλλὰ γόης ὢν διὰ χρυσοῦ δωροδοκῶν τὴν παρθένον ἡπάτησε, Hieron. *adv. Rufin.* 3. 4 (xxiii. 481 A Migne) habes enim, per quod Danaes est victa pudicitia, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 13 (=Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 35) vel Danaes per imbrem aureum adpetisse concubitum, ubi intellegitur pudicitia mulieris auro fuisse corrupta, Fulgent. *myth.* 1 praef. 20 nec imbre mendaci lusa [Danae] virgo cantatur, 1. 19 dum et Danae imbre aurato corrupta est non pluvia, sed pecunia, Columbanus (abbot of Luxeuil and Bobbio, died 615 (?) A.D.) *carm.* 3. 61 ff. (in M. H. Goldast *Paraeneticorum veterum* pars i Insulae, Ad lacum Acronium 1604 p. 54 f.) Femina sæpe | Perdit ob aurum | Casta pudorem. | Non Iouis auri | Fluxit in imbre, | Sed quod adulter | Obtulit aurum, | Aureus ille | Fingitur imber.

[7] Bruttius *frag.* 1 (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 375 f. Peter) *ap.* Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 34 f. Dindorf=the *Chronicon Paschale* 38 C—D (i. 69 Dindorf), Myth. Vat. 1. 157, 3. 3. 5. Cp. an anonymous twelfth-century poem in rime headed *hic ostendit, qualiter Jupiter corrupit Danen* [sic] *in specie auri* (printed from cod. Vat. Christ. 344 by W. Wattenbach in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 1875 xviii. 457—460) st. 26 Gutta super virginem | labitur aurata, | in qua dei facies erat transformata; | ymbribus est interim turris irrorata, | et hiis sua fraudibus fraus est tunicata.

[8] J. Addison *Classic Myths in Art* London 1904 pp. 39—46.

On the other hand, F. Piper *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weima

A Roman mosaic from Palermo: the amours of Zeus—Antiope, Danaë, Leda.

See page 467.

and attempted several variations of it. At Naples[1] Cupid raises a deprecating hand as he escapes across the foot of the couch. At Madrid[2] and Petrograd[3] the face of Jove is half-seen amid the clouds and an attendant duenna tries to catch some of the gold in her apron. At Vienna[4] (fig. 302) the god's face again peeps through the clouds, while the old crone holds an alms-dish to take the collection. Finally, Van Dyck's Danaë at Dresden[5] (fig. 303) extends her arms towards a shower, not only of coined money, but of chains, rings, and trinkets. So the heroine, who began by adorning a tale, ends by pointing a moral.

Little is added to our understanding of the myth by other representations of it in ancient art[6]. A fine Roman mosaic, found at Palermo in 1869 and dating perhaps from the early part of *s.* ii A.D., figures side by side three amatory exploits of the sky-god[7]: on the left he woos Antiope as a Satyr (*supra* i. 735 fig. 541), on the right he courts Leda as a swan, and in the centre he falls as a golden shower upon Danaë (pl. xxxix)[8]. Another great mosaic, at *Oued Agla*

1847 i. 155 f. draws attention to the *Defensorium inviolatae virginitatis b. Mariae virginis*, a work compiled by the Dominican Franciscus de Retza (professor of theology at Vienna in 1388), in which various classical parallels to the immaculate conception are adduced and illustrated: 'So erscheint in dem einen Bilde die Danaë hinter einem vergitterten Fenster stehend, wie sie von den goldenen Strahlen des Halbmondes beschienen wird,—mit der Unterschrift: Si Dana(e) auri pluvia praegnans a Jove claret, | Cur spiritu sancto gravida virgo non generaret.' See F. Jacobs—F. A. Ukert *Beiträge zur ältern Litteratur oder Merkwürdigkeiten der Herzogl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Gotha* Leipzig 1835 i. 112 (leaf *T* fig. 1 of this xylographic work).

[1] J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle *The Life and Times of Titian*[2] London 1881 ii. 119 ff., J. Addison *op. cit.* p. 41 ff., C. Ricketts *Titian* London 1910 pp. 110 f., 115, 130 pl. 100, O. Fischel *Tizian: des Meisters Gemälde*[5] Stuttgart (1930) pls. 130 and 131 (detail), Reinach *Rép. Peintures* vi. 199. Painted for Ottavio Farnese in 1545.

[2] J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle *op. cit.*[2] ii. 227 ff., C. Ricketts *op. cit.* pp. 92, 130 f., 134 pl. 127, O. Fischel *op. cit.*[5] pl. 186, Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 724, 1. Painted for the Prince of Spain in 1554.

[3] J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle *op. cit.*[2] ii. 229 f. with pl., J. Addison *op. cit.* p. 41, C. Ricketts *op. cit.* p. 132, O. Fischel *op cit.*[5] pl. 187, 2, Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 724, 2.

[4] J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle *op. cit.*[2] ii. 229 f. ('perhaps not carried out without assistance from Cesare Vecelli, or Girolamo'), J. Addison *op. cit.* p. 40 f. ('The finest, in modelling, chiaroscuro, and atmosphere'), C. Ricketts *op. cit.* p. 132 ('perhaps by Orazio'), O. Fischel *op. cit.*[5] pl. 187, 1. Fig. 302 is from the *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses: Die Gemälde Galerie Alte Meister* Wien 1896 p. 55 no. 174 with pl.

[5] J. Addison *op. cit.* p. 44 f. Fig. 303 is from H. Knackfuss *Van Dyck* London 1899 p. 40 with fig. 27.

[6] F. Knatz *Quomodo Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint* Bonnae 1893 p. 7 f.

[7] H. Heydemann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 38—40.

[8] J. Overbeck in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1873 p. 126 pl. 2 part of which = my pl. xxxix).

Fig. 302.

Fig. 303.

(Equizetum?)[1] in Mauretania Sitifensis, again shows a series of the canonical amours: Zeus with Ganymedes and eagle occupies the middle of an oblong composition, being flanked on the left by the swan with Leda (mostly missing) and the Satyr with Antiope, on the right by the golden rain with Danaë and the bull with Europe (fig. 304)[2].

Intaglios with their smaller field have room only[3] for the isolated

Fig. 304.

[1] P. Gauckler in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 2109. But see H. Dessau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 324.

[2] S. Gsell in the *Recueil des notices et mémoires de la Société archéologique du département de Constantine* Constantine 1892 xxvii. 230 ff. with pl. (part of which = my fig. 304) after a large col. pl. from a water-colour drawing by M. Orengo, *id. Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie* Paris 1901 ii. 108 no. 41, Lt. Bernard in the *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* Paris 1906 p. 7 pl. 12, 3, F. G. de Pachtère *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique: Algérie* Paris 1911 no. 319, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 10 no. 1.

[3] A cornelian at Florence (A. F. Gori *Museum Florentinum: Gemmae antiquae* Florentiae 1731 i. 109 f. pl. 56, 4 'ex Mus. Med.' = Reinach *Pierres gravées* p. 32 no. 56, 4 pl. 28, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 26 f. pl. 3, 48 (reversed) = my fig. 305) is justly condemned by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 411: 'Es ist ja Thatsache, der Stein ist in seiner Echtheit noch nicht bezweifelt worden, ja selbst von einem so strengen Kenner wie Stephani unangefochten geblieben und dennoch scheint er Nichts als ein Pasticcio zu sein, zusammengesetzt aus einer gedankenlosen Copie der kauernden Aphrodite, einer Reminiscenz des Juppiter Pluvius der Antoninssäule, einem Ledaschwan, den vielleicht grade der Blitz als den verwandelten Zeus bezeichnen soll, und endlich einer viereckigen Badewanne, für welche schwerlich ein antikes Vorbild nachweisbar ist und dessen garstige grade Aussenflächen der Steinschneider vergebens durch etliche knopfförmige Rosetten aus der Werkstatt des Meisters Drechsler zu beleben versucht hat.'

Fig. 305.

figure of Danaë receiving the celestial shower. A silver ring at Boston, Greek work of *s.* v B.C., shows her standing with upturned face as she holds out her *himátion* to catch the falling drops: behind her is inscribed her name (fig. 306)[1]. A fifth-century scaraboid of red jasper with white stripes, formerly in the Tyszkiewicz collection and now likewise at Boston, makes her sit the while on a two-cushioned bed (fig. 307)[2]. An amethyst from the cabinet of Baron von Gleichen has her, almost nude, in the attitude of a crouching Aphrodite, raising her hands to the small rounded rain-drops (fig. 308)[3]. And a fourth-century chalcedony of unknown ownership

Fig. 306.

Fig. 307.

Fig. 308.

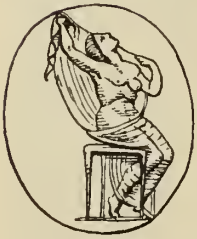


Fig. 309.

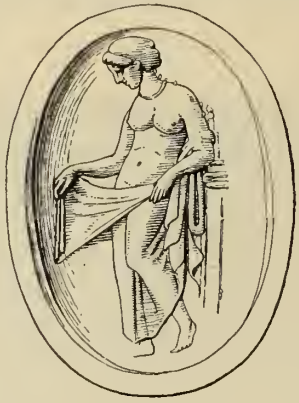


Fig. 310.

Fig. 311.

[1] Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 47, 2 (=my fig. 306) p. 175.

[2] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 61, 36, ii. 275, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 47, 3 (=my fig. 307) p. 175.

[3] P. D. Lippert *Dactyliothek* Erstes Mythologisches Tausend Leipzig 1767 p. 12 no. 28, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 27 pl. 3, 48[a] (=my fig. 308), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 409 Gemmentaf. 5, 4, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 67 pl. 6, 7.

leaves the drops to our imagination, but gives us a Maenad-like Danaë sitting on a stool, with bare breast and wide-flung mantle, as she turns her face towards the sky (fig. 309)[1]. The last two gems attest the all-pervading influence of such popular types as those of Doidalses' Aphrodite and Skopas' Maenad.

Finally, a bronze coin of Argos, struck by Hadrian (fig. 311)[2], represents Danaë seated on a throne, her head thrown back, her breast bared, and her garment held wide in the same significant manner.

The episode of the floating coffer found its highest expression, not in art[3], but in literature[4]. Simonides of Keos, perhaps in one of his *thrênoi*[5], limned the scene with exquisite skill[6]:

> When in the well-wrought chest
> She felt the blowing wind and moving mere,
> She cowered in tearful terror and
> Round Perseus cast a loving hand:
> 'Child, I am sore distrest.
> But thou, a baby-boy, art slumbering here
> In this same comfortless bronze-bolted bark,
> Stretched out 'neath starlit night and the blue dark.
> The brine that passes higher than thy hair
> Thou heedest not, nor dost thou even hark
> The whistling wind; but lo, thou liest there
> To the crimson cloak turning thy forehead fair.
> If terrors had been terrible to thee,
> Thy tiny ear had listened unto me.
> But now sleep babe, sleep surging sea,
> Sleep all our trouble infinite.
> Yet, Father Zeus, some better plight
> Send; and if overbold this prayer I pray,
> Forgive each wrongful word I say.'

[1] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 14, 25, ii. 68 ('Wohl Danae?'), Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 47, 1 (=my fig. 309) p. 175.

G. Sangiorgi in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1933 xlviii. 284—288 pl. 48, 4 (=my fig. 310) publishes an oval carbuncle, on which is engraved another half-draped Danaë, leaning on a pillar and holding out the upper part of her garment to catch the shower. Good work of *c.* 300 B.C.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 148 pl. 28, 11, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 41 pl. L, 49. My fig. 311 is from a cast.

[3] *Supra* p. 456 ff. See further F. Knatz *Quomodo Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint* Bonnae 1893 pp. 8—10.

[4] P. Schwarz *De fabula Danaeia* Halis Saxonum 1881 p. 10 f.

[5] W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 516.

[6] Simon. *frag.* 37 Bergk[4], 13 Diehl, 27 Edmonds. I follow the text given by H. Weir Smyth (*frag.* 13) ed. London 1900. O. Schroeder 'Die Klage der Danaë' in *Hermes* 1933 lxviii. 358 f. discusses the metre.

Simonides' verses are of course merely a poet's elaboration of a mythical theme. But the Greek mind, even in the fifth century B.C., passed readily from myth to moral; and the tale of Danaë, like many another[1], could on occasion be made the vehicle of serious thought[2]. Later, it was not without its influence upon Christian legends[3].

[1] For an instructive example see W. Stechow *Apollo und Daphne* Leipzig—Berlin 1932 pp. 1—76 with 34 pls. [2] *Supra* p. 466 f.

[3] A. Wirth *Danae in christlichen Legenden* Wien 1892, reviewed by C. Schmidt in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1892 pp. 867—889 who agrees (p. 877) that the Danaë-myth has influenced the legends of S. Irene and S. Barbara. Cp. *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1680 Maius i. 721 F (*Synaxarium ex Menologio jussu Basilii Imperatoris collecto* Mai. 5) Εἰρήνη, ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μάρτυς, ἣν θυγάτηρ Λικιννίου Βασιλίσκου· εὔμορφος δὲ ὑπάρχουσα, ἀπεκλείσθη παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς ἐν πύργῳ ὑψηλῷ, ἐξ ἐτῶν οὖσα, μετὰ δουλίδων δέκα καὶ τριῶν· ἐν ᾧ ἐδιδάχθη ὑπὸ θείου Ἀγγέλου τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ Θεοῦ. κ.τ.λ. (When baptised by Timothy, a disciple of S. Paul, she broke up her idols and cast them down. Her father in anger bound her to a wild horse, which bit off his arm but did not hurt her. Etc.), *ib.* Antverpiæ 1680 Maius ii. 4 F 'celebrata Constantinopoli,' F. G. Holweck *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* St. Louis, Mo. 1924 p. 508 ('a Byzantine martyr of the first century. According to a worthless legend she was instructed by angels and baptized by S. Timothy; she converted her parents, for which reason she was beheaded by command of the Propraetor Ampelianus at Ephesus, under Domitian or Trajan. Her relics were brought to Constantinople, where she once had three churches and was highly venerated. She may be identical with the "Irene" of Lecce and Southern Italy. The Greeks call her "Megalomartyr"....F[east] 5 May, full office in the Greek Church'), N. Nilles *Kalendarium manuale utrinsque Ecclesiae Orientalis et Occidentalis* Œniponte 1896 i. 152, 1881 ii. 413 n. o. S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 xv. 25 ff. Dec. 4 ('S. BARBARA, V.M. (A.D. 235)....Usuardus and Ado in their martyrologies make S. Barbara a martyr in Tuscany; Metaphrastes says she suffered at Heliopolis; Baronius, in the Roman Martyrology, sets her down as a martyr at Nicomedia. One authority is just as right as the other, for S. Barbara is a wholly mythical personage. There was once upon a time a very wealthy and noble Greek named Dioscorus, an idolater, who had a daughter so beautiful in face and form that he shut her up in a tower, very lofty and inaccessible, so that no man might see her, and that thus she might be kept out of mischief. According to one account, however, he allowed her to take lessons of masters, of advanced age, or, no doubt, of disagreeable appearance.' Her father, before departing on a long journey, built her a bath at the basement of her tower with two windows high up in the wall. On his return he was indignant to find that Barbara had insisted on the workmen making a third window. Taking these windows as her text, she preached to him the mystery of the Trinity. Dioscorus was furious; but, when he attacked her with his sword, the rock opened and received her into its bosom. Afterwards, directed by a wicked shepherd, her father found her and haled her by the hair to the chief magistrate, Marcian. When she refused to sacrifice to the gods, Marcian had her stripped and beaten, torn with iron combs, and hammered on the head. Juliana, a girl who pitied her, was arrested and treated in the same manner. Marcian then had the breasts of Barbara cut off, and gave orders that she should be led naked round the town. But Christ, in answer to her prayer, came from heaven and clothed her. Marcian finally gave sentence that Barbara and Juliana should be executed with the sword. 'On reaching the destined place, her father cut off her head, and Juliana suffered likewise. A flash of lightning fell and consumed Dioscorus, another flash reduced Marcian to a smoking ash-heap. Accordingly S. Barbara is held to be the patroness of firearms, and is invoked against the lightning') with pl. of S. Barbara after the painting by Hans

All this, however, does not help us to grasp the original significance of Danaë and her golden shower. Recent investigators have attempted to explain the myth in terms of sun or shooting stars. Thus Sir James Frazer[1] writes:

'It has its counterpart in the legend which the Kirghiz of Siberia tell of their ancestry. A certain Khan had a fair daughter, whom he kept in a dark iron[2] house, that no man might see her. An old woman tended her; and when the girl was grown to maidenhood she asked the old woman, "Where do you go so often?" "My child," said the old dame, "there is a bright world. In that bright world your father and mother live, and all sorts of people live there. That is where I go." The maiden said, "Good mother, I will tell nobody, but shew me that bright world." So the old woman took the girl out of the iron house. But when she saw the bright world, the girl tottered and fainted; and the eye of God fell upon her, and she conceived. Her angry father put her in a golden chest and sent her floating away (fairy gold can float in fairyland) over the wide sea[3]. The shower of gold in the Greek story, and the eye of God in the Kirghiz legend, probably stand for sunlight and the sun.'

Sir James goes on to quote other legendary examples of impregnation by the sun[4]. But he does not meet the obvious objection that

Holbein the elder, one of the wings of the altarpiece of S. Sebastian, now in the Pinakothek at Munich, N. Nilles *op. cit.* i. 341, 464 f., 486, ii. 606, M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 p. 16.

But it should be observed that neither the tower of S. Irene nor the tower of S. Barbara was an underground structure of bronze or iron, and that the sequel did not in either case involve the *motif* of the Floating Coffer. The Danaë-myth was but one ingredient of the hagiographer's stirabout.

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 74.

[2] [For the same variation from bronze to iron see *supra* i. 632 n. 3 (the sky), 719 n. 2 (Talos). Alluding to Danaë, Prop. 2. 20. 11 f. has 'in te ego et aeratas rumpam, mea vita, catenas, | ferratam Danaes transiliamque domum' and Loukian. *Tim.* 13 says ἐν χαλκῷ ἢ σιδηρῷ τῷ θαλάμῳ καθάπερ τὴν Δανάην παρθενεύεσθαι (*id. dial. marin.* 12. 1 ἐπαρθένευεν ἐς χαλκοῦν τινα θάλαμον ἐμβαλών). Cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 136 ff. οὐ Δανάῃ παρίαυε τὸ δεύτερον ὑέτιος Ζεύς, | ἀλλὰ σιδηροφόροιο (*an* σιδηρορόφοιο *legendum*? A. B. C.) μετὰ σφρηγῖδα μελάθρου | μεμφομένῃ χρυσέοισι γάμοις ναυτίλλετο νύμφη (but *id. ib.* 47. 543 ff. χαλκοφόρου (C. F. Graefe cj. χαλκορόφου) δὲ | μνώεο παρθενεῶνος, ὅπῃ Δανάης διὰ κόλπου | χρύσεον ὄμβρον ἔχευε γαμοκλόπον ὑέτιος Ζεύς), Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 838 Δανάη, ἣν Ἀκρίσιος ὁ πατὴρ σιδηροῦν ποιήσας θάλαμον ἐνέκλεισεν ὅπως τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μείνῃ παρθένος.]

[3] W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, iii. (St. Petersburg, 1870) pp. 82 *sq.* E. S. Hartland *The Legend of Perseus* London 1894 i. 139—142 gives the story at greater length, drawing upon the same source.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 74 f.

Classical parallels are not wholly wanting. E. Norden *Die Geburt des Kindes* Leipzig—Berlin 1924 p. 158 f. draws attention to Asklepiades of Mendes *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 306 Müller) *ap.* Suet. *Aug.* 94 (cp. Dion Cass. 45. 1) in Asclepiadis Mendetis (C. Müller, after Voss, cj. *Menditae*) Theologumenon libris lego, Atiam, cum ad sollemne Apollinis sacrum media nocte venisset, posita in templo lectica, dum ceterae matronae dormirent, obdormisse; draconem repente irrepsisse ad eam pauloque post egressum; illam expergefactam quasi a concubitu mariti purificasse se; et statim in corpore eius extitisse maculam velut picti draconis, nec potuisse umquam exigi, adeo ut mox publicis balineis perpetuo abstinuerit; Augustum natum mense decimo et ob hoc Apollinis filium existi-

Danaë is invariably said to have been impregnated by a golden *rain*, and that rain is not a very natural description of sunlight or the sun.

L. Radermacher[1] contends that the Greeks believed in impregnation by a falling star. In support of his contention he quotes the story told by Nikephoros Skeuophylax[2] about Saint Theodoros Sykeotes, archimandrite of Galatia and bishop of Anastasiopolis (590—613 A.D.)[3]. His mother Maria kept a public hostelry at Sykeon, where she met the magistrate Kosmas. On the night of her child's conception, a glittering star fell from the sky and entered her womb, symbolising—says the pious Nikephoros—the purity of his actions. The Greek life of the saint[4] and its Latin version[5] both vouch for the miracle. On the strength of this, and of sundry modern

matum. eadem Atia prius quam pareret somniavit, intestina sua ferri ad sidera explicarique per omnem terrarum et caeli ambitum. somniavit et pater Octavius, utero Atiae iubar solis exortum (cp. Rev. 12. 1 ff.), Konon *narr.* 33 *καὶ ὡς ὁ Σμῖκρός τινος τῶν ἐν Μιλησίοις ἐνδόξων θυγατέρα γαμεῖ, καὶ αὕτη τίκτουσα ὁρᾷ ὄψιν τὸν ἥλιον αὐτῇ διὰ τοῦ στόματος εἰσδύντα διὰ τῆς γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν αἰδοίων διεξελθεῖν· καὶ ἦν τὸ ὅραμα τοῖς μάντεσιν ἀγαθόν. καὶ ἔτεκε κόρον, Βράγχον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνείρου καλέσασα, ὅτι ὁ ἥλιος αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦ βράγχου (an βρόγχου? A.B.C.) διεξῆλθε. καὶ ἦν ὁ παῖς κάλλιστος ἀνθρώπων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐφίλησεν ἐρασθεὶς Ἀπόλλων, εὑρὼν ποιμαίνοντα ἔνθα βωμὸς Ἀπόλλωνος Φιλίου ἵδρυται.* L. Radermacher in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 218 notes also Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 36 *ἥλιος ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἀνίσχων λαμπρὸς καὶ καθαρὸς καὶ καταδυόμενος εἰς δύσιν ἀγαθὸς πᾶσιν· οἷς μὲν γὰρ πράξεις προαγορεύει·...οἷς δὲ παίδων γονήν· ἡλίους γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἀρρενικὰ τέκνα οἱ γονεῖς ὑποκοριζόμενοι καλοῦσι, ib.* *ἥλιος ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ τινὸς κατακείμενος καὶ ἀπειλῶν νόσον μεγάλην καὶ φλεγμονὰς προαγορεύει, λέγων δέ τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ διδοὺς εὐπορίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ υἱῶν γένεσιν προηγόρευσεν.* Add Achmes *oneirocr.* 166 p. 127, 26 ff. Drexl *εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ὁ ἥλιος ἦτοι ὁ δίσκος εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, εἰ μέν ἐστι βασιλεύς, γεννήσει βασιλέα, εἰ δὲ μέγιστος ἢ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὑψωθήσεται καὶ χαρήσεται, τάχα καὶ βασιλείαν ὑποδέξεται.* See also Soph. *frag. dub.* 1017 Nauck²=*frag.* 752 Jebb Ἥλι', οἰκτίροις ἐμέ, | <δν οἱ> σοφοὶ λέγουσι γεννητὴν θεῶν | <καὶ> πατέρα πάντων *ap.* anon. *de Arati interp.* p. 28, 17 ff. Maass (*supra* i. 461 n. 7). Dreams, visions, and philosophemes may equally rest on a basis of popular belief. 'Happy is the bride the sun shines on.'

[1] L. Radermacher 'Danae und der goldene Regen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 216—218.

[2] Nikeph. Skeuophylax *encomium in S. Theodorum Siceotam* 5 (*Analecta Bollandiana* Bruxellis 1901 xx. 254) *τοιούτων ἐκφῦσα γεννητόρων ἡ τούτου γεννήτρια οἵα τινα προφήτην Ἱερεμίαν ἐν νηδύϊ προσδέχεται ἐκ μήτρας ἁγιαζόμενον καὶ τῷ Θεῷ προσφόρως ἀφιερούμενον. καθ' ἣν γὰρ νύκτα τῷ συνεύνῳ πλησιάσασα τὸν πολύτιμον ἐκεῖνον μαργαρίτην ὑπεδέξατο, ἀστὴρ οὐρανόθεν ἡλιακαῖς ἀστράπτων μαρμαρυγαῖς τὴν ταύτης νηδὺν ὑπεισέρχεται, τὸ καθαρὸν ἐκείνου τῶν πράξεων συμβολικῶς αἰνιττόμενος. κ.τ.λ.*

[3] K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*² München 1897 p. 191, cp. E. Venables in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 933. F. G. Holweck *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* St. Louis, Mo. 1924 p. 960 says 'Anastasiopolis (Dara) in Galatia': but S. Fränkel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2150 locates Dara (Anastasiopolis) in Mesopotamia.

[4] Th. Ioannes *Μνημεῖα ἁγιολογικά* 1884 p. 361 ff.

[5] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1675 Aprilis iii. 34 A (Eleusius *sive* Georgius *v. S. Theodori Siceatæ* 3) concepit mulier ex eo, & in quiete stellam vidit ingentem & claram, è cœlo in uterum suum descendere.

superstitions about meteors[1], Radermacher suggests that Danaë's golden rain was essentially just a fine display of shooting stars. His suggestion would indeed account well for the curious persistence with which stars appear in connexion with Danaë's coffer[2]. But shooting stars, after all, were a phenomenon familiar enough to the Greeks, and were never confused by them with rain, golden or otherwise.

Looking further afield we find that ordinary rain is sometimes credited with procreative powers. H. H. Bancroft[3] in his account of the Pueblo religion describes the birth of 'the great leader, teacher, and god Montezuma':

[1] L. Radermacher in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1916 clxxxii. 3. 69 (Basileios, Bishop of Seleukeia in Isauria *c.* 435—460 A.D., *de vita ac miraculis D. Theclae* 2. 10 (lxxxv. 581 A Migne) notes that S. Thekla attended her yearly festival at Seleukeia, and that any one who on the vigil of the feast kept watch upon the heights above Dalisandos might see her cross the sky in a fiery chariot (*ὁρᾷ πυρίνῳ ἅρματι ὑψοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος βεβαίωσάν* (*leg.* *βεβῶσάν*) *τε τὴν παρθένον καὶ διφρηλατοῦσαν*, cp. *Il.* 5. 745 ff., 8. 389 ff.)), A. Wuttke *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*[2] Berlin 1869 p. 183 (in Germany, Switzerland, etc. a shooting star implies the death of a man), *id. ib.*[2] p. 94 (in Oldenburg '*Boviste* sind ausgebrannte Sternschnuppen...u. machen die Kühe brünstig...'), W. Gundel *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* Bonn—Leipzig 1922 p. 29 f. ('Die Griechen bezeichneten einzelne Sternschnuppen als Böcke und Geissen, und die Deutschen sahen besonders in den Kometen, aber auch in den Meteoren, Schlangen und das dämonische Fabeltier, den Drachen'), N. G. Polites *Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοὶ μῦθοι* (extract from *Παρνασσός*) Athens 1880 p. 12 ("Ο *λαὸς πιστεύει ὅτι ὅπου καταπίπτει κεραυνὸς σχηματίζονται λίθοι, θαυμασίους κεκτημένοι ἰδιότητας, οὓς καλεῖ ἀστροπελέκια ἢ ἀστροπέλεκα*' *κ.τ.λ.* *Supra* ii. 506, 844).

On shooting stars in relation to souls see further the beliefs and practices adduced by J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 722, iii. 917 n. o, 1888 iv. 1506, 1801, P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 48—51, N. G. Polites *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 ii. 860 (n. on no. 273), W. D. Wallis in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1918 x. 371[b], J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1918 iii. 234 (n. on no. 153 'Die Sterntaler').

[2] *Supra* p. 458.

[3] H. H. Bancroft *The Native Races of the Pacific States* London 1875 iii. 175 n. o (after Fremont). E. S. Hartland *The Legend of Perseus* London 1894 i. 136 n. 3 regards this version as more primitive than that given by A. W. Bell in *The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* New Series 1868—69 i. 250 f. 'Two good-sized ruins are situated near the Pima villages; one is known as Casa Montezuma, the other as Casa Grande.... Long ago a woman of exquisite beauty ruled over the valleys and the region south of them. Many suitors came from far to woo her, and brought presents innumerable of corn, skins, and cattle to lay at her feet. Her virtue and determination to continue unmarried remained alike unshaken; and her store of worldly possessions so greatly increased that, when drought and desolation came upon her land, she fed her people out of her great abundance and did not miss it, there was so much left. One night, as she lay asleep, her garment was blown from off her breast, and a dewdrop from the Great Spirit fell upon her bosom, entered her blood, and caused her to conceive. In time, she bore a son, who was none other than Montezuma, and who built the large casas and all the other ruins which are scattered through the land. After instructing his people in the arts of civilization he departed for the south and then disappeared.'

'His mother was, it is said, a woman of exquisite beauty, admired and sought after by all men, they making her presents of corn and skins and all that they had; but the fastidious beauty would accept nothing of them but their gifts. In process of time a season of drought brought on a famine and much distress; then it was that the rich lady showed her charity to be as great in one direction as it had been wanting in another. She opened her granaries and the gifts of the lovers she had not loved went to releave the hungry she pitied. At last with rain, fertility returned to the earth; and on the chaste Artemis of the Pueblos its touch fell too. She bore a son to the thick summer shower and that son was Montezuma.'

The same story is current among the Pimas of California, the Mojave of the Rio Colorado in Arizona, and the Apaches[1]. Indeed, the belief in conception through magical contact with water is of world-wide distribution[2].

We are justified, then, in the surmise that Danaë's golden shower was but a mythical expression for the rain whereby the sky-god fertilises the earth. But what of Danaë herself? She is hardly to be regarded as an earth-goddess, for she has no cult. Rather she is a heroine, whose name stands in obvious relation to that of the *Danaaí* or *Danaïdes*[3]. Her myth too is in some points analogous to theirs. If Akrisios, king of Argos, imprisoned Danaë in an underground chamber to safeguard her virginity, his action bore an odd resemblance to that of his forefather Danaos, likewise king of Argos, who had imprisoned Hypermestra, the one Danaïd that remained a virgin[4]. And if Zeus descended upon Danaë in the form of a golden rain, we cannot forget that the Danaïdes stood for the performance of a mimetic rain-charm[5]. It may well be that Danaë's complex tale[6] includes at least one episode of an aetiological sort, and that the princess secluded, drenched with rain, and even sent adrift in a coffer was a mythical prototype of actual human happenings.

[1] E. S. Hartland *Primitive Paternity* London 1909 i. 24, citing [E. J.] Payne [*History of the New World called America* Oxford 1892] i. 414 n. 4 and [J. G. Bourke] in the *Journ*[*al of*] *Am*[*erican*] *F*[*olk*]-*L*[*ore* 1889] ii. 178. E. J. Payne *loc. cit.* says: 'Exceptionally, as in the beautiful legend told by the Pima Indians concerning the inhabitants of the deserted Casas Grandes, the maize-spirit appears as an actual mother of mankind. They describe her as a maiden living in isolation, unmoved by the addresses of suitors, and giving maize to the hungry Indians in times of dearth. One day, as she lay asleep, a raindrop fell on her naked bosom, and she became the ancestress of the maize-growing Pueblo Indians.' J. G. Bourke *loc. cit.* tells the Mojave myth: 'This Earth is a woman; the Sky is a man... the Earth was asleep and a drop of rain fell upon her causing conception... two gods were born in the west... They were Ku-ku-matz and his brother, To-chi-pa.'

[2] E. S. Hartland *The Legend of Perseus* London 1894 i. 113 ff., 133 ff., *id. Primitive Paternity* London 1909 i. 12 f., 23 ff.

[3] *Supra* p. 364. See also A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 162.

[4] *Supra* p. 356. [5] *Supra* p. 368 f. [6] *Supra* p. 455 f.

Be that as it may, two similar epiphanies of the sky-god are recorded by Pindar, whose knowledge of the details of mythology was equalled only by his appreciation of their beauty. The poet in an Isthmian ode[1] asks his native town of Thebes on what local scene her memory most delights to dwell. On the birth of Dionysos (at whose nativity Zeus rained ambrosia[2])?

> Or when at midnight in a snow of gold
> Thou didst receive the greatest of the gods,
> What time he stood
> Before Amphitryon's door
> And wooed Amphitryon's wife
> To bear him Herakles.

Again, in an Olympian ode[3] Pindar speaks of Rhodes—

> Where once the mighty king of the gods,
> With golden snow-flakes rained upon the town,
> When by Hephaistos' craft
> The crown of the Father's head
> Was cleft by a bronze-wrought axe,
> And lo, Athena leapt to light
> And cried aloud with a far-carrying cry—
> Whereat Heaven shuddered, ay and Mother Earth.

Pindar does not expressly assert that Zeus was in this wondrous shower. But that such was the original concept is almost certain; for another Rhodian tale made Zeus consort with the earth-born Himalia 'by means of rain[4].'

[1] Pind. *Isthm.* 7. 1 ff. *τίνι τῶν πάρος, ὦ μάκαιρα Θήβα, | καλῶν ἐπιχωρίων μάλιστα θυμὸν τεὸν | εὔφρανας; ἦ ῥα χαλκοκρότου πάρεδρον | Δαμάτερος ἀνίκ' εὐρυχαίταν | ἄντειλας Διόνυσον; ἢ χρυσῷ μεσονύκτιον νίφοντα δεξαμένα τὸν φέρτατον θεῶν, | ὁπότ' Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐν θυρέτροις | σταθεὶς ἄλοχον μετῆλθεν Ἡρακλείοις γοναῖς;* with schol. vet. 5 a. *ἢ χρυσῷ μεσονύκτιον: ἢ ὅτε τὸ μεσονύκτιον χρυσῷ καταστάζοντα ἐδέξω τὸν τῶν θεῶν ἔξαρχον Δία.* b. *ἄλλως. ἰδίως λέγει τὸν Δία ὗσαι χρυσόν, ἡνίκα ἐμίγνυτο Ἀλκμήνῃ· ἢ τὰ ἐπὶ Δανάης μυθευόμενα ἐπὶ Ἀλκμήνην μετήγαγεν.*

[2] *Supra* ii. 275 n. 12. *Infra* § 9 (i) Zeus *Hyes.*

[3] Pind. *Ol.* 7. 34 ff. *ἔνθα ποτὲ βρέχε θεῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας χρυσέαις νιφάδεσσι πόλιν,| ἀνίχ' Ἀφαίστου τέχναισιν | χαλκελάτῳ πελέκει πατέρος Ἀθαναία κορυφὰν κατ' ἄκραν | ἀνορούσαισ' ἀλάλαξεν ὑπερμάκει βοᾷ· | Οὐρανὸς δ' ἔφριξέ νιν καὶ Γαῖα μάτηρ.* The schol. vet. *ad loc.* (63 a, 63 b, 64 Drachmann) and Strab. 654 f. wrongly supposed that Pindar was embroidering *Il.* 2. 670 *καί σφιν θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων* (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1212 n. 2, L. Radermacher in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 216). With the sequel in Pind. *Ol.* 7. 49 f. *κείνοις ὁ μὲν (sc. Ζεύς) ξανθὰν ἀγαγὼν νεφέλαν | πολὺν ὗσε χρυσόν* cp. Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 2. 27. 3 *Ῥοδίοις δὲ λέγεται χρυσὸς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ῥεῦσαι καὶ διαπλῆσαι σφῶν τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς νεφέλην εἰς αὐτοὺς ῥήξαντος τοῦ Διός κ.τ.λ.* See further for this favourite theme Strab. 655, Aristeid. *or.* 43. 546 (i. 807 Dindorf), Menandros *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 3. 2 (ix. 200 Walz), Liban. *or.* 31. 6 (vii. 10 Foerster), *progymn.* 9 *vitup.* 6. 3 (viii. 312 Foerster), *epist.* 351. 11 (x. 330 Foerster), Himer. *ecl.* 13. 34, Ioul. *frag. epist.* 290 B.

[4] Diodoros, probably drawing upon Zenon of Rhodes (W. Christ *Geschichte der*

A similar belief underlies the statement of Ovid that the Kouretes were 'sprung from an abundant shower of rain[1],' if not also the tradition preserved by the same author that at Corinth 'in the far past mortal bodies were born of rain-begotten mushrooms[2].'

(f) Ominous rain sent by Zeus.

i. Rain of blood.

At critical moments Zeus expressed his mood by sending some abnormal shower. Specially ominous was the fall of blood-red rain. The *Iliad* makes it the prelude to a battle between Achaeans and Trojans:

> Then Kronos' son sent evil strife among them
> And from aloft, out of the burning sky,
> Let fall drops dank with blood; for he was fain
> To hurl to Hades many a valiant head[3].

Again, when Sarpedon the Lycian was about to be slain, Zeus—

> Shed gouts of blood upon the ground to honour
> His own son, whom Patroklos was to kill
> In fertile Troyland far away from home[4].

The Hesiodic author of the *Shield* (*c.* 650—600 B.C.[5]) has a similar description of the fight between Herakles and Kyknos:

griechischen Litteratur[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 217) who is named in the context (*frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 175 f. Müller) *ap.* Diod. 5. 55 f.), had said γενέσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἕω μέρεσι τῆς νήσου τοὺς κληθέντας γίγαντας (E. Bethe cj. ἴγνητας)· ὅτε δὴ καὶ Ζεὺς λέγεται καταπεπολεμηκὼς Τιτᾶνας ἐρασθῆναι μιᾶς τῶν νυμφῶν Ἰμαλίας ὀνομαζομένης, καὶ τρεῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς τεκνῶσαι παῖδας, Σπαρταῖον (*v.l.* Παρταῖον), Κρόνιον, Κύτον. Hence in Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 A Migne) Εἵμᾳ τῇ γηγενεῖ ἐν Ῥόδῳ διὰ ὄμβρου συνῆλθεν, ἐξ ἧς Παργαῖος, Κρόνιος, Κύτος A. Schwegler corrected Εἵμᾳ to Ἰμαλίᾳ.

[1] Ov. *met.* 4. 282 quoted *supra* p. 323 n. 1.

[2] Ov. *met.* 7. 391 ff. tandem vipereis Ephyren Pirenida pennis | contigit (*sc.* Medea). hic aevo veteres mortalia primo | corpora vulgarunt pluvialibus edita fungis.

This singular tradition perhaps implies the folk-etymology of Μυκῆναι from μύκης (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 958). Note especially Paus. 2. 16. 3 ἥκουσα δὲ καὶ ὡς διψῶντι (*sc.* τῷ Περσεῖ) ἐπῆλθεν ἀνελέσθαι οἱ μύκητα ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ῥυέντος δὲ ὕδατος πιὼν καὶ ἡσθεὶς Μυκήνας ἔθετο τὸ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ—an obvious piece of folk-lore. The inhabitants of prehistoric Mykenai might well pass for the earliest race of men. On the mushroom's womb see Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 93 vulvam enim terra ob hoc prius gignit, ipsum postea in vulva, ceu in ovo est luteum. nec tunicae minor gratia in cibo infantis boleti.

[3] *Il.* 11. 52 ff.

[4] *Il.* 16. 459 ff., cp. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 23. 4 Iovem narrat (*sc.* Homerus)...Sarpedonem filium, quoniam morti non poterat eripere, cruentis imbribus flevisse. *Supra* p. 323.

[5] H. G. Evelyn-White *Hesiod: The Homeric Hymns and Homerica* London 1914

With fearsome battle-cry
They closed; and wise Zeus, thundering aloud,
Let gouts of blood drop from the very sky—
War's signal to his own high-hearted son[1].

Silius Italicus, therefore, is following in the beaten track, when he makes Iupiter portend the death of Marcus Marcellus (in 208 B.C.) by the downfall of blood-drops from a clear sky[2]. With other writers, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine, the portent passes into a commonplace and Zeus or Iupiter is ignored[3]. The same prodigy was repeatedly chronicled during the dark ages[4]. It has, indeed, attracted the

p. xxvi. W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 271 argues for a date nearer to 600 than to 500 B.C.

[1] Hes. *sc. Her.* 382 ff.

[2] Sil. It. 15. 363 ff. with N. E. Lemaire's note *ad loc.*

[3] I subjoin in tabular form the time and place of each fall of blood-rain recorded by classical writers:

718 B.C.	At Rome and at Laurentum after the murder of the Laurentine ambassadors and of Titus Tatius (Plout. *v. Rom.* 24).
214	At Rome in the Forum Boarium (Liv. 24. 10).
194	At Rome in the Forum, in the Comitium, and on the Capitol (Liv. 34. 45).
184	At Rome for two days on the Area Volcani (Liv. 39. 46. Iul. Obs. 59=4 under the date 183).
183	At Rome for two days on the Area Concordiae (Liv. 39. 56, Iul. Obs. 59=4).
181	At Rome on the Area Volcani and on the Area Concordiae (Liv. 40. 19. It seems probable that the portents of 184, 183, 181 were in reality the same occurrence variously dated).
172	At Saturnia in Etruria for three days (Liv. 42. 20).
169	At Rome by day on the temple of Fortuna *Primigenia* (Liv. 43. 13).
166	In the territory of Praeneste (Iul. Obs. 71=12).
134	At Amiternum (Iul. Obs. 86=27).
128	At Caere (Iul. Obs. 88 Lycosthenes).
114	(Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 147, Lyd. *de ostent. prooem.* 6 p. 13, 2 f. Wachsmuth).
106	(Iul. Obs. 101=41).
104	At Luna in Etruria (Iul. Obs. 103=43).
102	Round the river Anio (Iul. Obs. 104=44).
52	At Rome (Dion Cass. 40. 47).
43	At Rome (Cic. *de div.* 2. 58, cp. Ov. *met.* 15. 788).
37	At Aspis on the north coast of Africa (Dion Cass. 48. 52).
30	In Egypt portending the subjugation of its inhabitants (Dion Cass. 51. 17).
54 A.D.	At Rome (?) portending the death of Claudius (Dion Cass. 60 (61). 35).
68	In the Alban territory portending the death of Nero (Dion Cass. 63. 26).
399	Before the downfall of the eunuch Eutropius (Claud. *in Eutrop.* 2. 41).

[4] The following list will suffice:

541 A.D.	In France (Sigebertus Gemblacensis *chronographia* ed. L. C. Bethmann in G. H. Pertz *Monumenta Germaniae historica* Hannoverae 1844 viii (Scriptores vi). 317).
570	In Italy, when the Lombards under Alboin invaded the land (C. Lycosthenes (K. Wolffhart) *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* Basileae 1557 p. 308).

attention of serious scientists[1], who point out that it reposes upon a substantial basis of fact[2]. Thus we get the usual *diminuendo* of classical religion—the definite naming of Zeus or Iupiter, the vaguer concept of God or Heaven, the mediaeval portent, the modern scientific phenomenon.

583 In France (Gregorius Turonensis *historia Francorum* 6. 14 (lxxi. 387 A—B Migne, cp. *hist. Franc. epit.* lxxi. 603 A Migne)).

594 In Italy (Paulus Diaconus *de gestis Langobardorum* 4. 4 (xcv. 540 A Migne) 'in regione Brionum' = Brescia (?). There may be some confusion here with the portent listed under the date 869).

782 At Constantinople (?) (C. Lycosthenes (K. Wolffhart) *op. cit.* p. 335).

786 In England (J. Wolf *Lectiones memorabiles et reconditae*[2] Francofurti ad Moenum 1671 i. 510 'Sanguis de cœlo, anno 786 in Angliâ profluxit').

860 At Balkh in Central Asia (Kazwini and Elmazen quoted by Silvestre de Sacy *Chrestomathie Arabe* Paris 1806 iii. 526 f., E. F. F. Chladni *Ueber Feuer-Meteore, und über die mit denselben herabgefallenen Massen* Wien 1819 p. 362).

869 At Brescia in Italy for three days (J. Twinger von Königshofen *Königshovens Chronik* p. 104. H. Barlandus *Historica* Coloniae 1603 p. 16 states that this portent happened at Brixen = Brescia. The date, however, is differently reported. B. Platina *Storia delle vite de' Pontefici* Venezia 1761 ii. 90 places it shortly before the death of Hadrian ii, which occurred in 872: 'Poco innanzi, ch' egli morisse piovè sul Bresciano tre giorni sangue.' J. Wolf *op. cit.* ii. 308 says: 'Narrant historiographi, quod circa annum 873. plurima se exhibuerint mundo monstra & prodigia. Nam in Italia, in civitate Bressa, integri tridui spacio continue pluit sanguine.' C. Lycosthenes (K. Wolffhart) *op. cit.* p. 356 has under the date 874: 'Anno Ludouici imperatoris decimonono, in Italia Brixiæ tribus diebus & tribus noctibus sanguis de cœlo pluisse dicitur').

990 In the days of King Robert (P. Gassendus *Viri illustris Nicolai Claudii Fabricii de Peiresc, senatoris Aquisextiensis, vita* Quedlinburg 1706 p. 118 f. 'Itèmque quod memoratur temporibus Regis Roberti sanguine pluisse, circiter finem Iunii; adeò ut' etc., cp. Erasmus Francisci *Der Wunder-Reiche Uberzug unserer Nider-Welt, oder Erd-umgebende Lufft-Kreys* Nürnberg 1680 p. 736).

See further C. Lycosthenes (K. Wolffhart) *op. cit.* pp. 416, 611, 627, 631, 632 (?), 647, J. Jonstonus *Thaumatographia naturalis* Amstelodami 1665 p. 122. *Haydn's Dictionary of Dates*[25] London 1910 p. 1151 f. notes a few recent cases (red rain with sand falls in Italy and Vienna, 10 March 1901: red dust with rain falls in Cornwall, end of January 1902: blood-rain, due to insects (*Carabus coccinella*), falls in Hamburg, 24 May 1902: red dust, traced to the Sahara, falls in rain over the whole south of England, 21—23 February 1903).

[1] First in the field was C. G. Ehrenberg 'Passatstaub und Blutregen' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1847* Phys. Abh. pp. 269—460 with tables and 6 col. pls. This admirable monograph includes a chronological list of all comparable phenomena.

[2] Stegemann 'Blutregen' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1445—1447 with bibliography (Reddish dust from the Sahara, composed of silicic acid, argillaceous earth, iron- and copper-oxides, is sometimes swept by strong winds into the upper regions of the air and carried over southern or even northern Europe, with or without an admixture of rain: the water evaporating, there remains a deposit of reddish or yellowish dust. Again, bees and butterflies, when quitting the chrysalis, leave behind them some drops of blood. Finally, masses of red seaweed and 'Wundermonade' may also occasion a precipitate of red liquid).

There was an awful rainbow once in heaven:
We know her woof, her texture; she is given
In the dull catalogue of common things[1].

Different in character is a mystic and possibly Orphic anthropogony quoted by Julian[2] in his *Letter to a Priest*—

'the saying of the gods, which has been handed down to us by the theurgists of bygone days, to wit that, when Zeus was ordering all things, there fell drops of sacred blood, and that from these sprang the race of men.'

This rather isolated notion seems to have arisen, in some more or less philosophical *milieu*[3], from an attempt to combine two passages of Hesiod. In the *Theogony*[4], when Kronos mutilated Ouranos, Gaia received the blood-drops and in due course gave birth to the Erinyes, the Gigantes, and the nymphs called *Melíai*, 'Ash-trees.' In the *Works and Days*[5] Zeus produces the men of the Bronze Age from *melíai*, 'ash-trees.' It followed, or seemed to follow, that the men of the Bronze Age were sprung from the blood-drops of Ouranos himself. Alkaios too and Akousilaos, presumably remembering that Phaiakia was named *Drepáne* after the *drépanon* or 'sickle' used by Kronos[6], had claimed that the Phaeacians likewise were sprung from the blood of Ouranos[7].

[1] J. Keats *Lamia* 231 ff.

[2] Ioul. *frag. epist.* 292 A—B ... *εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν φήμην, ἣ παραδέδοται διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῖν θεουργῶν, ὡς, ὅτε Ζεὺς ἐκόσμει τὰ πάντα, σταγόνων αἵματος ἱεροῦ πεσουσῶν, ἐξ ὧν που τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βλαστήσειε γένος.* Miss W. C. Wright in the Loeb edition (London 1913) renders: 'when Zeus was setting all things in order there fell from him drops of sacred blood.' But the words 'from him' are not in the Greek and may be misleading.

[3] The clause *ὅτε Ζεὺς ἐκόσμει τὰ πάντα* recalls the phraseology of Anaxagoras (*frag.* 12 Diels *ap.* Simplic. *in Aristot. phys.* p. 156, 26 Diels *πάντα διεκόσμησε νοῦς, ib.* p. 177, 5, cp. Plat. *Phaed.* 97 B—C, Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 4[a]=H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 532 b 4 ff., Diog. Laert. 2. 6, etc.), who moreover held that plants and animals had arisen from seed dropped by the sky upon the ground (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 1. 4, Eirenaios *adv. haer.* 2. 14. 2 (vii. 751 A Migne)).

[4] Hes. *theog.* 154 ff.: *supra* ii. 447 n. 8.

[5] Hes. *o.d.* 143 ff. That *theog.* 187 was early brought into connexion with *o.d.* 145 appears likely from *theog.* 563, where the right reading *μελίῃσι* (codd. D. E.) has the curious variant *μελίοισι* (codd. F. K. L.) with schol. *μελίοισι δὲ ἤτοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἢ ὅτι ἐκ Μελιῶν ἐγένοντο νυμφῶν ἢ ὅτι γεννώμενοι ἐρρίπτοντο ὑπὸ ταῖς μελίαις, ὅ ἐστι δένδροις.*

[6] *Supra* ii. 448 n. 0.

[7] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 991 f. (*ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτοί | αἵματος Οὐρανίοιο γένος Φαίηκες ἔασιν*) *Ἀκουσίλαος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ* (*frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 103 Müller)=*frag.* 4 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* 49 Jacoby)) *φησὶν ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ἐκτομῆς τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ ῥανίδας ἐνεχθῆναι συνέπεσεν, τουτέστι τὰς σταγόνας, κατὰ τῆς γῆς, ἐξ ὧν γεννηθῆναι τοὺς Φαίακας· οἱ δὲ* (*sc.* Hes. *theog.* 183 ff.) *τοὺς Γίγαντας. καὶ Ἀλκαῖος* (*frag.* 116 Bergk[4] ('Nescio an Ἀλκμὰν sit legendum')=*frag.* 6 Edmonds (*e.g. Φαίακες ὀρράννων σταγόνων γένος*)) *δὲ λέγει τοὺς Φαίακας ἔχειν τὸ γένος ἐκ τῶν σταγόνων τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ.*

ii. Rain of stones.

Equally portentous was the rain of stones, which in early times men attributed to the direct intervention of the sky-god[1].

A good example is furnished by La Crau, a large plain in the south of France, occupying the western portion of the department Bouches-du-Rhône[2]. The name *Crau* is said to have come from a Celtic stem meaning 'cairn' or 'heap of stones[3],' being akin to our own word 'crag[4].' The arid surface of this plain is in fact covered with boulders and has been described by a French authority as a 'véritable mer de cailloux[5].' Strabon[6] calls it the 'Stony Plain'; Pomponius Mela[7], Pliny[8], Solinus[9], and Martianus Capella[10]—not to mention later writers[11]—the 'Stone Fields.' Attempts to explain along scientific lines such an enormous outcrop of stones were made by Aristotle and by Poseidonios. The former[12] thought them thrown

[1] J. F. Cerquand *Taranis lithobole* (*Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse* 1880) Avignon 1881 argued for the recognition of an Indo-Europaean god, who was at once a hurler of stones and wielder of a hammer, the hammer being a later substitute for the stone. As evidence of such a lithobolic deity in Gaul Cerquand quoted Aisch. *frag.* 199 Nauck[2] (*infra* p. 483 n. 3) and, more doubtfully, Paus. 10. 23. 1 ff. But see Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* p. 159 ff. Other stone-throwers (Talos, Minotaur, Kyklops) are possibly solar or stellar (*supra* i. 720 f., ii. 491 n. 0 (6)).

[2] P. Joanne *Dictionnaire géographique et administratif de la France et de ses colonies* Paris 1890 i. 1147 ff. with view and map, *Lippincott's Gazetteer of the World* Philadelphia 1893 p. 1585.

[3] G. Körting *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch* Paderborn 1901 p. 277 no. 2580 ('kelt. Stamm [crauc-], crŏc-, kegelförmiger Haufe...; auf diesen Stamm gehen vielleicht zurück prov. *Crau*, Name eines Kieselfeldes bei Arles, *crauc*, steinig, unfruchtbar'). See, however, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 477, ii. 573.

[4] F. Diez *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*[5] Bonn 1887 p. 556.

[5] P. Joanne *op. cit.* i. 1147, cp. *ib.* 1148 'Ce plan raboteux de galets avait étonné les anciens, comme il surprend auj. les voyageurs que le ch. de fer mène d'Arles à Marseille.'

[6] Strab. 181 f. μεταξὺ γὰρ τῆς Μασσαλίας καὶ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ πεδίον ἐστὶ τῆς θαλάττης διέχον εἰς ἑκατὸν σταδίους, τοσοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὴν διάμετρον, κυκλοτερὲς τὸ σχῆμα· καλεῖται δὲ Λιθῶδες ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος. μεστὸν γάρ ἐστι λίθων χειροπληθῶν, κ.τ.λ.

[7] Mela 2. 78 alioqui litus ignobile est, Lapideum (*lapideus* cod. A, whence Keune in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 777 'vielleicht ist *campus* ausgefallen') ut vocant, in quo Herculem contra Alebiona et Dercynon (so C. Bursian for *albiona et bergyon* cod. A. But see O. Gruppe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 997) Neptuni liberos dimicantem cum tela defecissent ab invocato Iove adiutum imbre lapidum ferunt. credas pluvisse, adeo multi passim et late iacent.

[8] Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 34 Campi Lapidei, Herculis proeliorum memoria, 21. 57 Lapideos Campos in provincia Narbonensi.

[9] Solin. 2. 6 in Liguria quoque Lapidarios Campos, quod Iovi eo (*sc.* Hercule) dimicante creduntur pluvisse saxa.

[10] Mart. Cap. 642 ex cuius laboribus in Liguria Campi Lapidarii sunt appellati, quod eodem dimicante saxis ferunt pluisse caelum.

[11] Cited by Keune in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 777.

[12] Aristot. *ap.* Strab. 182.

up by earthquakes of the type termed *brástai*[1]. The latter[2] held that they were a sort of beach resulting from the solidification of a previous lake. But Aischylos[3] in his *Prometheus Unbound* had given a mythical explanation of the scene, which concerns us more closely. Prometheus, telling Herakles of the route from the Kaukasos to the Hesperides, had said:

> Then shalt thou come to the undaunted host
> O' the Ligyes, where, fighter as thou art,
> Thou shalt have fights enow. For here Fate bids
> Thine arrows fail thee; nor shalt thou avail
> To get a stone from the ground--the ground is soft.
> Howbeit Zeus, in pity for thy plight,
> Will send a cloud to cover the whole land
> With rounded stones, thick as the snowflakes fall.
> These hurling, thou shalt thread that Ligyan host.

The incident appealed to certain astromythologists of the Hellenistic age as providing a plausible account of that much-disputed constellation Engonasin or Ingeniculus[4]. In the northern hemisphere, midway between Lyra and Corona, Draco and Ophiuchus, appears a male figure on bended knee. The Babylonians had named him *ilu kamû*, 'the fettered god,' and had regarded him as one of the seven astral powers called *da-'-ik AN. KI*, 'Breakers of Heaven and Earth[5].' It is tempting to suppose that some transmitted memory of Mesopotamian lore led to the identification of him with Prometheus chained to the Kaukasos, or again with Ixion fastened to his wheel[6]. The neighbouring constellation Corona

[1] Aristot. *de mundo* 4. 396 a 2 f. [2] Poseidon. *ap.* Strab. 182.

[3] Aisch. *frag.* 199 Nauck[2] *ap.* Strab. 183. Cp. Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 41 *δηλοῖ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν Αἰσχύλος ἐν Προμηθεῖ λυομένῳ. πεποίηται γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ Προμηθεὺς Ἡρακλεῖ τά τε ἄλλα προλέγων ὡς ἕκαστόν [αὐτῷ] τι συμβήσεσθαι ἔμελλε κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Γηρυόνην στρατείαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Λιγυστικοῦ πολέμου, ὡς οὐ ῥᾴδιος ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται διηγούμενος· τὰ δὲ ποιήματα ὧδε ἔχει κ.τ.λ.*

On the Ligurians in general see now the critical survey of A. Berthelot 'Les Ligures' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 ii. 72—120 ('La Ligurie historique'), *ib.* 245—261 ('Les antécédents des Ligures' including 'A. L'hypothèse nordique. Mythologie: *Les Ligures*, *'ambre et Kyknos'* and 'B. L'hypothèse panitalique. *Les Ligures en Italie centrale'*), 261—303 ('Les conjectures toponymiques').

[4] A. Rehm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2563—2565 devotes a succinct article to his constellation, including its various names, identifications, descriptions, etc. See also F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 pp. 100—104 and Index p. 555.

[5] A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 128, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1488 f., citing *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum* London 1910 xxvii pl. 45, 22 ff. (K. 4129) omens from births.

[6] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 6 hunc etiam nonnulli Ixiona brachiis vinctis esse dixerunt, quod im Iunoni voluerit adferre; alii Promethea in monte Caucaso vinctum, schol. Arat. *haen.* 74 *οἱ δὲ Προμηθέα λέγουσιν...τινὲς δὲ Ἰξίονα αὐτὸν λέγουσιν εἶναι.*

might pass in the former case as the ring of Prometheus[1], in the latter as the wheel of Ixion[2]. These, however, were stray opinions of doubtful date. More persistent is the idea that Engonasin was a nameless sufferer—toiling, says Aratos[3], at some unknown task; tired and mournful, says Cicero[4]; weary and pitiable, says Germanicus[5]. Teukros of Babylon (*c.* 100 A.D.)[6] went so far as to call him Talas[7] the Man of Sorrows.

Fig. 312.

Others attempted to identify the kneeling figure with a definite mythical suppliant or the like and in so doing took further constellations into account. Araithos of Tegea (*s.* iv B.C.)[8] made him out to be Keteus, son of Lykaon and father of Megisto (= Kallisto), lamenting the transformation of his daughter into Ursa Maior and beseeching the gods to restore her to him[9]. Hegesianax (*c.* 200 B.C.)[10] saw Theseus raising the rock at Troizen beneath which lay his father's sword[11] (fig. 312)[12]: Lyra could then be viewed as the lyre of

[1] *Supra* i. 329 n. o.

[2] A. Rehm in F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig. 1903 p. 149 n. 4 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2564.

[3] Arat. *phaen.* 63 ff. *τῇδ' αὐτοῦ μογέοντι κυλίνδεται ἀνδρὶ ἐοικὸς | εἴδωλον. τὸ μὲν οὔτις ἐπίσταται ἀμφαδὸν εἰπεῖν, | οὐδ' ὅτινι κρέμαται κεῖνος πόνῳ, ἀλλά μιν αὔτως | ΕΓΓΟΝΑΣΙΝ καλέουσι.*

[4] Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 108 defessa velut maerentis imago (a rendering of Arat. *loc. cit.* = Cic. *Arat.* 65 Nobbe).

[5] Germ. *Arat.* 74 succiduis genibus lassum et miserabile sidus, 633 miserabile sidus.

[6] Teukros of Babylon was an astrologer who at the end of *s.* i A.D. wrote *περὶ τῶν παραναπελλόντων*, a work dealing with horoscopes (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 416, 448).

[7] F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 p. 278 ‡ *θεός τις κατακέφαλα κείμενος, καλεῖται δὲ* Τάλας, *καὶ κόραξ ψαύει αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς* codd. T.R. (two MSS. of Rhetorios, an Egyptian astrologer of *s.* vi, who has preserved extracts from Teukros *περὶ τῶν δ ὡδεκα ζῳδίων*). Teukros as a native of Babylon appears to perpetuate the old Babylonian tradition of a 'fettered god.'

[8] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 374.

[9] Araithos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 318 Müller) *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 1 Araethus autem Tegeates historiarum scriptor non Callisto, sed Megisto dicit appellatam, et non Lycaonis, sed Cetei filiam, Lycaonis neptem; praeterea Cetea ipsum Engonasin nominari *ib.* 2. 6 Araethus autem, ut ante diximus, hunc Cetea Lycaonis filium, Megistus patrem dicit; qui videtur, ut lamentans filiam in ursae figuram conversam, genu nixus palmas diversas tendere ad caelum, ut eam sibi dii restituant.

[10] F. Stählin in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2602 ff., F. Jacoby *ib.* vii. 2604 ff. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] ii. 1. 217 f.

[11] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 6 Hegesianax (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 525 Jacoby) autem Thesea dixisse, qui Troezene saxum extollere videtur, quod existimatur Aegeus sub eo ellopium (*allopium* cod. D. J. Molsheym cj. *Pelopium*. Heinsius, with more genealogical justification (see Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* ii. 231), cj. *Cecropium*. B. Bunte says: 'fortasse legendum est ellopum ex Gr. ἔλλοπος' (*quid?*). But, if Ellopia was a district in northern Euboia

extending as far as Chalkis (R. Philippson in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2438), it may be that we should keep *Ellopium* to denote a sword 'of true Ellopian bronze.' A.B.C.) ensem posuisse, et Aethrae Thesei matri praedixisse, ne ante eum Athenas mitteret, quam sua virtute lapide sublato, potuisset gladium patri referre. itaque niti videtur, ut quam altissime possit, lapidem extollat. hac etiam de causa nonnulli lyram, quae proxima ei signo est collocata, Thesei esse dixerunt, quod ut eruditus omni genere artium, lyram quoque didicisse videbatur. idque et Anacreon (*frag.* 99 Bergk[4], 121 Edmonds) dicit: ἀγχοῦ δ' Αἰγείδεω Θησέος ἐστὶ λύρη, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 74 ἢ Θησέα.

[12] Theseus raising the rock was a subject in vogue with artists for some five hundred years. The hero is regularly represented with bent knee, a modification of the archaic *Knielauf.* His attitude is awkward, and even unreasonable, on an Etruscan scarab of banded sardonyx at Vienna (R. von Schneider *Album auserlesener Gegenstände der Antiken-Sammlung des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* Wien 1895 pl. 40, 3, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 17, 55 (=my fig. 312 : scale 2/1), ii. 85. Inscribed *These*), more natural on a relief from Trysa, to be dated *c.* 420—410 B.C. (O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* Wien 1889 p. 173 pl. 19, 11 (=my fig. 314), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 459), on a small pedimental relief surmounting a *stéle* of Hymettian marble inscribed *c.* 136—133 (?) B.C. with a decree in honour of the Troezenian Telesias (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 458 *b*, W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 139, F. von Duhn in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1877 xxxv. 171 f. no. 104, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 217, 5), and on Roman mural reliefs in terra cotta referable to the period *c.* 30 B.C.—*c.* 140 A.D. (G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842—1851 pl. 117, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 398 no. D 594 pl. 39, H. von Rohden—H. Winnefeld *Architektonische römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit* Berlin 1911 i. 98, ii pl. 12 (=my fig. 315). Inscribed ΘCCЄOYC=Θ(η)σέους. Beneath the rock lie the shield, the sheathed sword and the quiver (?) of Aigeus. Aithra points to them). A marble relief from Ostia, now in the Villa Albani, has a similar rendering of the scene complicated by the presence of other onlookers (G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti*[2] Roma 1821 ii. 130 pl. 96, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1126 with Text iv. 35 by W. Amelung, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 146 no. 1, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 455 f. no. 1924), and so has a white marble tripod-base from Mt Gerizim, now at Constantinople, Attic work of Roman date (Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 385 ff. no. 638 fig., O. Brendel in the *Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1932 xlvii. 202 f. fig. 2 (=my fig. 316) inscribed Θησεὺς | γνωρίσματα. Theseus raises the rock in the presence of Aithra and two maids). Pausanias *c.* 150 A.D. saw on the Akropolis at Athens a bronze statue of Theseus pushing up an actual rock, beneath which were the shoes and sword of Aigeus (Paus. 1. 27. 8). This curious work of art is shown on imperial bronze coins of Athens (E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 397 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 105 pl. 18, 8, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 145 f. pl. DD, 2, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 95, 25—36, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 366 no. 5963 pl. 211, 11. Fig. 313 is from a well preserved specimen in my collection). At Troizen too, where the original rock of Theseus was to be seen (Paus. 2. 32. 7 cited *supra* i. 519 n. 2, cp. Kallim. *Hekale frag.* 66 Schneider, 20 Mair ἐν μὲν γὰρ Τροιζῆνι κολουραίῃ ὑπὸ πέτρῃ | θῆκε σὺν ἀρπίδεσσι), the same type reappears on bronze coins of imperial date (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 167 no. 20 pl. 31, 5 Commodus, p. 168 no. 24 Geta, no. 25 pl. 31, 9 Philippus Iunior, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 49 pl. M, 11 Commodus, *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 487 no. 4258 Caracalla). See further F. Wieseler 'Die erhaltenen Denkmäler mit Darstellungen der Troezenisch-Attischen Sage von Aegeus, Aethra und Theseus, soweit diese die zu Troezen vorgefallenen Ereignisse betrifft' in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1886 pp. 65—72 (numerous other gems and pastes representing Theseus and the rock are listed *ib.* pp. 69—71) and H. Steuding in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 680—682 fig. 1.

Fig. 313.

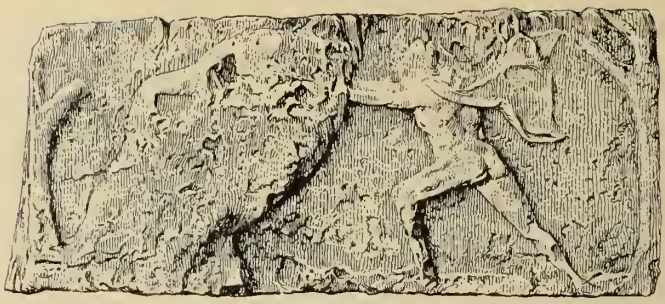


Fig. 314.

Fig. 315.

Fig. 316.

Fig. 317.

Theseus[1]. The vicinity of Lyra justified two other interpretations—Thamyris at the knees of the Muses who had blinded him[2], and Orpheus slain by the women of Thrace for intruding upon the Dionysiac rites[3].

But such attempts too often involved a misconception of the old starry *schêma*. E. Bethe[4] has done well to urge that Engonasin was first represented on some Ionic globe of the sixth century B.C. as an anonymous man in the attitude of *Knielauf* dear to archaic art[5]. Hence Aratos' professed inability to expound 'the mysterious phantom[6].' Hence also the total absence of attributes both in the detailed descriptions given by Aratos[7], Hipparchos[8], Ptolemaios[9], and in the clearly cut relief that adorns the Farnese globe (fig. 317)[10]. Since, however, the attitude of *Knielauf* was frequently employed by early artists to express the energetic action of Herakles[11], it was

[1] Our earliest evidence for the lyre of Theseus is the *kratêr* of Klitios and Ergotimos, *c.* 600—550 B.C. (*supra* i. 481 n. 9). Next in date is the fragment of Anakreon, *c.* 530 B.C. (*supra* p. 485 n. 0). Theseus with the lyre seems to have been an Ionian rival of the better known lyre-playing Herakles (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 500 n. 1).

[2] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 6 alii autem Thamyrim a Musis excaecatum, ut supplicem ad genua iacentem dicunt, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 74 ἄλλοι Θάμυριν.

[3] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 6 alii Orphea a Thraciis mulieribus interfici, quod viderit Liberi Patris initia. *Supra* i. 111 n. 1, ii. 121 fig. 76 with n. 3.

[4] E. Bethe 'Das Alter der griechischen Sternbilder' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1900 lv. 426 f.

[5] *Supra* i. 204 n. 4, 296 fig. 219, ii. 544 fig. 419, 731 fig. 663, etc.

W. Deonna *Dédale* Paris 1930 p. 249 'Certaines attitudes mêmes, qui jadis paraissaient anormales, sont justifiées par la chronophotographie[2]...et cette course "agenouillée" est l'attitude exacte du saut, le corps étant saisi au moment où il se ramasse sur lui-même pour franchir l'obstacle[3]' (*id. ib.* nn. 2 and 3 adds a useful bibliography).

[6] Arat. *phaen.* 270 ἀπευθέος εἰδώλοιο.

[7] Arat. *phaen.* 63—70.

[8] Hipparch. *in Arati et Eudoxi phaen. comment.* 1. 2. 6 Manitius with the translation of Sir T. L. Heath *Greek Astronomy* London & Toronto 1932 p. 119.

[9] Ptol. *syntaxis mathematica* 7. 5 (ii. 52 ff. Heiberg) with the translation of K. Manitius Leipzig 1913 p. 36 f.

[10] J. B. Passeri *Atlas Farnesianus marmoreus insigne vetustatis monumentum commentario inlustratus* Florentiae 1750, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* v. 25 ff. pl. 793 fig. 1999 A = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 468 no. 1, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 4. 13 f. pl. 64, 822, E. Vinet in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 527 fig. 615, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 711 with fig. on p. 710, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 224 f. fig. 175 (from a photograph), *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 169 no. 579. But these publications are all eclipsed by the careful study of G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 pp. 19 ff. ('Die Neapler Statue'), 27 ff. ('Der Globus des Hipparchos') with figs. 1—7 and pls. 2—6. My fig. 317 is from Thiele's pl. 6.

[11] E. Schmidt 'Der Knielauf' in the *Münchener archäologische Studien* München 1909 p. 309 fig. 28, p. 312 fig. 31, p. 313 fig. 32 (Herakles attacking Centaurs on a bronze plate from Olympia (A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 101 no. 696 pl. 38), on a 'Laconian' *dînos* in the Louvre (O. Puchstein in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 219, 240 pl. 11, 1 and pl. 12, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 433, 8 and 435, 6), on an Ionian *amphora* at Munich (Sieveking—Hackl *Vasensamml. München* i. 103 no. 836 fig. 106)). A modification of this attitude

easy to equip the nameless figure with club and lion-skin and to make him fight the snake of the Hesperides (Draco), as was done by Eratosthenes and his followers[1] (figs. 318, 319)[2], or to imagine him groping for stones in his contest with the Ligyes, as was done by other Alexandrine scholars[3]. Both interpretations occasioned further

Fig. 318.

Fig. 319.

persists even in the posture of Herakles crouching to shoot in the eastern pediment of the temple of Aphaia in Aigina (A. Furtwängler *Aegina* München 1906 Text p. 250 ff. figs. 206, 208, Atlas pl. 95, 86, *id. Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig's I. zu München*[2] München 1910 p. 112 ff. no. 84, P. Wolters *Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwigs I. zu München* München 1922 p. 20 fig. A. 86): see A. Kalkmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1895 x. 65 ff., 74, *pace* E. von Mach *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Sculpture* Boston 1905 p. 88.

[1] Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 4, cp. *ib.* 3, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 6.

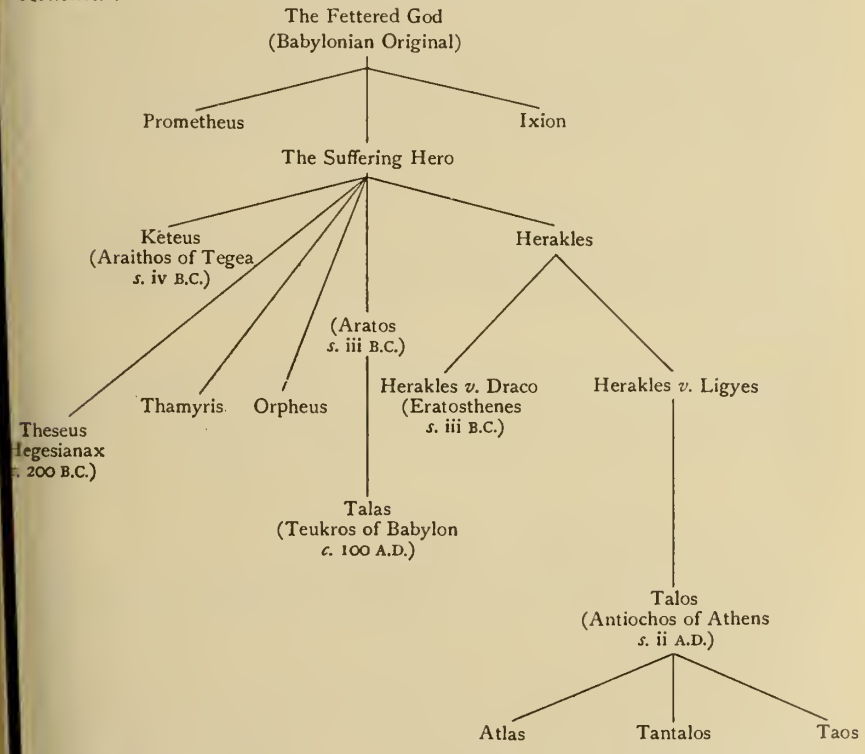
[2] Fig. 318 is from a twelfth-century MS. of Germanicus at Madrid (cod. Matrit. A 16 fol. 56[r] published by G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 145 fig. 62). Fig. 319 is from the edition of Hyginus printed by Erhard Radtolt at Venice in 1485 fol. d[v].

[3] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 6 Aeschylus autem in fabula quae inscribitur Προμηθεὺς λυόμενος (*supra* p. 483) Herculem ait esse, non cum dracone, sed cum Liguribus depugnantem. dicit enim, quo tempore Hercules a Geryone boves abduxerit, iter fecisse per Ligurum fines; quos conatos ab eo pecus abducere manus contulisse et complures eorum sagittis confixisse, sed postquam Herculem tela deficerent, multitudine barbarorum et inopia armorum defessum se ingeniculasse multis iam vulneribus acceptis. Iovem autem misertum filii curasse ut circa eum magna lapidum copia esset, quibus se Herculem defendisse et hostes fugasse. itaque Iovem similitudinem pugnantis inter sidera constituisse, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 74 (wrongly attached to the description of Ophiuchus) ἄλλοι δέ φασί τινες αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῖς Λίβυσι (A. Rehm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2564 makes the obvious correction Λίγυσι) πολεμοῦντα. ἐπιλιπόντων αὐτῷ τῶν τοξευμάτων ἐπὶ γόνυ πεσόντα λίθους βαλεῖν, οὓς αὐτῷ Ζεὺς ὗσεν εὐξαμένῳ.

Fig. 320.

Fig. 321.

misunderstandings. Herakles grasping his club was confused with Boötes grasping his *lagobólon*—witness the Carolingian paintings (figs. 320, 321) in the *codex Vossianus*[1]. Herakles throwing stones was equated with the stone-thrower Talos[2], whose name bore a convenient resemblance to that of the sufferer Talas[3]. It was altered by some wiseacre into Tantalos[4], the hero who lived in dread of the falling rock, and by some fool of a copyist into Taos the Peacock[5]! A final muddle, prompted perhaps by Tantalos under his rock, perhaps by Herakles fighting his snake, produced the name Atlas[6]. Modern sky-charts are content with the label Hercules. But rival claimants have been numerous, as may be seen from the appended *stemma* :



[1] A ninth-century MS. of Germanicus at Leyden (cod. Voss. Lat. q^to 79 fol. 6^v Hercules =my fig. 320) and fol. 12^v Boötes (=my fig. 321) published by G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 93 fig. 19 and p. 96 fig. 22).

[2] By Antiochos of Athens (*s.* ii A.D.), author of a famous astrological poem *Thesauroí*, of which one fragment in hexameters is quoted by the astronomer Palchos (*s.* v A.D.) and other parts survive in an old prose paraphrase given by various MSS. (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 678). See further F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 p. 279, who restores Τάλως from Ταλὸς ῥίπτων λίθον cod. V[3] and ταώς cod. A.

[3] *Supra* p. 484.

Having thus seen that certain anonymous Alexandrines used the Aeschylean myth of Zeus sending a rain of stones to Herakles[1] as a plausible explanation of Engonasin, we must next enquire whether the myth itself was a mere figment on the part of an imaginative poet or an episode strictly in accordance with popular classical belief. And here I shall at once cite a remarkable parallel recorded by Livy[2] as having taken place in the reign of Tullus Hostilius (672—640 B.C.):

'After the defeat of the Sabines, when King Tullus and the whole Roman state were at a high pitch of glory and prosperity, it was reported to the king and senators that there had been a rain of stones on the Alban Mount. As this could scarce be credited, envoys were dispatched to examine the prodigy; and in their sight there fell from the sky, like hail that the wind piles in drifts upon the ground, a thick shower of stones. They thought too that they heard a great voice issuing from the grove on the mountain-top, which bade the Albans offer sacrifices after the fashion of their fathers: these they had in fact given over to oblivion, as though they had forsaken their gods along with their country, having either adopted Roman rites or in anger at their fortune, such as men sometimes feel, abandoned the worship of the gods. The Romans also, in consequence of the same portent, undertook an official nine days' celebration, whether so commanded by the divine voice from the Alban Mount—for this too is handed down—or on the advice of soothsayers. At all events it remained a regular custom that, whenever the same prodigy was reported, there should be a nine days' observance.'

The great voice heard from the grove on the mountain-top was that of Iupiter *Latiaris*, whose temple on the summit of the Alban Mount[3] (*Monte Cavi*[4]) was the earliest religious centre of the

[4] Schol. Arat. *phaen.* 74 οἱ δὲ Τάνταλον.

[5] F. Boll *op. cit.* p. 278 with n. 2.

[6] F. Boll *op. cit.* p. 260 f. in view of Ω κύμβαλα καὶ ἀτλάς (*leg.* Ἄτλας) cod. V[3]. 'Die Schilderung eines Gottes mit ausgebreiteten Armen passt durchaus zu den Darstellungen des Atlas, wie etwa der Kölner Bronce (abgebildet bei Thiele S. 26) oder dem Träger des Globus Farnese.'

[1] *Supra* p. 483. The Hercules *Lapidarius* worshipped in the neighbourhood of Nikaia (*Nizza, Nice*) (Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2012 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v. 2 no. 7869 a small pedestal, found near the monastery of S. Ponzio and thence transferred to a vineyard adjoining the Cappuccini of Nizza, inscribed HERCVLI | LAPIDARI | ALMANI|CENSES | P) is hardly to be connected with this myth, but may be a local variety of Hercules *Saxanus*, the god 'of Quarries' (De Vit *Onomasticon* iii. 354, 355), on whom see now the exhaustive article by Keune in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 266—307.

[2] Liv. 1. 31 trans. B. O. Foster altered.

[3] A. Nibby *Analisi storico-topografico-antiquaria della carta de' dintorni di Roma* Roma 1837 i. 110—119 ('Albanus Mons'), G. B. de Rossi 'Ricerche archeologiche e topografiche nel monte Albano' etc. in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 163 ff. ('Tempio di Giove Laziale'), 168 ff. ('Cabum. Cabenses') with pl. RS, M. S. de Rossi 'Scavi e studii nel tempio di Giove Laziale sul monte Albano' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876 xlviii. 314—333 with col. pl. Q

Latins[1]. And, since the Alban Hills were certainly prehistoric volcanos, which even in historic times continued to give intermittent proof of their smouldering fires[2], it is permissible to suppose that a

C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1309—1311 with map, G. Tomassetti *La campagna Romana antica, medioevale e moderna* Roma 1910 ii. 190—230 ('Albano Laziale'), G. Giovannoni 'Monte Cavo. Esplorazioni nell' area del tempio di Giove Laziale' in the *Not. Scavi* 1912 pp. 382—384.

[4] C. Hülsen *loc. cit.* 'die höchste Erhebung des vulkanischen Albanergebirges, jetzt Monte Cavi (weniger correct Monte Cavo), 954 m. über dem Meer.'

[1] H. Last in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1928 vii. 348.

[2] Sir W. Gell *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*[2] London 1846 p. 38: 'Albano has been at different periods subject to earthquakes; these, however, have hitherto been productive of no serious mischief. Shocks were felt here in the year 1829, and in many of the villages around. After continuing for a considerable period, during which they were at times repeated as often as thrice in one day, they ceased in the autumn. The strange stories then current among the people, of flames breaking forth from a chasm, and of trees withering from volcanic effluvia, give an air of probability to the showers of stones and other prodigies, said to have occurred in ancient times on the Alban Hill. These phenomena may be referred to the volcanic nature of the mountain, which, at the time that they are said to have happened, was so much nearer the epoch of its vigour and activity.'

C. Daubeny *A Description of active and extinct Volcanos, of Earthquakes, and of Thermal Springs*[2] London 1848 p. 169 f.: 'To the south of Rome the whole of the country for several miles round Albano abounds in volcanic appearances. Amongst the mountains in this group are several lakes which appear originally to have been craters, as for instance that of Albano, Vallariccia, Nemi, and Juturna, to which we may add, intermediate between the Alban mountains and the Anio, the Lake of Gabii, noted for a particular variety of Peperino called the Gabian stone, and the singular hexagonal one of Cornufelle, near Frascati, supposed by Gell to be the Lake Regillus....In proof that the volcanic action had not entirely ceased even in modern times, I may state that Pliny [*nat. hist.* 2. 240] mentions a report which had reached him as to the ground round the lake [of Ariccia or Vallariccia] being hot enough to set fire to charcoal; and Livy [22. 36] notices a shower of stones that fell there, as well as the bursting out of a warm spring, having its water mixed with blood, which Heyne supposes to have been bitumen † († Heyne, Opusc. Acad. vol. ii. p. 263). There are indeed some passages in ancient writers, which might lead us to suppose a volcano to have existed among these mountains even at a period within the limits of authentic history, for Livy [25. 7] notices a shower of stones which continued for two entire days from Mount Albano during the second Punic war, and Julius Obsequens in his work "De Prodigiis" [98=38] remarks, that in the year [641] A.U.C. [=113 B.C.] the hill appeared to be on fire during the night....These accounts indeed, if not confirmed by other testimony, might be rejected as fabulous, but they may perhaps suffice to establish the comparatively modern date at which the volcanic action continued, when viewed in connexion with the physical structure of the lake itself....This however, and the other lakes above-mentioned, if even they be considered as volcanic craters, are but the dependencies and offsets, as it were, of the great extinct volcano, the traces of which still remain upon the summit of the Alban hills.'

To these contentions E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 92 opposes a dogmatic denial, difficult to accept: 'Numerous prodigies are recorded by Roman writers as occurring on the Alban Mount: among these the falling of showers of stones is frequently mentioned, a circumstance which has been supposed by some writers to indicate that the volcanic energy of these mountains continued in historical times; but this suggestion is sufficiently disproved by historical, as well as geological, considerations.'

fall of pumice or scoriae thrown up from some re-opened vent would be viewed as an omen directly indicating the will of Iupiter.

Later showers of stones[1], ashes[2], or the like[3], though on occasion

[1] 217 B.C. Hot stones fell from the sky at Praeneste (Liv. 22. 1).
216 A rain of stones on the Aventine at Rome and at Aricia (Liv. 22. 36).
215 A rain of stones round the temple of Iuno *Sospita* at Lanuvium (Liv. 23. 31).
212 A rain of stones for two days on the Alban Mount (Liv. 25. 7).
211 A rain of stones at Eretum (Liv. 26. 23).
207 Stones fell from the sky at Veii, and again there was a rain of stones on the Armilustrum at Rome (Liv. 27. 37).
194 A rain of stones in the territory of Hadria (Liv. 34. 45).
188 Showers of stones on the Aventine (Iul. Obs. 56=2).
186 A rain of stones in Picenum (Iul. Obs. 59=4).
169 A rain of stones at Reate (Liv. 43. 13). At the close of the same year stones fell simultaneously in the *ager Romanus* and in the *ager Veiens* (Liv. 44. 18).
152 A rain of stones at Aricia (Iul. Obs. 77=18).
94 A rain of stones on a farm of the Vestini (Iul. Obs. 111=51).
52 *Infra* n. 3.
41 A rain of stones (C. Lycosthenes (K. Wolffhart) *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* Basileae 1557 p. 228).
897 A.D. A rain-storm followed by the fall of white and black stones at Ahmed-dad near Koufah (an Arabic MS. of Ibn-al-Athir quoted by E. Quatremère *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte, et sur quelques contrées voisines* Paris 1811 ii. 487).

So far as Italy is concerned, the decreasing number of entries rather suggests that this particular form of volcanic activity had petered out before the beginning of our era.

[2] 87 B.C. A rain of ashes at Athens (Paus. 9. 6. 6).
473 A.D. A rain of fiery dust or ashes at Byzantion (Kedren. *hist. comp.* 350 C (i. 614 Bekker), Glykas *ann.* 4. 264 A (p. 489 Bekker), Zonar. 14. 1 (iii. 253 Dindorf). Theophan. *chronogr.* p. 103 (i. 185 Classen) refers this rain of fiery dust to the year of Leon i's death, which he places in 466 A.D. C. Lycosthenes (K. Wolffhart) *op. cit.* p. 296 dates it in the second year of Leon i, 462 A.D. (!), cp. Nikephor. *eccl. hist.* 15. 20 (cxlvii. 60 B ff. Migne). Prokop. *de Bell. Goth.* 6. 4. 27 and Marcellin. Comes *chron.* ann. 472 (li. 931 C Migne) attribute the fall to an eruption of Vesuvius. The *menologium Basilianum* for Nov. 6 p. 170 (cxvii. 147 A–B Migne) says that the ashes fell glowing hot and burnt up πάντα τὰ φυτά).

[3] 214 B.C. A rain of chalk at Cales (Liv. 24. 10).
194 A rain of earth on several occasions at Rome (Liv. 34. 45).
190 A rain of earth at Tusculum (Liv. 37. 3, Iul. Obs. 55=1).
172 A rain of earth at Auximum (Liv. 42. 20).
167 A rain of earth at Anagnia (Liv. 45. 16, Iul. Obs. 70=11).
166 A rain of earth at many places in Campania (Iul. Obs. 71=12).
133 A rain of earth at Ardea (Iul. Obs. 86=27 a).
101 A rain of clay on the Aventine at Rome (Iul. Obs. 104=44 a).
98 A rain of white chalk in the theatre (Iul. Obs. 107=47).
52 At Rome 'many thunderbolts, many clods, stones, shards and blood went flying through the air' (Dion Cass. 40. 47).
50 A rain of baked tiles at Rome (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 147, cp. Lyd. *de ostent. prooem.* 6 p. 13, 12 ff. Wachsmuth κατηνέχθησαν δὲ πλίνθοι πολλάκις ὁπταὶ καὶ κόνις, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς).
860 A.D. Blood-red dust fell from the sky at Byzantion ([Georg. Monachos] *chron.* 5. 3. 15 (cx. 1048 C—1049 A Migne)).

attributed to divine agency[1], are more often recorded as a purely anonymous portent.

iii. Rain of food.

Another form of abnormal shower is the alleged fall of actual food from the skies. Thus in the book of *Exodus*[2] it is stated that the children of Israel on entering the wilderness of Sin, between Elim and Sinai, were distressed with hunger:

'Then said the LORD unto Moses, Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you[3]....At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall know that I am the LORD your God. And it came to pass at even, that the quails came up, and covered the camp: and in the morning the dew lay round about the camp. And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness a small round thing, small as the hoar frost on the ground[4]....And the house of Israel called the name thereof Manna: and it was like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers *made* with honey[5].'

This timely provision of tamarisk-droppings[6] and migrating quails[7] made a profound impression upon the people and is the subject of repeated allusions by other writers throughout the canon[8]. Indeed, it came to be regarded as frankly miraculous: *e.g.*

[1] Paus. 9. 6. 6 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ὗσαι τέφραν ὁ θεὸς ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον πρὶν ἢ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐπαχθέντα ὑπὸ Σύλλα τὰ μεγάλα σφίσιν ἐνεγκεῖν παθήματα, Prokop. *de bell. Goth.* 6. 4. 27 καί ποτε μέν φασιν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπιπεσοῦσαν (*sc.* the ashes from Vesuvius) οὕτως ἐκπλῆξαι τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους ὥστε πανδημεὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου δὴ καὶ ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου λιταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἔγνωσαν, κ.τ.λ., Georg. Monachos *chron.* 4. 209. 2 (cx. 756 C Migne) ἐφ' οὗ (σημεῖον) ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ νεφέλη σαλπιγγοειδὴς ἐπὶ ἡμέρας μ', καὶ σποδὸν ἔβρεξε ἐν ΚΙΙ. σπιθαμῆς τὸ πάχος· τῶν γὰρ νεφῶν ὡς πῦρ ὁρωμένων ἐδόκει πῦρ ῥέειν. διὰ τοῦτο πάντων λιτανευόντων, τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσβέσθη καὶ εἰς κόνιν μετεβλήθη cp. Nikephor. *eccl. hist.* 15. 20 (cxlvii. 61 B Migne) νεφέλη γὰρ σάλπιγγος σχῆμα περιβαλλομένη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα ὤπτο· ἡνίκα καὶ σποδὸς ἄνωθεν ὑετίσθη τῇ Κωνσταντίνου, <ὥστε (*inserui*)> ὡσεὶ παλαιστὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κεράμων καθεῖναι, εἰς πῦρ τῶν νεφῶν ἀλλοιωθέντων· ὃ δὴ σύμβολον ἀκραιφνέστατον ἦν τῆς ὅσον οὔπω ἔσεσθαι μελλούσης πυρκαϊᾶς· ὅτε πάντες σὺν τρόμῳ ἐξιόντες, δυσωποῦντες ἦσαν Θεόν, λέγοντες, Πῦρ ἐπιβρέχειν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀφανίζειν ἦν βουλομένῳ Θεῷ. φιλανθρώπως δὲ κινηθέντως (*leg.* κινηθέντος), ἐσβέσθη.

[2] Ex. 16. 1 ff.

[3] Ex. 16. 4.

[4] Ex. 16. 12—14.

[5] Ex. 16. 31.

[6] A. Macalister in J. Hastings *A Dictionary of the Bible* Edinburgh 1900 iii. 236 ('Manna'), N. McLean and S. A. Cook in T. K. Cheyne—J. S. Black *Encyclopædia Biblica* London 1902 iii. 2929—2931 ('Manna').

[7] G. E. Post in J. Hastings *A Dictionary of the Bible* Edinburgh 1902 iv. 179 ('Quail'), A. E. Shipley, S. A. Cook, T. K. Cheyne, and C. Creighton in T. K. Cheyne—J. S. Black *Encyclopædia Biblica* London 1903 iv. 3989—3991 ('Quail').

[8] Num. 11. 6 ff., 31 ff., Deut. 8. 3, 16, Josh. 5. 12, Neh. 9. 20, Ps. 105. 40, 106. 15, John 6. 31 f., 49, 58, Heb. 9. 4, Rev. 2. 17.

'Yet he commanded the skies above,
And opened the doors of heaven;
And he rained down manna upon them to eat,
And gave them of the corn of heaven.
Man did eat the bread of the mighty:
He sent them meat to the full.
He caused the east wind to blow in the heaven:
And by his power he guided the south wind.
He rained flesh also upon them as the dust,
And winged fowl as the sand of the seas:
And he let it fall in the midst of their camp,
Round about their habitations.
So they did eat, and were well filled;
And he gave them that they lusted after[1].'

'He rained down manna...,' 'He rained flesh also....' It may be doubted whether classical authors can furnish a complete parallel to the Hebrew tradition. There is, however, reason to think that the same naïve belief in food, at first let fall by the sky-god, and later simply dropping from the sky, long haunted the imagination of Greeks and Romans alike.

W. H. Roscher[2], in a dissertation published half a century since, succeeded in proving two relevant points. In the first place, the Greeks and Romans, the Indians, the Germans, and the Finns all held that honey falls as a dew from the sky[3] on trees and flowers, and consequently viewed it as a sort of celestial diet. In the second place, *ambrosía*, the gods' food, and *néktar*, the gods' drink (or *vice*

[1] Ps. 78. 23—29.

[2] W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 pp. 13—22 and 22—33.

[3] Hence the names ἀερόμελι (Amyntas *frag.* 1 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 135 Müller) = *frag.* 1 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 627 Jacoby) *ap.* Athen. 500 D, Galen. περὶ τροφῶν δυνάμεως 3. 39 (vi. 739 Kühn), cp. Verg. *georg.* 4. 1 aërii mellis caelestia dona), δροσόμελι (Galen. *loc. cit.*, cp. Verg. *ecl.* 4. 30 roscida mella, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 31 rores melleos e caelo, ut diximus (*ib.* 11. 30), cadentes), μέλι ἄγριον (Diod. 19. 94, Matthew 3. 4, Souid. *s.v.* ἀκρίς), ὗον μέλι (Polyain. 4. 3. 32, cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 15. 7 ὕεται ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ διὰ τοῦ ἤρος μέλιτι ὑγρῷ).

A curious story is told by Hadrianus Junius (Adriaan de Jonghe) in his *Animadversa* Roterodami 1708 p. 170 f. (lib. 3, cap. 9): 'Locum accepi fuisse in regno Neapolitano, præstantissimi mellis aërii (quod ἄγριον μέλι Suidas, ἄεριον Galenus, vulgus hominum Manna nominat à voce Hebræa Man, quæ genericè donum significat) proventu nobilem, quem Neapolitani reges perpetuo muro claudendum curaverant, incertam ob causam, sive uberior proventus atque inde opimus reditus, sive purior ejus collectio eos huc stimulavit: quacunque tandem de causa denegato illius contactu, cœleste illud καὶ διοπετὲς donum in universum cadere desiit: mox quum jussu Regum interrupta fuisset muri series, denuò labi affluenter, & à pube rustica colligi passim cœpit. Repetitur iterum magno studio cingendi loci propositum, sed temerarium: siquidem circunquaque præclusa muri lorica, stetit melleus ille imber, neque manavit amplius, donec, dissipata disjectaque maceria illius crate, libero ingressu potitus rusticus cœtus, avidissimè defluvium illud manna colligere permissu regum potuit.'

versa[1]), were originally identical, both being forms of the self-same substance honey. This identification is borne out by etymology: *a-mbrosía*, the 'non-mortal' food[2], and *nék-tar*, the 'death-vanquishing[3],' or perhaps rather *né-ktar*, the 'not-dead[4],' are obvious equivalents.

[1] Athen. 39 A οἶδα δ' ὅτι Ἀναξανδρίδης (*fab. incert. frag.* 7 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 198 Meineke)) τὸ νέκταρ οὐ ποτόν, ἀλλὰ τροφὴν εἶναι λέγει θεῶν· 'τὸ νέκταρ ἐσθίω πάνυ | μάττων διαπίνω τ' ἀμβροσίαν καὶ τῷ Διὶ | διακονῶ καὶ σεμνός εἰμ' ἐκάστοτε | Ἥρᾳ λαλῶν καὶ Κύπριδι παρακαθήμενος.' καὶ Ἀλκμὰν (*frag.* 100 Bergk[4], 88 Edmonds, 3 Diehl) δέ φησι 'τὸ νέκταρ ἔδμεναι' αὐτούς· καὶ Σαπφὼ (*frag.* 51 Bergk[4], 146 Edmonds) δέ φησιν· 'ἀμβροσίας μὲν | κρατὴρ ἐκέκρατο, | Ἑρμᾶς δ' ἔλεν ὄλπιν | θεοῖς οἰνοχοῆσαι.' Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1632, 61 ff. abbreviates this passage of Athenaios. The same conception underlies Eur. *Hipp.* 748 ff. κρῆναί τ' ἀμβρόσιαι χέονται | Ζηνὸς (W. Dindorf cj. Ζανὸς) μελάθρων παρὰ κοίταις, | ἵν' ἀβιόδωρος (so L. C. Valckenaer from ἵνα βιόδωρος cod. A. ἵν' ὀλβιόδωρος vulg.) αὔξει ζαθέα | χθὼν εὐδαιμονίαν θεοῖς.

[2] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 32, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 134, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 276, cp. Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 139.

[3] So Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 308 ('**nek̂* (Tod; lat. *nec-em*, s. νέκυς) +*tar* "überwindend," ai. *tara-s*, s. τείρω. Also in der Bedeutung ähnlich wie ἀμβροσία. In dieser Deutung habe ich mich mit Jac. Grimm Dtsch. Mythologie I, 294 (necem avertens) berührt'), Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 660 f. ('< **nek̂*- "mort, f." (cf. Lat. *nec-em* et voy. s.v. νέκῡς) + -ταρ "qui triomphe de," cf. skr. *tará-ḥ* zd. *-tara-* "qui triomphe de" (: skr. *tárati* "traverser, franchir, surmonter, vaincre," lat. *tr-ans*) = "ἀμβροσίη"'), Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 326 ('νέκ-ταρ "Göttertrank" ("*Tod überwindend,"...)').

[4] H. Güntert *Kalypso* Halle a. S. 1919 p. 161 ff. is dissatisfied with the solution of the problem advanced by Prellwitz and now commonly accepted ('Aber mit dem zweiten Kompositionsglied steht es nicht zum besten; man verweist auf ai. *-tará-*, aw. *-tara-* "übertreffend, besiegend," zu ai. *tárati* "setzt über, gelangt hinüber, überwindet, rettet," oder auf ai. *āp-tūr* "die Wasser besiegend"; ich würde schon lieber auf ved. *-tr̥d* "zerstörend" als zweites Kompositionsglied hinzeigen, das im griechischen Auslaut als *-ταρ* erscheinen müsste und von dieser Stellung aus verallgemeinert sein könnte. ...Aber auch der Zerlegung von νέκταρ in νέκ-ταρ "necem superans" haftet meines Empfindens etwas "Gemachtes" an, es fehlt ihr die innere Überzeugungskraft. Dazu kommt, dass die Silbe *-ταρ* nur durch Heranziehung weit entfernter Formen einigermassen gedeutet werden kann'). Accordingly, he proposes a new and undeniably attractive explanation ('Ich möchte daher einen neuen Deutungsversuch vorlegen, der hinsichtlich der Bedeutung der Etymologie Grimms ebenbürtig ist, aber den Vorzug hat, nur mit im Griechischen selbst üblichen Wortformen auszukommen: ich will nämlich νέ-κταρ zerlegen. νε- = idg. **ne* ist die Vollstufe der Negation, die wir in so üblichen Formen, wie lat. *ne-scio*, *ne-fas*, *n'-unquam*, *n'-ullus*, *ne-scius*, *ne-cesse*, *ne-cessarius*, *nēmo* aus **ne-hemo*. ...Im Griechischen selbst ist νε- erhalten bei vokalischem Anlaut, da sonst das alte *ne-* durch οὐ ersetzt wurde; vgl. οὔ τις, οὐκ ἐθέλω: lat. *nōlo*. In solcher Kontraktion aber war νε- nicht durch οὐ zu ersetzen, und so begegnet es in Fällen wie νηλεής, νήνεμος, νήκεστος, νήγρετος, νώνυμος, νήλιπους..., νημερτής, νήπιος. Sonst kann νε- also nur in Wörtern mit undurchsichtiger Bedeutung von der Ersetzung durch οὐ verschont geblieben sein; ein solcher Fall ist meiner Ansicht nach νέκταρ, aus dem wohl schon die Griechen den Stamm νεκ- "Tod" in νέκες, νέκυς, νεκρός herausgehört haben werden. Der zweite Teil dieses also sehr alterümlichen Kompositums, dessen eigentliche Bedeutung die Hellenen nachweislich selbst nicht mehr kannten, gehört in tiefstufiger Stammesgestalt nach dem Hauptton zu hom. κτέρεα "Beigabe an Tote." Hesych. glossiert κτέρες· νεκροί, καὶ ἀκτέριστοι· οἱ ἄταφοι. Ferner gehören hierher κτερίζω, hom. κτερεΐζω τινά "jem. die letzte Ehre erweisen,"

The facts on which these fancies rested are partly botanical, partly entomological. On the one hand, a sweet, sticky exudation, usually caused by a superfluity of sap, is to be found during hot weather, in small drops resembling dew, on the leaves of sundry trees and herbs[1], especially the oak[2], the ash[3], the

κτερίσματα "Totenfeier, Leichenbestattung." Daher ist auch διά-κτορος, der Beiname des Hermes in seiner Eigenschaft als ψυχοπομπός heranzuziehen [*supra* ii. 384 n. 0]. Ω 397 sagt der Totengott zu Hektor: πατὴρ δέ μοί ἐστι Πολύ-κτωρ [*supra* ii. 384 n. 0]. Dies ist also deutlich ein redender Name für Hades, dem alles Irdische anheimfällt, wie πολυδέγμων, πολυδέκτης usw [*supra* ii. 1113 n. 0 (2)]. Wenn es an der Stelle weiter heisst: ἀφνειὸς μὲν ὅ γ' ἐστί, so erinnert man sich an Ἰλούτων [*supra* i. 503 f., ii. 385 n. 0]. τὸ νέ-κταρ "Nicht-totsein" ist also mit ἀμβροσία völlig gleichbedeutend. ἀ-κτέριστοι sind ἄταφοι, solche, die nicht bestattet werden, über die der Hades also keine Macht hat, und dies Wort deckt sich mit ἀ-θάνατοι.'

[1] M. J. Berkeley in J. Lindley—T. Moore *The Treasury of Botany*[2] London 1884 i. 596.

[2] Theophr. *frag.* 190 Wimmer *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 529 b 16 ff. πίπτει δὲ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος μέλι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προστυχόντα τῶν φυτῶν. εὑρίσκεται δὲ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς φύλλοις τῆς δρυὸς καὶ ἐπὶ <τοῖς (*inserui* A. B. C.) > τῆς φιλύρας, διότι πυκνότητα ἔχει ταῦτα καὶ ἔνικμά ἐστι. δεῖ δὲ μήτε τελείως εἶναι ξηρά, ἵνα μὴ εἰς αὐτὰ ἔλκῃ, μήτε μανά, ἵνα μὴ διΐῃ· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἔνικμα καὶ πυκνότητα ἔχει, τὰ (so F. Wimmer for τὸ codd.) δὲ τῆς φιλύρας καὶ γλυκύτητα. ἔχει δέ πως ἡ μέλιττα (so F. Wimmer for μέλισσα codd.) οἰκείωσίν τινα πρὸς τὴν δρῦν, *id. hist. pl.* 3. 7. 6 φαίνεται δ' οὖν καὶ ὁ μελιτώδης οὗτος χυλὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπὶ ταύτῃ (*sc.* τῇ δρυΐ) μάλιστα προσίζειν, Diod. 17. 75 ἔστι δὲ καὶ δένδρον παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις (*sc.* τοῖς Ὑρκανοῖς) παραπλήσιον δρυΐ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν φύλλων ἀπολεῖβον μέλι· καὶ τοῦτό τινες συνάγοντες δαψιλῆ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦνται = Curt. 6. 4. 22 frequens arbor faciem quercus habet, cuius folia multo melle tinguntur: sed, nisi solis ortum incolae occupaverint, vel modico tepore sucus extinguitur (cp. Ex. 16. 21), Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 31 constatque rores melleos e caelo, ut diximus, cadentes non aliis magis insidere frondibus (*sc.* quam roboribus). Honey dripping from the oaks is a characteristic of the golden age (Verg. *ecl.* 4. 6 redeunt Saturnia regna; | ...30 et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella, *georg.* 1. 131 mellaque decussit (*sc.* Iupiter) foliis, Tib. 1. 3. 45 ipsae mella dabant quercus, Ov. *met.* 1. 111 f. iam flumina nectaris ibant, | flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella). But Hes. *o.d.* 232 f. οὔρεσι δὲ δρῦς | ἄκρη μέν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέσση δὲ μελίσσας refers rather, as Tzetz. *ad loc.* saw, to beesnests in hollow oak-trunks (pseudo-Phokyl. 171 ff. Bergk[4], 171 ff. Diehl, Hor. *epod.* 16. 47, Ov. *am.* 3. 8. 40). *Anth. Pal.* 9. 72. 1 f. (Antipatros) εὔκολος Ἑρμείας, ὦ ποιμένες, ἐν δὲ γάλακτι | χαίρων καὶ δρυΐνῳ σπενδόμενος (A. Hecker and F. Dübner would read σπενδομένοις. H. Stadtmüller: 'malis fort. πειθόμενος conlato Antipatri Thess. versu 93, 4 (ὀλίγῳ πειθόμενος λιβάνῳ)') μέλιτι is of doubtful interpretation.

[3] A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 p. 12 ventures to connect μέλι 'honey' with μελία 'ash-tree,' citing in support the Hesychian glosses μελίαι· μέλισσαι. ἢ δόρατα, ἢ λόγχαι and μελίη ὥσπερ μέλι· εἶδος δένδρου, ὅθεν τὰ μέλιτα. But in the latter gloss N. 1. Schow cj. μελίη ὥς (*Il.* 13. 178) for μελιήως cod. and A. Meineke cj. μελέϊνα (*sc.* δόρατα) for μέλιτα cod. Hence M. Schmidt (ed. 1861) prints μελίη ὥς· ὥσπερ μελί(α). εἶδος δένδρου, ὅθεν τὰ μελέϊνα (δόρατα). W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 pp. 9, 16 accepts Kuhn's conclusions, which—though far from impossible—have not found favour with recent philologists (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 288, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 624, Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 270, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 692).

More weight attaches to a northern parallel. The ancient Scandinavian world-tree was an ash (*askr Yggdrasils*), from which trickled a bee-nourishing dew named 'honey-fall' (*hunângsfall*). See K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie* Bonn 1878 p. 38

lime[1], and some sorts of reeds[2]. On the other hand, certain insects, such as the *aphides*, secrete a sugary liquid, which is often spread in a shiny layer over the upper surface of leaves[3]. Both saccharine substances are known to us as 'honey-dew[4],' to our neighbours as *miellat*[5] or *Honigthau*[6].

G. Vigfusson—F. York Powell *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* Oxford 1883 ii. 635, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 796, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 81, F. Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* iv. 290.

[1] Theophr. *frag.* 190 Wimmer (quoted *supra* p. 498 n. 2) *τῆς φιλύρας.*

More than fifty years ago my brothers and I, as boys in our father's garden, used in the heat of summer to creep under the green translucent shade of some over-hanging lime-boughs, and I well remember tasting the sweet sticky liquid with which the leaves were coated.

[2] Sen. *epist.* 12. 2. 4 aiunt inveniri apud Indos mel in arundinum foliis, quod aut ros illius coeli aut ipsius arundinis humor dulcis et pinguior gignit, Philostr. *her.* 20. 43 *τρέφουσι δὲ (sc. αἱ Ἀμαζόνες) τὰ βρέφη γάλακτί τε φορβάδων ἵππων καὶ δρόσου κηρίοις, ᾗ μέλιτος δίκην ἐπὶ τοὺς δόνακας τῶν ποταμῶν ἱζάνει,* Ail. *de nat. an.* 15. 7 *ὕεται ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ διὰ τοῦ ἥρος μέλιτι ὑγρῷ, καὶ ἔτι πλέον ἡ Ἱρασίων χώρα, ὅπερ οὖν ἐμπίπτον ταῖς πόαις καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἑλείων καλάμων κόμαις νομὰς τοῖς βουσὶ καὶ τοῖς προβάτοις παρέχει θαυμαστάς, καὶ τὰ μὲν ζῷα ἑστιᾶται ἡδίστην τήνδε ἑστίασιν (μάλιστα γὰρ ἐνταῦθα οἱ νομεῖς ἄγουσιν αὐτά, ἔνθα καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ δρόσος ἡ γλυκεῖα κάθηται πεσοῦσα), ἀνθεστιᾷ δὲ καὶ τὰ ζῷα τοὺς νομέας· μέλγουσι γὰρ περιγλύκιστον γάλα, καὶ οὐ δέονται ἀναμῖξαι αὐτῷ μέλι, ὅπερ οὖν δρῶσιν Ἕλληνες.* But Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 14 melliginem (*sc.* faciunt apes) e lacrimis arborum, quae glutinum pariunt, salicis, ulmi, harundinis suco, cummi, resina is dealing with vegetable exudations, not supposed dew. And anon. *peripl. mar. Erythr.* 14 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 267 Müller) *ἐξαρτίζεται δὲ συνήθως καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔσω τόπων, τῆς Ἀριακῆς καὶ Βαρυγάζων, ... μέλι τὸ καλάμινον τὸ λεγόμενον σάκχαρι* refers to sugar-cane.

[3] R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1896 vi. 198 'The sticky substance known as honey-dew, which is often spread in a shiny layer over the upper surface of leaves, is, in most cases, nothing but the liquid dropped by the crowds of plant-lice living above on the under side of other leaves.'

[4] *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[14] London 1929 xi. 715 'The exudation of a nectar-like or saccharine fluid is a function exclusively of flowers but may be found as a secretion or excretion on all parts of various plants which occur above ground. A sweet material, manna, is produced by leaves and stems of a species of ash, and nectar-secreting glands are found on leaves, petioles, stipules, bracts and even on the outer surfaces of corollas and calyces of various plant species. The origin of nectar-secretion manifested specially by flowers among the several parts of plants has been carefully considered by Darwin, who regards the saccharine matter in nectar as a waste product of chemical changes in the sap....The secretions or excretions of nectar from parts of plants other than the interior of flowers are commonly called plant honey-dews.

'Another important source of sweet liquid for honey-bees is the excretions of many species of sucking insects, these being called insect honey-dews to distinguish them from normal plant secretions. Various orders of Hemiptera form this material which is eagerly gathered by bees, but only when no supplies of nectar are available....'

Ib. xi. 717 'HONEY DEW, a secretion consisting of exudations of sugar from the leaves of various trees under certain atmospheric conditions. It is usually the result of a superfluity of sap, but may also be produced by the puncture of certain insects (*Aphides*, *q.v.*)....'

[5] *La grande encyclopédie* Paris (1898) xxiii. 956 *s.v.* 'MIELLAT, MIELLÉE OU MIELLURE.'

[6] J. Grimm—W. Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 iv. 2. 1793 *s.v.* 'Honigthau' ('von blattläusen herrührt').

Country folk in the second century A.D., when they observed such honey-dew on the leaves, would say with a smile 'Zeus has been raining honey![1]' And what they said in jest, their forefathers had said in earnest. Hence the curious belief that Dionysos was called *Hýes* because at his begetting 'Zeus rained ambrosia upon him[2]'—a point to which we shall recur[3].

But if honey, why not honey-cakes? Why not dainties of all sorts? The comedians caught at the notion. Pherekrates[4] in his *Persians* (towards the close of *s.* v B.C.[5]) imagines a happy land in which rivers of black broth with rich spice-nuts and best barley-bread shall flow from the springs of Ploutos, all ready to be ladled up,—

> While Zeus rains wine, well-smoked and fine, in one tile-drenching sputter
> (A bathman's souse), till every house massed grapes and cheese-cakes clutter,
> And soup all hot and Lord-knows-what goes gurgling down the gutter.

Nikophon, a later contemporary of Aristophanes[6], in his *Sirens* pictures a similar scene, but omits the name of Zeus:

> Then let it snow with meal,
> Drizzle with loaves, and rain with lentil-soup;
> Let broth roll tit-bits all adown the streets,
> And cake invite us to consume itself[7].

From such classical Utopias it is not a far cry to the mediaeval

[1] Galen. *περὶ τροφῶν δυνάμεως* 3. 39 (vi. 738 ff. Kühn) *ἡ τῶν τροφῶν ὕλη πᾶσα μέχρι δεῦρο διττοῖς γένεσι περιληφθεῖσα, τὸ μὲν ἕτερον αὐτῶν ἐκ φυτῶν εἶχε, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἐκ ζώων· ἑκατέρας δ' αὐτῶν ἀφώρισται τὸ μέλι. γίνεται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς φύλλοις τῶν φυτῶν, ἔστι δὲ οὔτε χυλὸς αὐτῶν, οὔτε καρπός, οὔτε μόριον, ἀλλ' ὁμογενὲς μὲν ταῖς δρόσοις, οὐ μὴν οὔτε συνεχῶς οὔθ' ὁμοίως ἐκείναις γίνεται δαψιλές. οἶδα δέ ποτε θέρους ὥρᾳ πλεῖστον ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν δένδρων καὶ θάμνων καὶ τινων βοτανῶν φύλλοις εὑρεθέν, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν γεωργῶν λέγεσθαι παιζόντων, 'ὁ Ζεὺς ἔβρεξε μέλι.' προηγεῖτο δὲ νὺξ μὲν εὐψυχής, ὡς ἐν θέρει, (θέρους γὰρ ἦν ὥρα τηνικαῦτα,) θερμὴ δὲ καὶ ξηρὰ κρᾶσις ἀέρος ἐπὶ τῆς προτεραίας... παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν οὖν σπανίως φαίνεται τοῦτο γινόμενον, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Λιβάνῳ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος οὐκ ὀλίγον. ὥστε ἐκπετεννύντες ἐπὶ γῆς δέρματα καὶ σείοντες τὰ δένδρα δέχονται τὸ ἀπορρέον ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ χύτρας καὶ κεράμια πληροῦσι τοῦ μέλιτος. ὀνομάζουσι δ' αὐτὸ δροσόμελί τε καὶ ἀερόμελι* (*supra* p. 496 n. 3). *πρόδηλος μὲν οὖν ἡ ὕλη τῇ γενέσει τοῦ μέλιτος ὁμογενής τις οὖσα ταῖς δρόσοις, κ.τ.λ.* *Supra* p. 261 n. 1.

Galen's statement that on Libanos men spread skins upon the ground to catch the honey-dew may throw some light on Judges 6. 36 ff., where Gideon says to God: 'If thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou hast spoken, behold, I will put a fleece of wool on the threshing-floor; if there be dew on the fleece only, and it be dry upon all the ground, then shall I know that thou wilt save Israel by mine hand,' etc.

[2] Bekker *anecd.* i. 207, 26 ff. (quoted *supra* ii. 275 n. 12).

[3] *Infra* § 9 (i).

[4] Pherekr. *Persai frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 315 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 269 C—E. The relevant lines are *ὁ Ζεὺς δ' ὕων οἴνῳ καπνίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ κεράμου βαλανεύσει, | ἀπὸ τῶν δωμάτων ὀχετοὶ βοτρύων μετὰ ναστίσκων πολυτύρων | ὀχετεύσονται θερμῷ σὺν ἕτνει καὶ λειριοπολφανεμώναις.*

[5] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 411 f.

[6] *Frag. com. Gr.* i. 256 Meineke.

[7] Nikoph. *Seirenes frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 851 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 269 E *νειφέτω μὲν ἀλφίτοις, | ψακαζέτω δ' ἄρτοισιν, ὑέτω δ' ἕτνει· | ζωμὸς διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν κυλινδείτω κρέα πλακοῦς ἑαυτὸν ἐσθίειν κελευέτω.*

Land of Cokaygne[1] in its English[2], French[3], Italian[4], or Teutonic varieties[5]. A frequent element in these Wonderlands is the fall of

[1] On the derivation of the name see F. Diez *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*[5] Bonn 1887 p. 114, F. Kluge *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*[6] Strassburg 1899 p. 229, G. Körting *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*[2] Paderborn 1901 p. 249, E. Weekley *An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English* London 1921 p. 322, R. Plate *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache* Berlin—Bonn 1931 p. 69.

[2] J. E. Wells *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050—1400* Yale University Press 1916 p. 228 f. 'THE LAND OF COCKAYGNE...consists of 95 short couplets of 1250—1300 in MS. Harley 913 f. 3. The MS. was written probably between 1308 and 1318, at latest before 1325... possibly...from a lost French source.' Bibliography *ib.* p. 798 f. The text was first published by G. Hickes *Linguarum Vett. septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archæologicus* Oxoniæ 1705 i. 231—233, then *e.g.* by T. Wright in M. Haupt—H. Hoffmann *Altdeutsche Blätter* Leipzig 1836 i. 396—401, and with revised readings and useful notes by E. Mätzner *Altenglische Sprachproben* Berlin 1867 i. 147—152.

Similar fancies crop up here and there in much later verse (cp. T. Crofton Croker *The Popular Songs of Ireland* London 1839 p. 76 'Then let it, ye powers, | Rain whisky in showers,' or T. Hood's 'I've heard about a pleasant land, | Where omelettes grow on trees, | And roasted pigs run, crying out, | "Come eat me, if you please"').

[3] É. Barbazan *Fabliaux et contes des poètes françois des xi, xii, xiii, xiv et xv^e siècles*[2] Paris 1808 iv. 175—181 ('C'est li fabliaus de Coquaigne. Manuscrits, n^os 7218 et 7615'), especially vv. 96—100 'Trois fois i pluet en la semaine | Une ondée de flaons (*sc.* "tartes, gâteaux") chauz | Dont jà ne cheveluz ne chauz (*sc.* "chauve") | N'iert destornez, jel' sai de voir, | Ainz en prent tout à son voloir.' This thirteenth-century French poem is copied in a Dutch version 'van dat edele lant van Cockaengen' (R. Priebsch in the *Tijdschrift voor nederl. taal- en letterkunde* 1894 xiii. 185—191), where it rains flat cakes and pancakes (J. Poeschel in H. Paul—W. Braune *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 1878 v. 413).

In M. A. Le Grand's comedy *Le roi de Cocagne* acte i scène 2 (composed in 1718, ed. Paris 1742 ii. 146) Bombance declares: 'Le pigeonneau farci, l'alouette rôtie, | Nous tombent ici bas du Ciel comme la pluye.'

[4] The earliest allusion occurs in one of the *Carmina Burana* (ed. J. A. Schmeller Stuttgart 1847 p. 254) entitled *Confessio Goliae*, which was written at Pavia *c.* 1162—1164 by a wandering cleric and addressed to Reinald von Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne (W. Giesebrecht in the *Allgemeine Monatschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur* 1853 p. 364). The author states: 'Ego sum abbas Cucaniensis et consilium meum est cum bibulis et in secta Decii voluntas mea est.' But the first detailed description is found in Boccaccio's *Decamerone*. G. Boccaccio *The Decameron* trans. J. M. Rigg London 1920 ii. 187 (Eighth day, Novel iii): 'Chiefly in Berlinzone, in the land of the Basques. The district is called Bengodi [*sc.* ubi bene gaudetur], and there they bind the vines with sausages, and a denier will buy a goose and a gosling into the bargain; and on a mountain, all of grated Parmesan cheese, dwell folk that do nought else but make macaroni and raviuoli[1] ([1]A sort of rissole.), and boil them in capon's broth, and then throw them down to be scrambled for; and hard by flows a rivulet of Vernaccia, the best that ever was drunk, and never a drop of water therein.' Dr H. Meier draws my attention to A. Bertarelli *L'imagerie populaire italienne* Paris 1929 pp. 50 fig. ('Le Pays de Cocagne des femmes.' Rome. Taille-douce vers 1650) and 51 fig. ('Description du Pays de Cocagne.' Taille-douce coloriée au pinceau, de Remondinià Bassano. xviii^e siècle).

[5] F. Kluge *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*[6] Strassburg 1899 p. 341 **Schlaraffe** M. seit dem 17. Jahrh. für älter nhd. (16. Jahrh.) *Schlauraffe*, das noch im 18. Jahrh. (z. B. Maaler der Sitten II 193) begegnet: aus dem seit dem 14. Jahrhundert erzeugten und kaum älteren mhd. *slûr-affe* (: sluder-affe) M. "üppig lebender, gedankenloser Müssiggänger, Schlaraffe" (bei Maaler 1561 *Schluraff* "fast schläfferig Mensch") zu mhd. *slûr* "Faulenzerei, faule Person" sowie zu *schleudern* und *schlummern*, Ursprgl.

comestibles in a shower from the sky. The gap between ancient and modern examples is filled, on the one hand, by folk-tales that tell of eatables and drinkables falling like rain[1], on the other hand, by would-be historical happenings[2], sometimes susceptible of a scientific explanation, sometimes exaggerations or distortions of residual facts.

war *slûr-affe* Schimpfwort wie frühnhd. *Gähnaffe*, *Maulaffe* und *Rotzaffe*. Die erste ausführliche Schilderung des seit dem 15. Jahrh. erwähnten Schlaraffenlandes hat Hans Sachs 1530 in einem Schwank gegeben' [E. Goetze *Sämtliche Fabeln und Schwänke von Hans Sachs* Halle a. S. 1893 i. 8—11 no. 4 'Das Schlauraffen Landt' in 108 short riming lines]. For other early references to *Schlaraffenland* see J. Poeschel in H. Paul—W. Braune *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 1878 v. 416 ff., J. Bolte—G. Polivka *Anmerkungen zur den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1918 iii. 248 ff. *Grimm's Household Tales* trans. M. Hunt London 1901 ii. 229 f. no. 158 'The Story of Schlauraffen Land' is taken from a German poem of the fourteenth century (printed from a Strassburg MS. by M. Haupt—H. Hoffmann *Altdeutsche Blätter* Leipzig 1836 i. 163—165 in 63 short riming lines). In this topsy-turvy country *e.g.* 'sweet honey flowed like water from a deep valley at the top of a high mountain.' A. Alsleben *Johann Fischarts Geschichtklitterung* (*Gargantua*) Halle a. S. 1891 p. 143 (cap. 6) 'In dem Land kan ich nicht meh bleiben, der lufft thut mich in Schlauraffen treiben. drey meil hinder Weihenacht, da seind die Lebkuchenwänd, Schweinepratenström, Maluasirpronnen, Bachschnittbach, Bachfischbäch, Eyer im Schmaltz für Hartz und Gummi da die Taubenschlag mäuler gepraten Wachteln fangen, die dem Bauren uber Nacht im gefäss geruhet haben, da der Milchramregen, der Zuckererbsen Hagel, der speisold vund schlaflon regieret, O der Pratwürst Zäun, honiggips, fladendächer, welche die Weinhelden vorstürmung des vollen Bergs sehr verschantzen,' etc. Fischart's *Gargantua* was first printed in 1575. My pl. xl is from the *Bilderkatalog zu* [*M.*] *Geisberg: Der deutsche Einblatt-Holzschnitt* (a woodcut printed by W. Strauch, Nürnberg). The book was kindly lent to me by Dr H. Meier. Cp. Reinach *Rép. Peintures* ii. 753, 2 (a painting by Breughel le Vieux, now at Berlin).

[1] See the tales cited by J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 527 f.

[2] Athen. 333 A—B *οἶδα δὲ καὶ πολλαχοῦ ὕσαντα τὸν θεὸν ἰχθύσι· Φαινίας γοῦν ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐρεσίῳ* (*frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 294 Müller), cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 35, 16 f.) *ἐν Χερρονήσῳ φησὶν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὗσαι τὸν θεὸν ἰχθύας. καὶ Φύλαρχος δ' ἐν τετάρτῃ* (*frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 335 Müller) = *frag.* 4 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 163 f. Jacoby), cp. *pap. Oxyrh.* xv no. 1801 col. ii, 43 f. [...].στις ακριδασ[.]ρ[.].ατρα [.....] | και Φυλαρχος εν τη δ̄ [.....]) *ἐωρακέναι τινὰς πολλαχοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὕσαντα ἰχθύσι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πυροῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ συμβαίνοντος καὶ ἐπὶ βατράχων* (P. P. Dobree cj. *γυρίνοις* for *πυροῖς* and would omit *καὶ ἐπὶ βατράχων*. F. Jacoby prints [*πολλαχοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὕσαντα ἰχθύσι*]** *πολλάκις δὲ καὶ γυρίνοις τοῦ αὐτοῦ συμβαίνοντος καὶ ἐπὶ βατράχων*. But K. W. Dindorf rightly retains the manuscript readings). *Ἡρακλείδης γοῦν ὁ Λέμβος ἐν τῇ κα' τῶν ἱστοριῶν* (*frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 168 Müller), cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 35, 17 ff. and Appian. *Illyr.* 4) *'περὶ τὴν Παιονίαν καὶ Δαρδανίαν βατράχους,' φησίν, 'ὗσεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τοσοῦτο αὐτῶν ἐγένετο τὸ πλῆθος ὡς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς πλήρεις εἶναι. τὰς μὲν οὖν πρώτας ἡμέρας κτείνοντες τούτους καὶ συγκλείοντες τὰς οἰκίας διεκαρτέρουν· ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἤνυον, ἀλλὰ τά τε σκεύη ἐπληροῦτο καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων εὑρίσκοντο συνεψόμενοι καὶ συνοπτώμενοι οἱ βάτραχοι καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οὔτε* (so K. W. Dindorf for *οὐδὲ* codd.) *τοῖς ὕδασιν ἦν χρῆσθαι οὔτε τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θεῖναι συσσεσωρευμένων αὐτῶν, ἐνοχλούμενοι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ὀδμῆς, ἔφυγον τὴν χώραν.'* To the same effect Agatharch. *de mari Erythraeo* 59 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 151 Müller) *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 453 b 30 f. Bekker *καὶ βάτραχοι, ὃ γέγονε περὶ τοὺς Αὐταριάτας*, Diod. 3. 30 *τοὺς δὲ καλουμένους Αὐταριάτας βάτραχοι τὴν ἀρχέγονον σύστασιν ἐν τοῖς νέφεσι λαμβάνοντες καὶ πίπτοντες ἀντὶ τῆς συνήθους ψεκάδος ἐβιάσαντο τὰς πατρίδας καταλιπεῖν καὶ κ αταφυγεῖν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ νῦν καθίδρυνται.* But Theophr. *frag.* 174. 1 Wimmer

Das Schlauraffenlandt.

Gegend heyst Schlauraffenlandt
Dem faulen Leuten wol bikandt
Da sindt die Heuser gedeckt mit Fladen
Leckkuchen die Haußthür vnd Laden
Von Speck kuchen Thielen vnd wend
Die Tröm von Schweynen braten send
Vmb vedes Hauß so ist ein Zaun
Geflochten von Bratwürsten braun
Von Malmasier so sind die Brunnen
Kommen eim selbst ins Maul gerunnen
Auff Weyden koppen die Semmel siehn
Darumer Bech mit Milch gehn
Die fallen dann in Bach herab
Das jederman zu essen hab
Auch gehn die Visch in den Lachen
Gesotten/bratten/gsultzt vnd backen
Vnd gehn bey dem Gesindt so nahen
Lassen sich mit den Henden fahen
Auch fliegen vmb/mügt ihr glauben
Gebraten Hüner/Gnß vnd Tauben
Wer sie nicht facht vnd ist so faul
Dann fliegen sie selbst in das maul
Die Sew all Jar wol geraten
Lauffen im Landt vmb sind gebraten
Jede em Messer hat im Ruck
Damit ein jeder schneidt ein stuck
Vnd steckt das Messer wider dein
Gemtz Käß trachten wie der Stein
So wachssen Bartten auff den barmen
Gleich wie in vnserm Land die Pflaumen
Wenns zeytig sind so fallens ab
Jeder in ein par Stifel rab
Wer Pferd hat wird ein reicher Meyer
Dann sie legen gantz Körb vol Eyer
Am weg all Geldts man finden ist
Ein Zunck Biern ist im Land alle feist
Da linn verlungen sich die alten
Viel kuetzweil man im Landt thut halten
So zu dem ziel schliessen die Gest
Der trettet vom blat gewind das best
Auch ist im Landt gut Gelt gewinnen
Wer fehr faul ist vnd schleffe darinnen
Dem gibt man von der stund zwen pfenig
Er schlaff ihr gleich viel oder wenig
Ein fuetz gilt ein Dinger heller
Durch gröligter einen Jochims Thaler
Vnd welcher sein Gelt auch verspielt
Zwifach man ihm das wider gibt
Vnnd welcher auch nicht gern falt
Wenn die schuld wird eins Jaers alt
Muß ihm ihrer zu geben ohn klag
Vnnd welcher wol trincken mag
Dem gibt man von dem teunck ein batzer
Vnd welcher wol die Leut kan faigen
Dann gibt man ein Plappart zu lohn
Für ein grosse Lüg ein Kron
Doch muß sich da hüten ein man
Aller vernünfft frey müssig stan
Wer Sinn vnd Witz brauchen wole
Dem würd kein Mensch im Lande holde
Vnd wer gern arbeyt mit der handt
Dem verbeut mans Schlauraffen Landt
Wer zucht vnd erbarkeyt hat lieb
Den selben man des Landts vertreib
Wie vnnutz ist will nichts nit lehren
Der kumbt im Land zu grossen ehren
Dann wer der feulest wirdt erkandt
Der selbig ist König in dem Landt
Wer wüst vnd wild vnsinnig ist
Grob vnuerstanden zu aller frist
Auß dem macht man im land ein Fürsten
Wer gern sicht vnrt lebet wüesten
Auß dem ein Ritter wirdt gemacht
Der schlüchisch ist vnd nichts nit acht
Denn essen trincken vnd vil schlaffen
Auß dem macht man im Land ein Graffen
Wer tölpisch ist vnd nichts nit kan
Der ist im Land ein Edelman
Wer also lebt wie obgemande
Der ist gut ins Schlauraffen Landt
Das von den alten ist gedicht
Zu straff der sugende zu gerichte
Dir gewönlich ist faul vnd gefressig
Vngeschickt heyloß vnd nachtessig
Das man sie weiß in Schlauraffen
Damit ihr schlüchtig weyß zu straffen
Das sie haben auff Arbeyt acht
Wol faule weyß nichts gutes bracht

Zu Nürnberg, den Wolff Strauch

Das Schlauraffenlandt, 'The Country of Cokaygne,' from a woodcut printed by W. Strauch of Nuremberg.

See page 502 *n.* 0.

ap. Phot. *bibl.* 527 b 17 ff. Bekker shrewdly observes ἄλλα δὲ προϋπάρχει μέν, ἐκφαίνεται δὲ διὰ τοὺς ὑετούς, ὥσπερ οἵ τε κοχλίαι καὶ οἱ μικροὶ βάτραχοι· οὐ γὰρ ὕονται, ὥς τινες ᾠήθησαν, ἀλλὰ προφαίνονται μόνον, κατὰ γῆς ὄντα πρότερον, διὰ τὸ εἰσρεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὰς θαλάμας αὐτῶν.

Cp. the beliefs noted by J. Jonston *Thaumatographia Naturalis* Amstelodami 1665 p. 123 'At in Amelandia [one of the west Frisian Islands], quæ ranam nullam patitur, ranis pluisse, ex *Præceptore nostro Clarissimo Domino Menelao Vinsemio Med. D. in alma Frisiorum Profess. accepimus*' (with context), P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 70 f. 'dans le Bocage vendéen, le *cerne* [*sc.* l'arc-en-ciel] enlève l'eau des étangs, et tombe en produisant une pluie de poissons [J. de la Chesnaye in the *Revue des traditions populaires* 1902 xvii. 138]; en Basse-Bretagne, quand il a bu l'eau des étangs, il produit parfois des pluies de grenouilles ou de petits poissons [L. F. Sauvé in *Mélusine* 1884—85 ii. 13],' O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 603 'Im Schwäbischen sagt man sprichwörtlich: Wenn's Krotten (=Kröten) hagelt,' H. Bächtold-Stäubli in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 125 ff. 'Die oft in Scharen dem Wasser entsteigenden jungen Frösche gaben Veranlassung zum Glauben an den *F.-Regen*....Der Glaube ist heute noch lebend; in Westböhmen meint man, dass, wenn die Sonne Wasser zieht, sie auch die kleinen Frösche mit hinauf ziehe, die dann als F.-Regen wieder auf die Erde fallen' citing C. von Megenberg *Das Buch der Natur* ed. H. Schulz Greifswald 1897 p. 59 cap. 2. 10 'Hier und da beobachtet man, dass es kleine Frösche und Fische regnet. Ausserdem sieht man den Thau und den Reif und wilden Honig aus der Luft fallen,' p. 65 f. cap. 2. 16 'Zuweilen regnet es auch kleine Frösche oder Fischchen. Dies ereignet sich dann, wenn der wässerige Dunst bei seinem Uebergang in Wasser dieselben Eigenschaften besitzt wie der wässerige Samen, aus dem die Frösche oder Fische entstehen. Die Kraft der Gestirne erzeugt dann aus dem dazu geeigneten Material die Thierchen und giesst Leben in sie hinein. Ich rathe Dir aber nicht, die Fischchen zu verspeisen, denn sie sind von grober Art und giftig,' C. Gesner *Thierbuch* ed. C. Forer Zürich 1563 p. 167 b [*Epitome quatuor librorum Conradi Gesneri* Lipsiæ 1605 p. 40 'Aliæ (*sc.* ranæ) per tempestates ex aere deiiciuntur, & διοπετεῖς cognominantur.'...'Aliæ διιπετεῖς (rectius quâ διοπετεῖς) Cælitus vel cum pluuia demissæ, In nubibus enim procreatæ decidunt'], E. Rolland *Faune populaire de la France* Paris 1881 iii. 68 'En hollandais, on appelle les tétards *donderpaddetjes* par suite du préjugé qui veut qu'ils prennent naissance dans les airs et tombent à terre au moment des orages—Nemnich,' J. Grimm—W. Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1878 iv. i. 252 *s.v.* 'Froschbrut,' 254 *s.v.* 'Froschregen,' 1893 viii. 520 *s.v.* 'Regenfrosch,' A. John *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube im deutschen Westböhmen* Prag 1905 p. 221 f.=p. 233 'Wenn die Sonne "Wasser zieht," so zieht sie auch die Fröschlein mit hinauf, die als Froschregen wieder zur Erde fallen (Tachauer Heimatskde. S. 169),' p. 236 'Die nach einem warmen Regen herumhüpfenden kleinen Frösche denkt man sich vom Himmel gefallen (Karlsbad—Duppau),' F. Schönwerth *Aus der Oberpfalz. Sitten und Sagen* Augsburg 1857—1859 ii. 54 no. 6, J. V. Grohmann *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren* Prag—Leipzig 1864 p. 82 no. 586, G. Strafforello *Errori e pregiudizii volgari confutati colla scorta della scienza e del raziocinio*[2] Milano 1911 p. 60 f., A. P. T. Paracelsus Genevæ 1658 i. 123 a—b 'Aiunt, pluere ranas. Id quî fiat, intelligite.' etc., ii. 312 b 'Dicendum iam porrò etiam de generatione est illa, quâ interdum ranæ, vermes, aut viuentia animalia alia è sublimi deiiciuntur & inueniuntur.' etc.

I add two recent examples *The Daily Telegraph* Saturday 17 March 1934 p. 11: 'The inhabitants of Pistoia, a Tuscan hill town forty miles from the sea, were amazed to find red rain falling. It contained small fishes swept up from the sea by the gales.' The *Cambridge Daily News* Tuesday 13 March 1934 p. 1: 'Cambridge is still puzzling over the showers of fish which fell on the Market-place on Monday morning and Monday afternoon. On two distinct occasions it was found small fish of the stickleback breed, and anything up to two inches in size, were scattered about the cracks in the cobbles on Market-hill....At least one of the fish found on the Hill was alive this morning and browsing around in a jar in a private laboratory in the town. Others were taken away by passers-by or by interested students of natural phenomena....No one apparently saw

The Land of Cokaygne was represented, not merely by mediaeval tales[1] of a far country where viands of the choicest sort were to be had for the asking, but also by popular customs in which a determined effort was made to get there and feast to heart's content. Thus at Naples the name *Cuccagna*[2] was given to a yearly merry-

the fish actually fall, but when the sun dried up the water which filled the crevices between the cobbles after the heavy showers, it was found that a large number of small fish were lying there. Some were silver, some red, and some of an entirely different colour. With them was found a small quantity of vegetation...one stallholder recalled that three years ago he had a similar experience on the road between Foxton and Shepreth, when a multitude of small frogs suddenly descended. The Superintendent of the Cambridge Botanical Gardens also recollected a similar experience with minnows and tadpoles on the Bath—London road some years ago.'

In speaking of fish, frogs, and meal as dropped from the sky, Athenaios and his sources used throughout, not the name Ζεύς, but the vaguer term ὁ θεός. The Roman historians omit even that acknowledgement of the divine, when they record—

(1) a rain of flesh:

461 B.C. (Liv. 3. 10, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 10. 2, Nepotian. *epit. Val. Max.* 7. 5, Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 147, Lyd. *de ostent.* prooem. 6 p. 13, 3 ff. Wachsmuth at Rome.)

(2) a rain of milk:

274 B.C. (Oros. 4. 5. 1.)
209 (Liv. 27. 11.)
194 (Liv. 34. 45 Interamnae lac fluxisse with many variants, for which see A. Drakenborch *ad loc.* J. F. Gronov cj. Nare amni.)
163 (Iul. Obs. 73=14 Gabiis.)
130 (Iul. Obs. 87=28 Romae in Graecostasi.)
125 (Iul. Obs. 90=30 in Veiente.)
124 (Iul. Obs. 91=31 in Graecostasi.)
118 (Iul. Obs. 95=35.)
117 (?) (Iul. Obs. 96=36 Praeneste.)
114 (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 147.)
106 (Iul. Obs. 101=41 in agro Perusino et Romae locis aliquot.)
104 (Iul. Obs. 103=43 in Lucanis.)
95 (Iul. Obs. 110=50 Caere.)
92 (Iul. Obs. 113=53 Romae.)

(3) a rain of oil:

125 B.C. (Iul. Obs. 90=30 in Veiente.)

[1] These have been collected and discussed by J. Poeschel 'Das Märchen vom Schlaraffenlande' in H. Paul—W. Braune *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 1878 v. 389—427 (universal belief in a happy childhood of mankind: Greek reign of Kronos and its parodies, in which distant age becomes distant place *e.g.* India: Romance-languages postulate a definite 'wunschland,' the Latin *Cucania*, Italian *Cuccagna*, Spanish *Cucaña*, French *Coquaigne*, *Cocagne*: German *Schlaraffenland* points the moral), A. Graf *Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo* Torino 1892 pp. 229—238 ('Il Paese di Cuccagna e i *Paradisi artificiali*'), E. Schmidt *Charakteristiken* Zweite Reihe Berlin 1901 pp. 51—70 ('Das Schlaraffenland' with verse-quotations), J. Bolte 'Bilderbogen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1910 xx. 187—193 ('Das Schlaraffenland' with a woodcut of 1575—1600), J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1918 iii. 244—258 ('158. Das Märchen vom Schlauraffenland'—a full account of all European versions).

[2] J. Poeschel *loc. cit.* 1878 v. 409 f., J. Bolte—G. Polívka *op. cit.* iii. 248.

making, which has been traced back to the early part of the sixteenth century[1]: on the last Thursday before Lent a pyramid stacked with poultry, sausages, and eatables of every kind was taken in procession through the streets and, on reaching the big market-place, was handed over to the mob, which scrambled for the prize. In Spain a similar celebration was called *Cucaña*[2]: comestibles and other things were fastened to the very top of a tall well-soaped pole, up which competitors clambered to the amusement of all. The same sport, which in Italy is known as the *Giuoco della Cuccagna*[3], was introduced into France in 1425, and thenceforward the *mât de cocagne* became a frequent feature of public festivities[4]. It seems never to have obtained much footing in Germany, where its equivalent was to be found in such rites as the thirteenth-century *Gral* at Magdeburg[5]. But it was certainly the ancestor of our own Greasy Pole[6], still a favourite item on the programmes of provincial regattas. Indeed, it is not a little curious to reflect that a ceremony,

[1] Cp. Hans Sachs 'Sturm des vollen Bergs,' a poem of 1536, in E. Goetze *Hans Sachs Sämtliche Fabeln und Schwänke* Halle a. S. 1893 i. 138—141 no. 43.

[2] J. Poeschel *loc. cit.* 1878 v. 410, J. Bolte—G. Polívka *op. cit.* iii. 248. See also the *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana por la Real Academia Española*[14] Madrid 1914 p. 302[c] '**Cucaña**...f. Palo largo, untado de jabón o de grasa, por el cual se ha de trepar, si se hinca verticalmente en el suelo, o andar, si se coloca horizontalmente a cierta distancia de la superficie del agua, para coger como premio un objeto atado a su extremidad. || 2 Diversión de ver trepar por dicho palo.'

[3] A. Hoare *An Italian Dictionary* Cambridge 1925 p. 196[b] '**Cuccagna** *f.* ...Giuoco della —, climbing a greasy pole for a prize fastened at the top of it.'

[4] *La grande encyclopédie* Paris (1890) xi. 755 *s.v.* 'COCAGNE'...'Un terme très employé, *mât de cocagne*, désigne un mât rond, lisse et élevé, planté en terre, dressé pendant les rejouissances publiques; il porte à son sommet des objets de toutes sortes, des prix qui appartiennent à celui ou ceux qui parviennent à grimper jusqu'en haut sans secours. Ce mât est soigneusement savonné, ce qui complique encore la difficulté des ascensions. Ce divertissement populaire a été, il semble, introduit pour la première fois à Paris en 1425, ainsi qu'on le voit par le *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous Charles vii*' [A. Potthast *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi*[2] Berlin 1896 i. 686 f.], *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*[8] Paris 1932 i. 250 *s.v.* 'COCAGNE'...'*Mât de cocagne*, Mât rond et lisse, planté en terre, au haut duquel sont suspendus des prix qu'il faut aller détacher en grimpant sans aucun secours. *On plante ordinairement des mâts de cocagne les jours de fête publique.*'

[5] J. Grimm—W. Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1873 v. 1980 *s.v.* 'Krales'... *'es musz aus Niederdeutschland gekommen sein. dort hiesz* gral *m. ein fest, wie es z.b. die Magdeburger schöppenchronik* [A. Potthast *op. cit.*[2] Berlin 1896 ii. 1002 f.] *um 1280 als in Magdeburg gefeiert schildert... denn bei jenem feste, z.b. in Magdeburg, bildete den mittelpunkt ein auf einer Elbinsel errichteter bau,* der gral, *in dem helden hausten und zum kampfe daraus hervor kamen, eine darstellung des graltempels, gedacht als inbegriff aller herlichkeit; der name des kleinods* gral *gieng dabei auf das gebäude über, das ihm diente. igen bei* FISCHART 'den Gral oder Venusberg besuchen' Garg. 414 Sch. *...er ist da in Italien gedacht.*'

[6] The Spanish *Cucaña* was sometimes, like our Greasy Bowsprit, a pole projecting horizontally above the water (*supra* n. 2).

which began as a serious attempt to climb up into heaven and share the food of the gods, should end as a comic failure to carry off the coveted ham.

iv. Pyre-extinguishing rain.

On sundry occasions Zeus by means of a timely rain extinguished a pyre and saved the life of a victim.

A case in point is furnished by the myth of Alkmene, at least in its later and fully developed form. The Homeric *Nékyia* includes among the list of dead heroines Alkmene, the wife of Amphitryon, who became by Zeus the mother of lion-hearted Herakles[1]. An excerpt from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, now serving as proem to the *Shield of Herakles*[2], gives further detail[3]. Amphitryon might not consort with his wife till he had avenged the death of her brothers, who had been slain by the cattle-raiding Taphians and Teleboans. Meantime Zeus quitted Olympos, and came by way of Typhaonion (the mountain of Typhon[4]) and the top of Phikion (the mountain of the Sphinx[5]) to Thebes, where he lay with Alkmene. The self-same night Amphitryon returned from the fighting, and likewise consorted with his wife. Thereafter she bore twins, Herakles the stronger to immortal Zeus, Iphikles the weaker to mortal Amphitryon.

Thus far the myth is a typical tale of Boeotian[6] twins. The extra birth, abnormal and hard to understand, was regarded as due to the action of some god[7]. And since Amphitryon as king stood in a special relation to Zeus[8] and even bore a name suggestive of the lightning[9], it was natural to assume that the god in question was Zeus, and to view the superior twin as his son, the inferior[10] as that of the human father.

[1] *Od.* 11. 266 ff.

[2] Hes. *sc. Her.* argum. A p. 101, 1 f. Rzach τῆς Ἀσπίδος ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Καταλόγῳ φέρεται μέχρι στίχων ν' καὶ ϛ'. See W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 125, A. Rzach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1215.

[3] Hes. *sc. Her.* 1—56.

[4] Cp. Hesych. Τυφίον· ὄρος Βοιωτίας.

[5] Apollod. 3. 5. 8, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Φίκειον, Hesych. *s.v.* Φίκιον, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 7, 1465. On Φίξ, acc. Φῖκα (Hes. *theog.* 326), as the Boeotian form of Σφίγξ see R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1882 i. 267.

[6] The Boeotian character of the *Nékyia* and of the *Catalogue of Women* is rightly emphasised by J. A. K. Thomson *Studies in the Odyssey* Oxford 1914 p. 24 ff.

[7] J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 7, E. S. Hartland in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1921 xii. 496[a–b].

[8] *Supra* ii. 1074, 1088.

[9] *Supra* ii. 1072. Christodoros' expression Ἀμφιτρύων δ' ἤστραπτεν (*Anth. Pal.* 2. 367) is a coincidence, but no more.

[10] *Supra* ii. 445 ff.

The story passed early into the repertory of the mythographical artist as well as into that of the mythological poet. The famous Chest of Kypselos, dedicated at Olympia not later than 582 B.C. when the dynasty of the Kypselidai came to an end[1], represented Zeus in the form of Amphitryon offering gifts to Alkmene. He, clad in a *chitón*, was bearing a cup in his right hand, a necklace in his left; she was taking hold of them both[2]—a simple, significant group[3]. Pindar *more suo* adds one glittering touch. The epiphany of the god at midnight was accompanied by a snow of gold[4]. Neither the gifts nor the snow-storm should be dismissed as meaningless adjuncts. *Hédna*, 'bride-presents,' in general were the proper preliminaries of an epic union, and this cup in particular was an heirloom of divine origin[5]. The golden downpour here, as elsewhere, betokens the advent of the impregnating sky-god.

But the theme lent itself to further elaboration. Apollodoros[6],

[1] Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 600.

[2] Paus. 5. 18. 3.

[3] A sixth-century *stéle* of bluish marble at Sparta (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 132 f. no. 1 figs. 26, 27, A. Conze—A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 33 ff. pl. C, K. Bötticher in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1871/72 xxix. 46 ff., G. Loeschcke *De basi quadam prope Spartam reperta* Dorpati Livonorum 1879 p. 1 ff., Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 236 f. fig. 113, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 127 f. fig. 21, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 445 ff. figs. 219—221) is decorated with reliefs, one of which was interpreted by Loeschcke *loc. cit.* as portraying Zeus and Alkmene. But his interpretation, though adopted by K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1576, is highly precarious.

[4] *Supra* p. 477.

[5] Anaximandros *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 67 Müller)=*frag.* 1 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 160 Jacoby) *ap.* Athen. 498 B—C states that this σκύπφος had been given by Poseidon to his son Teleboes, by Teleboes to Ptereleos, and that Amphitryon had claimed it as his share of the booty. Cp. Athen. 474 F (Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 21. 3, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1423, 17 ff.) ἀρχαιότατον δ' ἐστὶ ποτήριον τὸ καρχήσιον, εἴ γε ὁ Ζεὺς ὁμιλήσας Ἀλκμήνῃ ἔδωκε δῶρον αὐτὸ τῆς μίξεως, ὡς Φερεκύδης (*frag.* 27 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 77 Müller)=*frag.* 13 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 63 f. Jacoby)) ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἡρόδωρος ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης (*frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 29 Müller)=*frag.* 16 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 219 Jacoby)). Plaut. *Amph.* 256 f., 530 f. makes it the golden *patera* in which king Pterela used to drink. Charon of Lampsakos *frag.* 11 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 35 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 475 B—C says that the δέπας given to Alkmene by Zeus was still shown at Sparta in his day (second half of *s.* v B.C.). On cups as royal heirlooms see *supra* i. 406 n. 3. Other alleged relics of Amphitryon were the θάλαμος built for him at Thebes by Trophonios and Agamedes (Paus. 9. 11. 1 with inscription (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 108. 1—3)) and a tripod dedicated by him in the sanctuary of Apollon *Isménios* at Thebes (Hdt. 5. 59 with inscription in Cadmean letters (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 6)), cp. a tripod dedicated by him to Apollon on behalf of Herakles in a relief of Roman date (L. Stephani *Der ausruhende Herakles* St. Petersburg 1854 pl. 1, 1, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1873 p. 228 ff., O. Jahn *Griechische Bilderchroniken* Bonn 1873 pl. 5, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 140 with inscription (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1293=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 126 a)).

[6] Apollod. 2. 4. 8.

in all probability[1] following Pherekydes of Athens (*floruit* 454/3 B.C.[2]), re-tells the story thus:

'Now before Amphitryon reached Thebes, Zeus had come by night and, making that one night three times its length[3], had taken upon him the likeness of Amphitryon and bedded with Alkmene and related to her what had befallen the Teleboans. But Amphitryon, when he arrived and saw that he was not welcomed by his wife, enquired the cause. She told him that he had come the night before and slept with her; and he learned from Teiresias that her bedfellow had been Zeus. So Alkmene bore two sons, Herakles—the elder by one night—to Zeus, and Iphikles to Amphitryon.'

[1] Sir J. G. Frazer *Apollodorus* London 1921 i. 175 n. 0 quoting Pherekyd. *frag.* 27 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 77 Müller)=*frag.* 13 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 63 f. Jacoby) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 14. 323, schol. *Od.* 11. 266. Cp. Athen. 474 F (*supra* p. 507 n. 5).

[2] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 454 f.

[3] Apollod. 2. 4. 8 *τὴν μίαν τριπλασιάσας νύκτα*. But Apollod. *epit.* E has *τὴν μίαν νύκτα πενταπλασιάσας ἢ κατά τινας τριπλασιάσας, οἳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τριέσπερον ἀξιοῦσι λέγεσθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα*. Cp. Lyk. *Al.* 33 *τριεσπέρου λέοντος* with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, *Anth. Pal.* 15. 26. 11 (Dosiadas) *τριεσπέροιο καύτας*, and other passages noted by Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 2428 D; also the variant phrase *τρισέληνος* in Nonn. *Dion.* 25. 242 f. *ἆθλα μὲν Ἡρακλῆος, ὃν ἤροσεν ἀθάνατος Ζεὺς | Ἀλκμήνης τρισέληνον ἔχων παιδοσπόρον εὐνήν*, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 441. 3 (Palladas) *Ἀλεξίκακε τρισέληνε*. The protracted night, once accepted, of course tended to grow longer and longer: see *e.g.* Plaut. *Amph.* 112 ff. MERC. et meus pater nunc intus hic cum illa cubat, | et haec ob eam rem nox est facta longior, | dum cum illa, quacum volt, voluptatem capit, 268 SOS. credo ego hac noctu Nocturnum obdormisse ebrium, 275 ff. SOS. neque ego hac nocte longiorem me vidisse censeo | . . . | . . . | credo edepol equidem dormire Solem, atque adpotum probe, Prop. 2. 22. 25 f. Iuppiter Alcmenae geminas requieverat arctos, | et caelum noctu bis sine rege fuit, Ov. *am.* 1. 13. 45 f. ipse deum genitor, ne te (*sc.* Auroram) tam saepe videret, | commisit noctes in sua vota duas, *her.* 9. 9 f. at non ille velit, cui nox—sic creditur—una | non tanti, ut tantus conciperere, fuit, *trist.* 2. 402 noctes cui coiere duae, Sen. *Ag.* 853 ff. magnus Alcides cui lege mundi Iuppiter rupta geminavit horas | roscidae noctis celeresque iussit | tardius currus agitare Phoebum | et tuas lente remeare bigas, | pallida Phoebe, 870 f. violentus ille | nocte non una poterat creari, *Herc. Oet.* 1701 f. (cited *infra* p. 517 n. 0), *de brev. vit.* 16. 5 inde etiam poetarum furor fabulis humanos errores alentium, quibus visus est Iupiter voluptate concubitus delenitus duplicasse noctem, Hyg. *fab.* 29 qui tam libens cum ea concubuit, ut unum diem usurparet duas noctes congeminaret, ita ut Alcimena tam longam noctem ammiraretur, Mart. Cap. 157 ut in ortu Herculis geminatae noctis obsequium...vim numinis approbavit, Hieronym. *c. Vigilant.* 10 (xxiii. 1. 364 A Migne) tunc fateberis, quod nunc negas, et tuum nomen, qui in Vigilantio loqueris, libere proclamabis, te esse aut Mercurium propter nummorum cupiditatem, aut Nocturnum (*al.* Nocturninum), juxta Plauti Amphitryonem, quo dormiente, in Alcmenae adulterio, duas noctes Jupiter copulavit, ut magnae fortitudinis Hercules nasceretur, Diod. 4. 9 (cp. Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 2. 17) *τὸν γὰρ Δία μισγόμενον Ἀλκμήνῃ τριπλασίαν τὴν νύκτα ποιῆσαι, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ πρὸς τὴν παιδοποιίαν ἀναλωθέντος χρόνου προσημῆναι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τοῦ γεννηθησομένου ῥώμης*, Stat. *Theb.* 12. 299 ff. da mihi poscenti munus breve, Cynthia, si quis | est Iunonis honos; certe Iovis improba iussu | ter noctem Herculeam—, veteres sed mitto querellas, Loukian. *dial. deor.* 10. 1 EPM. *ὦ Ἥλιε, μὴ ἐλάσῃς τήμερον, ὁ Ζεύς φησι, μηδὲ αὔριον μηδὲ ἐς τρίτην ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' ἔνδον μένε, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ μία τις ἔστω νὺξ μακρά· κ.τ.λ.*, schol. T. *Il.* 14. 324 *φασὶ δὲ τὸν Δία συγκοιμώμενον Ἀλκμήνῃ πεῖσαι τὸν Ἥλιον μὴ ἀνατεῖλαι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας· ὅθεν ἐπὶ τρεῖς νύκτας συγκοιμηθεὶς αὐτῇ ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν "τριέσπερον" Ἡρακλέα ἐποίησεν*, Orph. *Arg.* 118 ff. *πρῶτα δὲ εἶδα βίην Ἡρακλῆος θείοιο, | ὃν τέκεν Ἀλκμήνη Ζηνὶ Κρονίωνι μιγεῖσα, | ἦμος ὅτε τρισσὴν μὲν ἐλείπετο Σείριος αἴγλην | Ἠέλιος, δολιχὴ δ' ἐπεμαίετο πάντοθεν*

This tale was perhaps that dramatised by Sophokles in his *Amphitryon*[1], and it reappears with some variation in the works of later mythographers[2].

Euripides, the great innovator, substituted a more romantic version. Of his play, the *Alkmene*, we have little direct knowledge. A few tantalising fragments, like stray bits of a jig-saw puzzle, show us a dense growth of ivy with nightingales singing in it[3]—a pine-torch fetched by somebody from somewhere[4]—rescue from a desperate plight by the help of heaven[5]—day and dark night bringing many things to birth[6]—again a reference to the gloom of

ὄρφνη, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 12. 301 (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 148) ne adventu diei concubitus minueretur voluptas, iussit Iuppiter illam noctem triplicem fieri, qua triplices cursus Luna peregit. The Christian Fathers, bent on aggravating the enormities of Zeus, even turned three into nine: Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 33. 3 p. 24, 14 ff. Stählin *εἰς ὅσον δ' ἐλήλακεν ἀσελγείας ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεῖνος ὁ μετ' Ἀλκμήνης τοσαύτας ἡδυπαθήσας νύκτας· οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ νύκτες αἱ ἐννέα τῷ ἀκολάστῳ μακραί* (*ἅπας δὲ ἔμπαλιν ὁ βίος ἀκρασίᾳ βραχὺς ἦν*), *ἵνα δὴ ἡμῖν τὸν ἀλεξίκακον σπείρῃ θεόν*, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 26 quis illum (*sc.* Iovem) in Alcmena novem noctibus fecit pervigilasse continuis? non vos?...ille noctibus vix novem unam potuit prolem extundere, concinnare, compingere, etc., Kyrill. *c. Iulian.* 6 p. 196 (lxxvi. 800 A—B Migne) *γεγράφθω δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμήνη, μεθ' ἧς τὰς ἐννέα διατετέλεκε νύκτας ὁ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄγαν αἰσχροῖς κόρου πεῖραν οὐκ ἔχων.*

The successive steps in this mythical extension appear to have been as follows:

Night = 1 night, longer than usual.
Night + Night = 2 nights.
Night + (Day) + Night = 3 nights.
Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night = 5 nights.
Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night = 7 nights.
Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night = 9 nights.

The terms *τριέσπερος*, *τρισέληνος* would be justified by the third step, when the sun ceased to shine for one day and so produced three continuous nights. See further A. Winter *Alkmene und Amphitryon* Breslau 1876 p. 34 ff. and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1572 f.

[1] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1573.

[2] In Hyg. *fab.* 29 and interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 103 Oichalia appears in place of the Teleboans.

According to C. B. Lewis *Classical Mythology and Arthurian Romance* Oxford 1932 p. 295, 'Try as we may, we cannot avoid the conclusion that stories of classical mythology had penetrated everywhere in the early Middle Ages... and the transformation of Uther into the likeness of Gorlois in order that he might consort with Igerna...is a reminiscence of the story of Zeus, who assumed the likeness of Amphitruo in order to deceive Alcmena' (*id. ib.* p. 252 n. 1 after J. D. Bruce *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance from the Beginnings down to the Year 1300* Göttingen—Baltimore 1923 i. 135, 145)—a passage quoted with approval by H. J. Rose in *Folk-Lore* 1933 xliv. 24.

[3] Eur. *Ἀλκμήνη frag.* 88 (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 386 Nauck[2]) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *ran.* 93, Souid. *s.v. χελιδόνων μουσεῖα.*

[4] Eur. *Ἀλκμήνη frag.* 90 (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 386 Nauck[2]) *ap.* Poll. 10. 117.

[5] Eur. *Ἀλκμήνη frag.* 100 (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 388 Nauck[2]) *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 111. 7 (ed. Gaisford iii. 355, ed. Hense v. 1005).

[6] Eur. *Ἀλκμήνη frag.* 101 (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 388 Nauck[2]) *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 98. 22 (ed. Gaisford iii. 249, ed. Hense v. 833).

night[1]—and of course the usual crop of moralising maxims. These scattered hints have been put together with the utmost acumen by R. Engelmann[2], who supplements them from two important sources, on the one hand Paestum and Campanian vase-paintings, on the other hand the plays of Plautus.

I begin with the vases, since they are the earlier. A bell-*kratér*, found at Santa Agata dei Goti and now in the British Museum, was painted by the ceramic artist Python (*c.* 320 B.C.[3]) with the following

Fig. 322.

[1] Eur. Ἀλκμήνη *frag.* 104 (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 389 Nauck[2]) *ap.* Hesych. *s.v.* ἀμολγὸν νύκτα.

[2] R. Engelmann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xliv. 1—18, *id. Beiträge zu Euripides. I. Alkmene* Berlin 1882 pp. 1—20 with 2 figs., *id. Archäologische Studien zu den Tragikern* Berlin 1900 pp. 52—63 with figs. 18, 19.

[3] On Python see G. Patroni *La ceramica antica nell' Italia meridionale* Napoli 1897 pp. 65—70 figs. 40 and 41, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 60, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 719, M. H. Swindler *Ancient*

A *kratér* from Santa Agata dei Goti, now in the British Museum: Alkmene rescued from a fiery death at the hands of Amphitryon and Antenor by the intervention of Zeus.

See page 510 ff.

design (pl. xli)[1]. Alkmene sits as a suppliant on an altar, a handsome structure built with fenders and a triglyph-frieze. In front of it is stacked a pyre of round logs. Amphitryon on the right and Antenor on the left are even now firing the logs with torches. But at the last moment Alkmene raises her hand to Zeus, whose figure, closely resembling that of Amphitryon, is visible in the upper air. In answer to Alkmene's cry Zeus sends an instant storm. Two thunderbolts

Fig. 323.

Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 295. He was successor and imitator of Assteas (c. 350—320 B.C.).

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 72 f. no. F 149, A. S. Murray 'The Alkmene Vase formerly in Castle Howard' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 225—230 with 1 fig., col. pl. 6 (obverse) and pl. 7 (reverse) (=my pl. xli and fig. 322), C. Dugas in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 653 fig. 7320, P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze s. a. ii. 444 ff. fig. 321, Hoppin *Black-fig. Vases* p. 452 f. no. 1, *Corp. vas. ant.* Brit. Mus. iv E. *a* pl. 1, 2 (reverse) and 2 b (obverse) with text p. 3 f. by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce.

have already fallen, one beside Amphitryon, the other at the feet of Antenor. Moreover, two Hyades from above are drenching the pyre with streams of water from their *hydríai*. And (a remarkable trait[1]) the black air thick with white raindrops is spanned by a rainbow of reddish purple and white. The presence of Aos, the dawn-goddess, who holds a mirror in the top right-hand corner, marks the time of day and seems to promise a fairer future. An *amphora* from Capua, also in the British Museum, repeats the scene with some modifications (fig. 323)[2]. Alkmene on the altar raises both hands, appealing to Zeus, who is not seen. Antenor approaches with a torch in either hand: Amphitryon is omitted. Over both figures in the foreground extends a rainbow painted in three colours, red, white, and black, while the Hyades, as before, are employing their *hydríai* to extinguish the flames. These attendant nymphs furnish an interesting case of adaptation from an earlier art-type. Python, wanting to represent the extinction of a theatrical pyre, recalls the cremation of Herakles[3] as shown in Satyric drama. An Apulian *kratér* from Ruvo, formerly in the Caputi collection (fig. 324)[4], has Herakles in full vigour stepping on to the chariot of Nike, who will drive him up the slopes of Olympos. Above, the gods are represented by Aphrodite and Eros. Below, the blazing logs are drenched by three damsels, perhaps fountain-powers[5]. And a dancing Silenos sufficiently indicates that the scene is taken from some Satyr-play. A *pelíke* at Munich (fig. 325)[6] in the style of 'the Kadmos Painter' (*c.* 420—410 B.C.[7]) gives the fire consuming the

[1] This appears to be the earliest naturalistic representation of a rainbow in ancient art. For another remarkable rendering see *supra* p. 36 f. pl. iv.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 99 no. F 193, R. Engelmann 'Vaso della collezione Alessandro Castellani' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xliv. 1—18 pl. A (part of which = my fig. 323), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 328, 2, *Corp. vas. ant.* Brit. Mus. iv E. *a* pl. 6, 7 a (obverse) and 7 b (reverse) with text p. 5 by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce.

[3] *Supra* ii. 903 n. 2.

[4] T. Avellino in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* Nuova Serie 1855 iii. 173 pl. 14 (= my fig. 324), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 481, G. Jatta *Vasi italogreci del signor Caputi* Napoli 1877 no. 260, H. Heydemann *Vase Caputi mit Theaterdarstellungen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* ix) Halle 1884 p. 11 n. 28, H. Blümner in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 307 with fig. 323.

[5] S. Reinach *loc. cit.*: 'les Hyades apportent de l'eau pour éteindre le bûcher.'

[6] Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 127 f. no. 384 (now no. 2370), J. Roulez 'Mort et apothéose d'Hercule' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1847 xix. 263—278 pl. O (reverse), *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 41 (obverse) = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 130, 9 and 10 (obverse), 274 (reverse), H. Heydemann *Vase Caputi mit Theaterdarstellungen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* ix) Halle 1884 p. 10 f., F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 254—257 fig. 91 (reverse), pl. 109, 2 (obverse = my fig. 325), J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 452 no. 3.

[7] M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 193.

hero's breastplate. On the left two Silenoi, Skopas[1] and Hybris[2], are stealing his club and lance. On the right two water-nymphs,

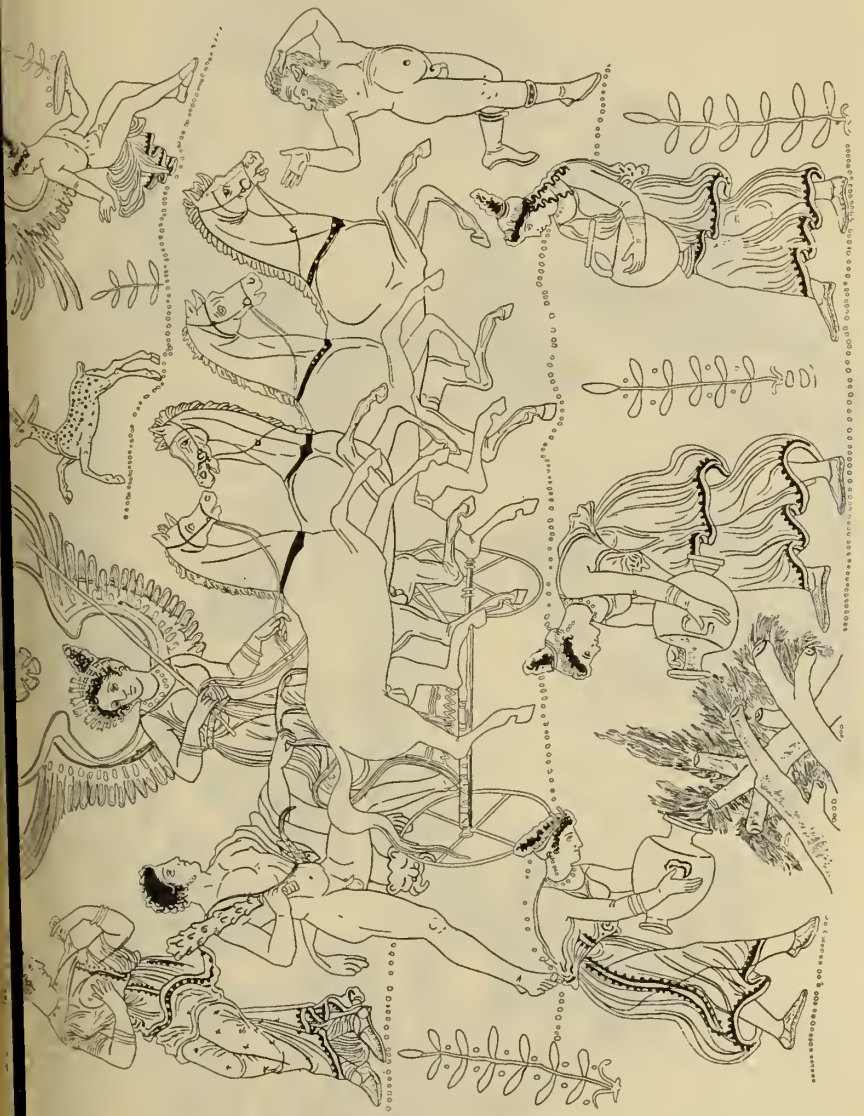


Fig. 324.

[1] *Nomen omen.* Cp. *supra* i. 709, ii. 461 n. 0.

[2] H. Heydemann *Satyr- und Bakchennamen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* v) Halle 1880 p. 25, C. Fränkel *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* Halle a. S. 1912 p. 28 f., 68.

Fig. 325.

Arethousa[1] and Premnousia[2], are quenching the fire with their *hydríai*. Above, that is beyond[3], the pile is Herakles himself, a youthful bay-wreathed form, borne off to Olympos in the chariot of Athena. Behind such a vase in turn lies the more serious representation of the myth. A late Attic *kratér* published by E. Gerhard (fig. 326)[4] makes Philoktetes carry off the quiver and arrows from the pyre, while a mere handmaid[5] does her best to put out the flames[6]. Above, Nike drives the hero up to the pillared palace of Olympos[7]. Hermes leads the way towards a seated Apollon, and Zeus—it must surely be he[8]—waits in the background to welcome his divinised son.

[1] R. Wagner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 679 ff., W. Aly '*Ἀρέθουσα*' in *Glotta* 1914 v. 57 f. (rejects the connexion with *ἄρδω* asserted by Herodian. *περὶ μον. λεξ.* 1. 13 (ii. 919, 28 ff. Lentz), Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Ἀρέθουσα*, and accepted *e.g.* by G. Hirschfeld in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 679, in favour of relation to *ἀρέσκω*, cp. *βεβρώθω—βιβρώσκω* and the like).

[2] Hesych. *Πρεμνουσία· κρήνη ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.*

[3] F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 256 points out that the ground-line beneath chariot and horses together with the tree behind them quite excludes the notion of 'Luftfahrt....Also auch hier wieder Kavalier-Perspektive' (cp. *id. ib.* p. 252).

[4] Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 275 pl. 31, H. Blümner in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 307 fig. 322 (=my fig. 326), Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2328 no. (3) fig. 1, F. Hauser *loc. cit.* ii. 256 with fig. 90.

[5] Yet Gerhard *loc. cit.* says: 'die Nymphe des Oeta.'

[6] Wine was used to quench the ashes (*Il.* 23. 237 f., 250 f., 24. 791 f., Verg. *Aen.* 6. 227, Stat. *silv.* 2. 6. 90 f.)—a practice prohibited by Numa (Plin. *nat. hist.* 14. 88, cp. Cic. *de legg.* 2. 60). But the usage was certainly not a matter of mere luxury. Wine was presumably employed on account of its life-giving properties (*supra* ii. 1025 Dionysos *Ἡρικεπαῖος=ζωοδοτήρ*. Cp. our *whisky* for *usquebaugh*=Irish *uisge beatha*, 'water of life,' or the French *eau-de-vie*). Also its red colour would be a surrogate for blood (*supra* i. 58 n. 2, ii. 522 n. 2. See now E. Wunderlich *Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 and a review by S. Eitrem in *Gnomon* 1926 ii. 95—102), and ashes steeped in it would in a sense be revitalised. Was this the reason why, even in palaeolithic times, skulls and other parts of skeletons were overlaid with iron oxide (G. Wilke *s.v.* 'Ockerbestattung' in Ebert *Reallex.* ix. 156 f.: 'Oder endlich—und diese Erklärung ist am wahrscheinlichsten—man wollte dem bleichen Toten durch den Ocker die Farbe und belebende Kraft des Blutes wiedergeben und ihm dadurch ermöglichen, als "lebender Leichnam" (s.d.) weiter zu existieren')?

[7] *Supra* i. 114.

[8] The dignified bearded figure with *chlamýs* and *pétasos* has been variously explained. Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 275 says: 'hinter ihm ein Mann in Reisetracht zunächst für seinen Waffengefährten Jolaos uns gilt.' J. Roulez in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1847 xix. 271: 'Je préfère regarder ce personnage barbu comme la *personnification du mont OEta*, ou bien, avec M. Gerhard, comme *Iolas*.' Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2329: 'ein Berggott.' But a mountain-god pure and simple would rather have been recumbent (*e.g. supra* i. 116 n. 8 fig. 85, ii. 962 n. 2 with i. 134 fig. 100), or at least seated (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 289 f. pl. 9, 18 (=my fig. 327) a bronze coin of Laodikeia on the Lykos (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 105 appellata primo Diospolis), struck by Caracalla and now at Berlin, which shows a kneeling woman (Rhea?) offering her child (Zeus?) to a seated mountain-god in the presence of a nymph (Adrasteia?); *id. ib.* p. 291

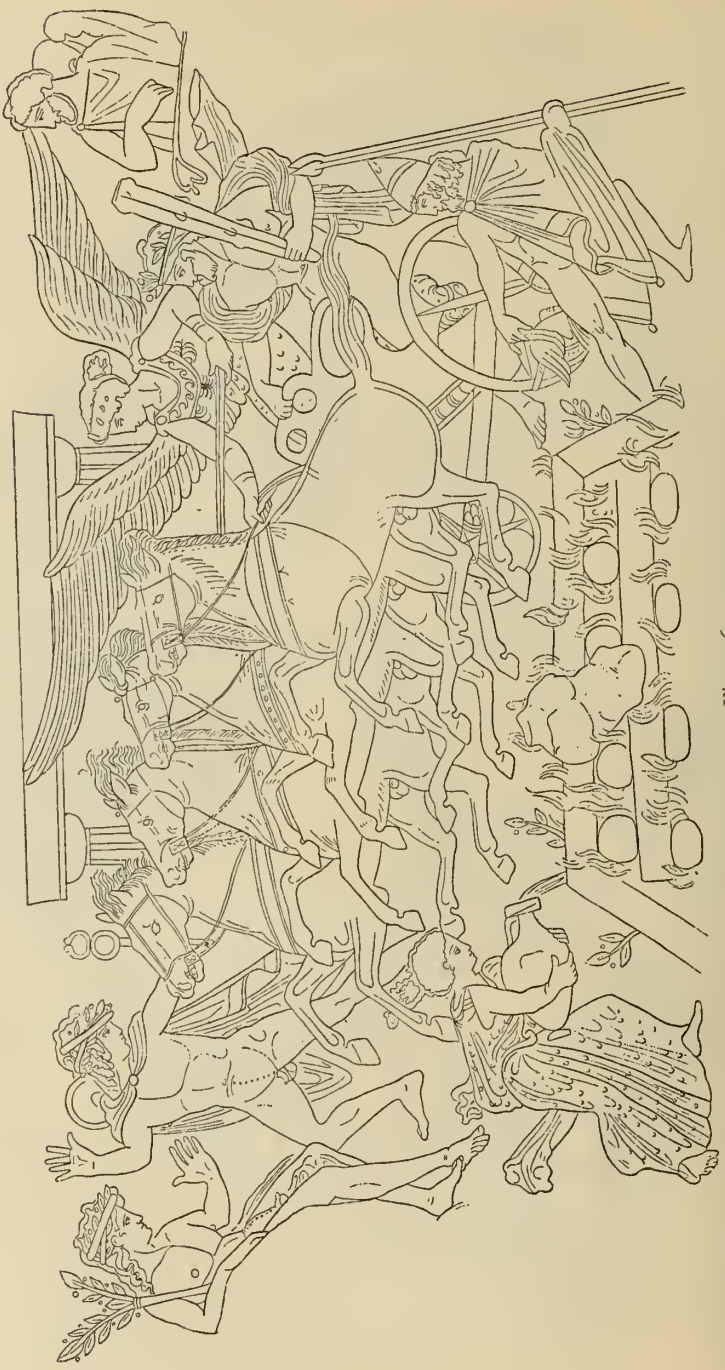


Fig. 326.

So much for the evidence of the vases. They portray the crisis of the drama, when Alkmene appeals from Amphitryon to Zeus, and a helpful thunderstorm extinguishes the pyre. But Plautus' *Amphitruo* at once clears up the antecedents of the scene and provides it with a satisfying sequel. Hercules, returning in triumph to Thebes, first rebukes his wife for her chilling reception of him[1] and afterwards attempts to punish her for supposed infidelity by bursting into the house and killing her on the spot[2]. Just in the nick of time Alcumena, already in travail with twins, calls on the gods to aid her; whereupon—

> Roar, rumble, crash, and thunder:
> Sudden, swift, strong the wonder[3].

The whole house reels and glitters as though it were made of gold[4]. Iupiter has come to the rescue of Alcumena; and Amphitruo falls senseless to the ground. Finally, as *deus ex machina*, the god explains the situation and all ends well. Plautus' comedy, based of course on a Greek exemplar, almost certainly preserves the main outline of

f. no. 1 pl. 9, 20 a bronze coin of Skepsis, struck by Caracalla, which has the judgment of Paris taking place before a seated mountain-god): see further F. Wieseler 'Einige Bemerkungen über die Darstellung der Berggottheiten in der classischen Kunst' in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1876 pp. 53—85. I fall back therefore on the view expressed a century since by F. G. Welcker in E. Gerhard *Hyperboreisch-römische Studien für Archäologie* Berlin 1833 i. 303 (=Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 300) 'der Gott auf der andern Seite scheint Zeus zu seyn.' Zeus is elsewhere represented with a *chlamys* (*supra* ii. 731 fig. 663, 744 fig. 682, 745 pl. xxxi, 746 figs. 685, 687, 689, 690 and pl. xxxii, 1), though hardly worn like this, and never with a *pétasos*. The peculiar garb implies some confusion with Hermes—perhaps a changed intention on the part of the vase-painter. Was the ground-line originally a *caduceus*?

Fig. 327.

In Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1695 ff. the Chorus ask whether Hercules, when about to be burnt on the pyre, did not pray to the gods above or think of calling upon Iupiter. Philoctetes makes answer: 'iacuit sui securus et caelum intuens | quaesivit oculis, arce an ex aliqua pater | despiceret illum. tum manus tendens ait: | "quacumque parte prospicis natum pater, | te, te precor quem nocte conmissa dies | quaesivit (*leg.* creavit *cp. supra* p. 508 n. 3. A. B. C.) unus,...spiritum admitte hunc, precor, | in astra...vocat ecce iam me genitor et pandit polos"....'

A. S. Murray in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 227, after citing Apollod. 2. 7. 7 καιομένης δὲ τῆς πυρᾶς λέγεται νέφος ὑποστὰν μετὰ βροντῆς αὐτὸν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναπέμψαι, shrewdly observes: 'One might say of him (*sc.* Herakles), "he came in a storm and went in a storm," and if that view of his life was current in antiquity we could understand the impulse of Euripides to do for the birth of Herakles what Sophocles had done for his death.'

[1] Plaut. *Amph.* 705 f.
[2] *Id. ib.* 1048 ff.
[3] *Id. ib.* 1061 f.
[4] *Id. ib.* 1095 f.

the Euripidean *Alkmene*. Indeed, in another play Plautus actually uses Euripides' title as a synonym for a prodigious storm[1], and makes Labrax threaten to burn alive Palaestra and Ampelisca who have taken refuge on the altar of Venus[2].

Accordingly we may without reservation accept Engelmann's[3] view that the argument of the *Alkmene* was as follows. Amphitryon, angered at the reception given to him by Alkmene, resolves to take vengeance on her. She flies for sanctuary to an altar, followed by him and his friend Antenor. Instead of dragging her away from the altar, they proceed to sacrifice her upon it. They build a pyre of wood in front of it and fetch torches to kindle it. Alkmene in her extremity appeals to Zeus, who comes to her aid, hurling his thunderbolts and sending a tempest of rain to put out the fire.

One further point. Vases and comedies alike prove that the original purpose of the golden shower, still discernible in Pindar's ode[4], was completely misconceived by later Greeks and Romans. Pindar made Zeus come to Alkmene 'at midnight in a snow of gold,' just as he consorted with Danaë[5] or Himalia[6]. Python used the downpour merely as a convenient method of putting out the fire: his Hyades might be well-drilled members of a modern fire-brigade. Plautus, or his Greek source, transforms the procreative shower into a punitive thunderstorm, and works in the Pindaric gold as a touch of unearthly glamour.

Another example of a pyre extinguished by timely rain occurs in the story of Kroisos, king of Lydia. According to Herodotos[7], when the Persians captured Sardeis, Kyros built a great pyre and

[1] Plaut. *rud.* 86 non ventus fuit, verum Alcumena Euripidi.

[2] *Id. ib.* 761 ff.

[3] *Supra* p. 510 n. 2. See further the admirably careful chapter of L. Séchan *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* Paris 1926 pp. 242—248 ('Alcmène') with pl. 5 and fig. 73. He holds with Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 614 that, in Euripides' version, Amphitryon's wrath was roused, not by the coldness of Alkmene, but by her all too apparent infidelity. He also insists, in view of Plaut. *rud.* 86, that the Euripidean thunderstorm was represented on the stage rather than reported by a messenger. And, with regard to the contention of N. Wecklein in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1890 i. 39 that, whatever Aischylos might have done, Euripides would not have tolerated an actual apparition of Zeus, he remarks: 'Zeus n'apparaît jamais, en effet, dans aucune tragédie subsistante d'Euripide non plus que, d'ailleurs, dans les œuvres conservées d'Eschyle et Sophocle. Mais ce peut être à un pur effet du hasard.' For Zeus on the *theologeîon* in Aisch. Ψυχοστασία see *supra* ii. 734 n. 3, and for Zeus in Phrynich. Πέρσαι (?) *supra* ii. 853 f. pl. xxxviii.

[4] *Supra* pp. 477, 507. [5] *Supra* p. 476. [6] *Supra* p. 477.

[7] Hdt. 1. 86 f. See also O. Meiser *Vom Ende des Königs Kroesos* Speyer 1907 pp. 1—43, P. Soedel *De fabellis ad Croesum pertinentibus* Gottingae 1911 p. 1 ff., F. Hellmann *Herodots Kroisos-logos* Berlin 1934 p. 103 ff.

placed upon it Kroisos bound with fetters and twice seven Lydian boys beside him. On hearing Kroisos recall the warning of Solon, Kyros repented of his purpose. But the fire was already kindled, and his servants tried in vain to stay the flames. Kroisos as a last resource called upon Apollon, 'and suddenly in a clear and windless sky clouds gathered and a storm burst and there was a deluge of rain insomuch that the pyre was put out.' Now this, though romantic enough and edifying to boot, was from a strictly theological standpoint all wrong. Apollon had no business to control the weather: that was the essential prerogative of Zeus[1]. Herodotos' account, admittedly drawn from a Lydian informant[2], perhaps the logographer Xanthos (465—425 B.C.)[3], has points in common with the narrative of Ephoros[4] as preserved by Diodoros[5] and was certainly the main[6] source of the long rhetorical description given by Nikolaos of Damaskos[7]. Ktesias too, though he says not a word about the pyre, like Herodotos makes much of Apollon's aid[8]. Bakchylides, however, an older contemporary of Herodotos, in an ode which commemorates Hieron of Syracuse as victor in the chariot-race at Olympia (468 B.C.)[9], puts a somewhat different complexion on the whole affair. Here it is not Kyros who dooms Kroisos to the pyre, but Kroisos who, on witnessing the sack of Sardeis, bids a pyre be built in front of his palace and of his own will mounts thereon with his wife and daughters. Here, again, Kroisos' appeal, though obscurely worded, is addressed to Zeus

[1] *Supra* ii. 1 ff.

[2] Hdt. 1. 87 λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν.

[3] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 454.

[4] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 679.

[5] Diod. 9. 34.

[6] F. Jacoby *Frag. gr. Hist.* ii C p. 252: 'zweifelhaft nur, ob das auftreten der Sibylle (vgl. F 67, 2) und die erwahnung Zoroasters (§ 12), die allein nicht aus Herodot genommen oder entwickelt sein können, als "antiquarische gelehrsamkeit der hellenistischen zeit" (E. Meyer Gd A I 503) anzusehen sind. Zoroaster kam bei Xanthos vor (Diog. L. 1 2; möglicher weise also auch bei Ktesias); und was hier von ihm gesagt wird, passt nicht schlecht für einen lydischen autor, der die wichtigkeit seiner heimischen geschichte übertreibt.' Etc.

[7] Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 68 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 406 ff. Müller) = *frag.* 68 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 370 ff. Jacoby) *ap. exc. de virtut.* i. 345, 19 ff.

[8] Ktes. *frag.* 29. 4 (p. 46 Müller) *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 36 b 7 ff. Bekker ὅπως τε ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καταφεύγει ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ ὡς τρὶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πεδηθεὶς ὑπὸ Κύρου λύεται τρίτον ἀοράτως, καίτοι σφραγίδων τῷ ἱερῷ ἐπικειμένων καὶ τούτων τὴν φυλακὴν Οἰβάρα ἐμπεπιστευμένου· ὅπως τε οἱ συνδούμενοι Κροίσῳ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπετέμνοντο ὡς καταπροδιδόντες λύεσθαι Κροῖσον· καὶ ὅτι ἀναληφθεὶς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ δεθεὶς ἀσφαλέστερον, βροντῶν καὶ σκηπτῶν ἐπενεχθέντων, λύεται πάλιν, καὶ τότε μόλις ὑπὸ Κύρου ἀφίεται.

[9] Bakchyl. ed. Jebb p. 194 ff.

rather than to Apollon: lifting his hands to the high heaven the king exclaims—

> O Spirit of surpassing might,
> Where is the gratitude of the gods,
> And where is Leto's lordly son?[1]

In the event it is Zeus who sends the saving storm:

> He spake, and bade a softly-stepping thrall
> Kindle the wooden pile. The maidens shrieked,
> And up they threw their hands
> To pray their mother's aid,
> A fate foreseen being bitterest of all.
> But, when the shining strength
> Of that dread fire
> Would spread apace,
> Zeus brought a black cloud over it
> And quenched the yellow flame[2].

After which we are told that Delos-born Apollon carried off the aged king to the Hyperboreoi and there caused him to dwell with his daughters as a reward for his generous gifts to Pytho[3]. So, even in the earlier version of Bakchylides, Apollon plays a noteworthy part, as was but fitting in view of the previous relations between Kroisos and the Delphic oracle[4]. Yet the actual rain-sender is Zeus —a fact remembered for centuries[5]. The famous *amphora* at Paris attributed to the painter known as Myson (fig. 328)[6] carries the story

[1] Bakchyl. 3. 37 ff. *ὑπέρβιε δαῖμον, | ποῦ θεῶν ἐστιν χάρις; | ποῦ δὲ Λατοίδας ἄναξ;*

[2] *Id.* 3. 48 ff.

[3] *Supra* ii. 465.

[4] Hdt. 1. 46—55, 92, 8. 35 f., Diod. 16. 56 (? Theopomp. *frag.* 184 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 309 Müller)), Strab. 420 f., Plout. *v. Solon.* 4, *v. Sull.* 12, *de Pyth. orac.* 16, *de sera num. vind.* 12, Paus. 10. 8. 7, Athen. 231 E—F, pseudo-Kallisth. *hist. Al. Mag.* 1. 45. 2 (p. 52, 10 ff. Kroll), *Anth. Pal.* 6. 60. 3 f. (Palladas), 14. 12, Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 19 ff. Kroisos also made valuable gifts to the oracle of Apollon at Branchidai (Hdt. 1. 92, 5. 36). On the recognition of Apollon by the Persian kings see G. Radet *La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Mermnades* (687—546) Paris 1893 p. 256 f.

[5] Liban. *or.* 60. 9 (iv. 318, 2 ff. Foerster) *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ὄμβρων ἡνίας ἔχων ὕδωρ ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὴν φλόγα καὶ ταῦτα Λυδῶν ποτε βασιλεῖ δυστυχήσαντι σβέσας πυράν;* (cited by Io. Chrys. *or. de S. Babyla c. Iulian. et gentil.* 19 (xlix. 563 Migne), schol. Eur. *Or.* 165 *δν* (*sc.* *τὸν Κροῖσον*) *εἰ μὴ ὁ Ζεὺς οἰκτείρας ἀφῆκεν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν φλόγα, τάχ' ἂν ἀπωλώλει, ἔργον πυρὸς γενόμενος.* Cp. Boëth. *de cons. phil.* 2. 2 pros. 34 ff. nesciebas Croesum regem Lydorum Cyro paulo ante formidabilem mox deinde miserandum rogi flammis traditum misso caelitus imbre defensum? Myth. Vat. 1. 196 subito tanta pluvia exorta (2. 190 facta) est, ut ignis extingueretur.

[6] E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3me Série Paris 1922 p. 201 f. no. G 197 pl. 128 (obverse and reverse). See also the duc de Luynes 'Crésus' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1833 v. 237—251, *Mon. d. Inst.* i pls. 54 (obverse) and 55 (reverse) = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 85 (obverse) and 87, 1 (reverse), Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 30 ff. pls. 319 (obverse) and 320 (reverse), Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 481—487 ('Krösos auf dem Scheiterhaufen') pl. 33

back to the decade 500—490 B.C.[1] and is in general agreement with the poem of Bakchylides[2], but drops no hint either of Zeus or of

Fig. 328.

(obverse), A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* ii. 796 f. fig. 860 (obverse), A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 267 f. fig. 1 (obverse), F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 277 ff. figs. 97—100 and pl. 113, 1 (reverse) and 2 (obverse = my fig. 328), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 638 ff. fig. 355 (obverse), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 209 no. 16, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 97 no. 1. Inscribed KROESOS = Κρο(ῖ)σος, EVΦVMOS = Εὔθυμος, etc. (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 7756). With the name Εὔθυμος cp. Xen. *Cyrop.* 7. 2. 29 ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐθαύμασε μὲν τὴν εὐθυμίαν, κ.τ.λ.

[1] M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 191.

[2] H. Stuart Jones in the *Class. Rev.* 1898 xii. 84 f., J. E. Harrison *ib.* 1898 xii. 85, R. C. Jebb in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* Paris 1898 p. 237, A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 267 f.

Apollon. The same is true[1] of an engraved gem in the cabinet of Monsieur le Comte Chandon de Briailles[2], of which by the courtesy of Mr C. T. Seltman I am enabled to figure an impression (fig. 329)[3]. According to the very late Vatican mythographers[4], Kroisos subsequently boasted of his escape and was rebuked by Solon. The same night he dreamt that Zeus drenched him with water and that the Sun dried him. His daughter Phania explained the dream to mean that her father would be crucified and so exposed to the effects of rain and sun—a fate which ultimately overtook him at the hands of Kyros[5].

Fig. 329.

A third case of a pyre opportunely extinguished by rain is to be found in the *Love Stories* of Parthenios[6], who writes in the first century B.C.[7] and is professedly quoting from local histories by Theagenes[8] and Hegesippos[9]. Sithon, king of the Odomantoi, had a beautiful daughter Pallene, to win whose hand men came from far and near. At first Sithon bade each suitor take the girl and fight him—the unsuccessful fighter to be slain. In this way he slew many; but, when his strength failed him, he resolved to give his daughter in marriage. He bade two suitors, Dryas[10] and Kleitos, fight each other—the successful fighter to receive both the kingdom and the bride. Now Pallene herself was in love with Kleitos, and an old servitor of hers bribed the charioteer of Dryas to omit the linchpins of his master's chariot[11]. Thus Dryas was thrown, and slain

[1] Unless indeed the sign ☈ in the field is meant for the initial of Zeus, or for a thunderbolt falling in response to the king's uplifted hand. But neither suggestion is probable.

[2] At La Cordelière, Chaource (Aube). [3] Scale ⅔.

[4] Myth. Vat. 1. 196, 2. 190. The *Thes. Ling. Lat.* Index p. 74 dates Myth. Vat. 1 'post Isidorum' and Myth. Vat. 2 'post mythographum I.'

[5] The mythographers, as A. Mai and G. H. Bode *ad locc.* saw, are transferring to Kroisos the fate of Polykrates narrated in Hdt. 3. 124 f.

[6] Parthen. *narr. am.* 6. 1 ff. The story is told, with slight variations, by Konon *narr.* 10. Nonn. *Dion.* 48. 90 ff. makes Dionysos beat Pallene in a wrestling-match and afterwards slay Sithon with a blow of his *thýrsos*. In Theophil. *ad Autol.* 2. 7 we should perhaps read Ἀριαδνεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς Μίνω γυναικὸς δὲ Διονύσου· <Παλληνεῖς ἀπὸ Παλλήνης> 'παιδὸς πατροφίλας' τῆς μιχθείσης Διονύσῳ 'ἐν μορφῇ γυμνάδι'· Θεστιεῖς κ.τ.λ. (see the *Class. Rev.* 1894 viii. 246 ff.).

[7] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 322 ff.

[8] Theag. Μακεδονικά *frag.* 11 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 510 Müller).

[9] Hegesipp. Παλληνιακά *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 423 Müller).

[10] On the name Δρύας as implying the cult of an oak-Zeus in northern Greece see the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 80 ff.

[11] An obvious doublet of the Myrtilos-myth at Olympia (*supra* i. 225 n. 4).

by Kleitos. Sithon, perceiving his daughter's guile, made a great pyre and placed upon it the body of Dryas. He was about to slay Pallene as well, when a divine apparition[1] was seen and a sudden deluge fell from the sky. Thereupon he changed his mind, gave a wedding-feast to all the Thracians present, and suffered Kleitos to marry his daughter. We are not here told that the rain was due to Zeus, the agency of the god being vaguely implied, not definitely expressed[2].

There were, therefore, mythical antecedents to a miracle recorded in the *Acts of Paul and Thekla*[3]. According to this romantic narrative—one section of a much longer document, the *Acts of Paul*, originally drafted by an Asian presbyter before the close of the second century A.D.[4]—Thekla the daughter of Theokleia, a woman of rank at Ikonion, was betrothed to a young noble named Thamyris, but becoming a convert to Paul was filled with zeal for virginity. Thamyris brought both Paul and Thekla before the

[1] According to Konon *narr.* 10, Aphrodite visited all the townsfolk by night and saved the girl from her doom.

[2] The words of Parthenios are: *φαντάσματος δὲ θείου γενομένου καὶ ἐξαπιναίως ὕδατος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολλοῦ καταρραγέντος μετέγνω τε καὶ γάμοις ἀρεσάμενος τὸν παρόντα Θρᾳκῶν ὅμιλον ἐφίησι τῷ* Κλείτῳ *τὴν κόρην ἄγεσθαι.*

[3] *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 20—22 Tischendorf *τῆς δὲ μὴ ἀποκρινομένης, ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς ἀνέκραγεν* (*ἀνέκραξεν* cod. C.) *λέγουσα Κατάκαιε τὴν ἄνομον, κατάκαιε τὴν ἄνυμφον μέσον θεάτρου, ἵνα πᾶσαι αἱ ὑπὸ τούτου διδαχθεῖσαι φοβηθῶσιν γυναῖκες. καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἔπαθεν μεγάλως, καὶ τὸν μὲν* Παῦλον *φραγελλώσας ἔβαλεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, τὴν δὲ Θέκλαν ἔκρινεν κατακαῆναι* (*κατέκρινεν πυρίκαυστον* cod. G.). *καὶ εὐθέως ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀπίει* (*ἀπῆλθεν* cod. G.) *ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον· ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὄχλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν Θέκλης* (*εἰς τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς θέας* cod. G.). *ἡ δὲ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐν ἐρήμῳ περισκοπεῖ τὸν ποιμένα, οὕτως ἐκείνη τὸν* Παῦλον *ἐζήτει. καὶ ἐμβλέψασα εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ἴδεν* (*leg.* εἶδεν) *τὸν κύριον καθήμενον ὡς* Παῦλον, *καὶ εἶπεν Ὡς ἀνυπομονήτου μου οὔσης ἦλθεν* Παῦλος *θεάσασθαί με. καὶ προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ ἀτενίζουσα· ὁ δὲ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνίει* (*ἀπίει θεωρούσης αὐτῆς* cod. G.). *αἱ δὲ παιδίσκαι καὶ παρθένοι ἤνεγκαν τὰ ξύλα* (*ξύλα καὶ χόρτον* cod. G.) *ἵνα Θέκλα κατακαῇ. ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθεν* (*εἰσηνέχθη* cod. C. *εἰσήχθη* cod. G.) *γυμνή, ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν καὶ ἐθαύμασεν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ δύναμιν* (*ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει αὐτῆς δύναμιν* codd. A. B. *δύναμιν τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῆς* cod. G.). *ἔστρωσαν δὲ τὰ ξύλα οἱ δήμιοι ἐπιβῆναι* (*καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῇ ἐπιβῆναι* cod. B.) *τῇ πυρᾷ· ἡ δὲ τύπον σταυροῦ ποιησαμένη ἐπέβη τῶν ξύλων· οἱ δὲ ὑφῆψαν. καὶ μεγάλου πυρὸς λάμψαντος οὐχ ἥψατο αὐτῆς· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἦχον ὑπόγαιον ἐποίησεν, καὶ νεφέλη ἄνωθεν ἐπεσκίασεν ὕδατος πλήρης καὶ χαλάζης, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πᾶν τὸ κῦτος* (*leg.* κύτος), *ὡς πολλοὺς κινδυνεῦσαι τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τὸ πῦρ σβεσθῆναι, τὴν δὲ Θέκλαν σωθῆναι.*

[4] Tertull. *de bapt.* 17. See further J. Gwynn in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 882—896 and, for more recent criticism, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 1203 f.

The pyre-extinguishing rain recurs in a modified form at Nikomedeia in connexion with the martyrdom of SS. Adrian, Natalia, and others (304 A.D.). S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints*[3] Edinburgh 1914 x. 116: 'According to the orders of Maximian, the bodies of the martyrs were placed on a pile of wood to be burnt, but they were so many that the burning was not perfectly carried out, and a heavy rain during the night having extinguished the smouldering pyre, the Christians were able to recover the remains of the martyrs before they were completely reduced to ashes.'

judgment-seat of the proconsul Kastelios, and, when Thekla would give no answer to his interrogation,

'her mother cried aloud "Burn the lawless girl, burn the unmarried maid in the midst of the theatre, that all the women taught by this man may be afraid." The governor, deeply moved, scourged Paul and cast him out of the city, and ordered Thekla to be burned. He then went straight to the theatre, and all the multitude came out to see Thekla. She, like a lamb in the desert looking round for its shepherd, sought to see Paul. In the crowd she saw the Lord seated in the guise of Paul and exclaimed "Lo, when I can endure no longer, Paul has come to behold me!" And she fixed her eyes on him, till he went up to heaven. But now the girls and virgins brought logs to burn Thekla. She came in stark naked, whereupon the governor burst into tears and marvelled at the power that rested upon her. The executioners strewed the logs for her to mount the pyre. She made the sign of the cross and set foot on the logs, while the attendants kindled them below. A great fire blazed up, but did not touch her. For God in his mercy caused an underground rumbling, and a cloud full of water and hail overshadowed her from above, and poured forth all its contents insomuch that many persons were like to be drowned, and the fire was extinguished, and Thekla was saved.'

Finally, a downpour, if not in time to save life, might at least indicate divine disapproval of the victim's death. When Britannicus, poisoned by Nero, was being carried to a pyre hastily built on the Campus Martius, so fierce a rain-storm fell that the common folk held it to portend the anger of the gods at a crime which most men were prepared to excuse. So Tacitus[1]. Dion Cassius[2] adds lurid detail: Nero, to hide the ravages of the poison, had smeared the body with gypsum; but, as the procession passed through the Forum, the heavy rain washed off the gypsum and left the tell-tale discoloration for all to see.

In Egypt the place of Zeus the rain-god was taken, as we have had occasion to note [3], by the Nile, which in Hellenistic times was actually worshipped as Neilos Zeus. Hence in the novel by Xenophon of Ephesos[4] (*s.* ii or iii A.D.[5]), when the hero Habrokomes is condemned by the governor of Egypt to be burnt alive, the pyre in answer to his prayers is extinguished by a miraculous rise of the river Nile.

[1] Tac. *ann.* 13. 17.
[2] Dion Cass. 61. 4.
[3] *Supra* p. 348 f.
[4] Xen. *Ephes.* 4. 2.
[5] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 810 n. 3 assigns the work, with some hesitation, to the half-century 250—300 A.D. But J. U. Powell *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Third Series Oxford 1933 p. 254 n. 3 is content to place it between 98 A.D. and 263 A.D.

(g) Zeus *Ómbrios*.

Lykophron in his *Alexandra* speaks of Elis as—

> the rock of Molpis,
> Whose body was cut up for Zeus the Showery[1].

This enigmatic allusion is expounded as follows by the scholiast and by Tzetzes[2]. Elis once suffered from a prolonged drought, till the inhabitants consulted an oracle and were bidden to offer Zeus a human sacrifice. The victim was to be a boy of noble parentage. Thereupon a young Elean named Molpis volunteered for the post. No sooner was he slain than a copious rain fell. So the Eleans in memory of the event set up a sanctuary of Zeus *Ómbrios*, 'the Showery,' in which was to be seen a statue of Molpis.

Is this to be taken as serious fact or sensational fiction? F. Schwenn[3] in his monograph on human sacrifice among the Greeks and Romans simply ignores the case of Molpis. But the antiquarian lore of Alexandrine scholars was in general trustworthy, and we have already found traces of human sacrifice in the cult of Zeus at Lyttos in Crete[4], of Zeus *Atabýrios* in Rhodes and Sicily[5], of Zeus *Laphýstios* in Thessaly[6] and Boiotia[7], of Zeus *Ithomátas* in Messene[8], and of Zeus *Lýkaios* in Arkadia[9]. Indeed, it is precisely in connexion with Zeus that such primitive traits were likely to linger. For the rain-supply, vital to every early community, was given or withheld by him. It was on account of a persistent drought that Athamas proposed to sacrifice Phrixos and Helle, and after their escape was himself all but immolated at the altar of Zeus[10]. Again, it was when the crops failed and famine stared them in the face[11] that the Arcadians had recourse to human sacrifice at the sanctuary of Zeus *Lýkaios*, whose priest was official rain-maker for

[1] Lyk. *Al.* 159 f. Μόλπιδος πέτραν, | τοῦ Ζηνὶ δαιτρευθέντος Ὀμβρίῳ δέμας. With πέτραν cp. Paus. 6. 24. 5 ἔστι δὲ καὶ μνῆμα τῷ Πύρρωνι οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Ἠλείων ἄστεως· Πέτρα μὲν τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα, λέγεται <δὲ (*ins.* F. L. Abresch)> ὡς ἡ Πέτρα δῆμος εἴη τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

[2] Schol. Lyk. *Al.* 160 αὐχμοῦ κατασχόντος τὴν Ἦλιν ἐχρήσθη σφαγιάσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ παύσει τοῦ αὐχμοῦ παῖδα εὐγενῆ, καὶ ἐσφαγίασαν ἑκόντα Μόλπιν τινὰ λεγόμενον, καὶ εὐθέως ἐρράγη ὑετός· οἱ δὲ Ἠλεῖοι ἐποίησαν Ὀμβρίου Διὸς ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ἀνδριὰς τοῦ Μόλπιδος. Μόλπιδος οὖν πέτραν τὴν Ἦλίν φησιν, κ.τ.λ. = Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 160 Μόλπις γάρ τις Ἠλεῖος εὐγενὴς αὐχμοῦ κατασχόντος τὴν Ἦλιν ἐκ χρησμοῦ ἀκηκοὼς παυθῆναι τὸν αὐχμὸν εὐγενοῦς νέου σφαγιασθέντος τῷ Διὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔδωκεν εἰς σφαγὴν καὶ εὐθέως σφαγιασθέντος ἐρρύη ὑετός. Ἠλεῖοι δὲ ἱερὸν Ὀμβρίου Διὸς ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾧ ἵσταται καὶ ἀνδριὰς Μόλπιδος. Μόλπιδος οὖν πέτραν τὴν Ἦλίν φησιν, κ.τ.λ.

[3] F. Schwenn *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* Giessen 1915 pp. 1—202.

[4] *Supra* i. 652 ff.

[5] *Supra* ii. 924 n. 0.

[6] *Supra* ii. 904 n. 1.

[7] *Supra* i. 414 ff., ii. 899 n. 1.

[8] *Supra* ii. 890 n. 6.

[9] *Supra* i. 70 ff.

[10] *Supra* i. 415 f.

[11] *Supra* i. 76.

the district[1]. It may well be, then, that in Elis too the same desperate means were on occasion adopted to propitiate the reluctant rain-god. And if in Arkadia King Lykaon was said to have served up his son or his grandson as a dish at the table of Zeus[2], we can hardly rule out the possibility that Molpis' body was likewise cut up in the rites of the Elean Zeus *Ómbrios*. His noble birth[3] and his well-omened name[4] would make him a most suitable victim. Perhaps in Elis, as in Arkadia[5], blood-guiltiness was avoided by the expedient of a communal meal.

On Mount Parnes in Attike stood an altar at which sacrifices were made, sometimes to Zeus *Ómbrios*, but sometimes also to Zeus *Apémios*[6], the god 'who Saves from Harm[7].' Mount Hymettos too had an altar of Zeus *Ómbrios*[8]. And a large round base of marble, found in 1900 on the site of the Agora at Corinth, still bears in late lettering part of an elegiac couplet in which one Heliodoros honours Zeus *Ómbrios*[9]. To these or other such monuments Plutarch is alluding, when he protests that the abolition of food would involve the abolition of agriculture, and asks what would then become of

[1] *Supra* i. 76, iii. 315. [2] *Supra* i. 78 f.

[3] Cp. Lamprid. *v. Heliog.* 8. 1 cecidit et humanas hostias lectis ad hoc pueris nobilibus et decoris per omnem Italiam patrimis et matrimis, credo ut maior esset utrique parenti dolor.

[4] F. Bechtel—A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 pp. 211, 401, F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a. d. S. 1917 p. 323 f. Μόλπις occurs as an actual name in Thera (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 337, 5 Μόλπιος καὶ Κλεω... Ἀφ(ρ)οδισίαν in lettering of *s.* ii B.C., Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 154 no. 4700, 5). For Μολπαγόρης at Abdera see Append. P fig.

[5] *Supra* i. 76, 80. [6] *Supra* ii. 897 n. 6.

[7] On the strength of this Attic cult A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2374, 6 f. read Δευκαλίων τοὺς | ὄμβρους ἔφυγεν ἐγ Λυκωρείας εἰς Ἀθήνας πρὸ[ς Κρανα]όν (Palmerius cj. πρό[τερον]), καὶ τοῦ Διὸ[ς το]ῦ Ὀ[μβρίου Ἀπη]μ[ί]ου τὸ ἱρὸν ἱδ[ρύσατ]ο [καὶ] τὰ σωτήρια ἔθυσεν—a reading defended by J (= Hans). Flach *Chronicon Parium* Tubingae 1884 p. 3 n. 7. But R. Chandler's restoration Διὸ[ς το]ῦ Ὀ[λυ]μ[πί]ου (cp. Paus. 1. 18. 8) is rightly accepted by Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 121 n. 3, F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 444, 6 f., and F. Jacoby *Das Marmor Parium* Berlin 1904 p. 4.

[8] *Supra* ii. 897 n. 5, 1226. The inscribed 'Geometric' sherds found by the Americans near the top of Mt Hymettos have now been published by C. W. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 10—28. No. 1 fig. 1 is a small one-handled cup incised Νι[κό]δεμος Φ[....]ίδες καταπύγον Λεο[....]δες ερι No. 11 fig. 5 is a small bowl scratched with the start of an abecedarium ΑΒΛ Nos. 13 and 14 fig. 6 are parts of a small cup incised ΛΜ and ΠΡ and Χ, perhaps from another alphabet. No. 15 fig. 7 is the lower portion of a small jug inscribed on its bottom ΛΑΒΣ, probably for Γα(ί)ης. These inscriptions, of *c.* 750 B.C., hardly suffice to determine the name of the deity concerned. But the connexion of Zeus *Ómbrios* with Gaia is not impossible (Paus. 1. 24. 3 Γῆς ἄγαλμα ἱκετευούσης ὗσαί οἱ τὸν Δία, κ.τ.λ.).

[9] *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1598 [– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ Δι'] Ὄμβριον (Ἡ)λιόδωρος, | [– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – εὐσ]εβίης ἕνεκα.

the altars and sacrifices of Zeus *Ómbrios*, Demeter *Proërosía*, and Poseidon *Phytálmios*[1]. Zeus *Ómbrios* here heads the list of agricultural deities: it was doubtless in that capacity that he was worshipped.

Gods that sent rain, wherever they were recognised, were apt to be identified with Zeus *Ómbrios*. Examples may be drawn from Phrygia, India, and Palestine.

Phrygia had a legend of the flood[2], which has come down to us in two somewhat different versions. Zenobios, who taught at Rome under Hadrian and published an epitome of the proverbs collected by Didymos (*s.* i B.C.[3]) and Tarraios[4], states that 'the tears of Nannakos' was a phrase used of ancient happenings or of persons making loud lamentation—

'for Nannakos was a king of Phrygia, as Hermogenes asserts in his *Phrygian History*[5], before the days of Deukalion. Having foreknowledge of the deluge that was to be, he gathered all men into the sanctuaries and made supplication with tears. Herodes[6] the iambic poet says

"Though I should weep the tears of Nannakos[7]."'

Stephanos of Byzantion (*s.* v A.D.) in his account of Ikonion pursues the story further:

'They say that there was a certain Annakos, who lived for over three hundred years. His neighbours asked an oracle how long his life would last. The answer

[1] Plout. *sept. sap. conviv.* 15.

[2] F. Lenormant *Les Origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible* Paris 1880 i. 440—442 (Apameia *Kibotos*, Ikonion, Mt Baris, etc. attest a Phrygian tradition of the deluge fused later with a Judaeo-Christian account), T. Reinach *Les monnaies juives* Paris 1887 p. 71 f. = *id. Jewish Coins* trans. M. Hill London 1903 pp. 61—63 pl. 11 (a Phrygian myth fused with Jewish tradition), E. Babelon 'La tradition phrygienne du déluge' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1891 xxiii. 174—183 (the supposed Phrygian myth was not original, but merely a Jewish tradition brought to Apameia by Jewish settlers under the early Seleucid kings), H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 pp. 48—50 (already in the time of Agrippa and Augustus Asia Minor was overrun by Jews, whose Noah displaced the local Nannakos or Dardanos), A. Reinach *Noé Sangariou* Paris 1913 pp. 1—95 (*à propos* of a Thasian epitaph Νόη | Σαγγαρίου | γυνή argues that a Phrygian water-power 'Na-Nana-Naé-Noé' was daughter of 'Nannakos-Annakos,' hero of the Phrygian flood. When the latter was confused with 'Hénoch-Noah,' the former became '*Noéra, fille de Noé*'), Frazer *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* i. 155—157 ('I confess that the arguments adduced in favour of an aboriginal flood legend at Apamea appear to me to carry little weight, resting rather on a series of doubtful combinations than on any solid evidence').

[3] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 432.

[4] Souid. *s.v.* Ζηνόβιος.

[5] Hermog. περὶ Φρυγίας *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 524 Müller).

[6] Herond. 3. 10 κἠν τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσω with W. Headlam *ad loc.*

[7] Zenob. 6. 10 *s.v.* τὰ Ναννάκου (cod. B reads ἀπὸ Ναννάκου· ἐπὶ τῶν σφόδρα παλαιῶν καὶ ἀρχαίων. Νάννακον γὰρ παλαιὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖον βασιλέα γενέσθαι Φρυγῶν ἐν Πισινοῦντι (*sic*) καὶ ἔθη αὐτοῖς καταστήσασθαι· καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν αὐτούς Τὰ ἀπὸ Ναννάκου). Cp. Makar. 2. 23 *s.v.* ἀπὸ Ναννάκου, 8. 4 *s.v.* τὰ ἐπὶ Ναννάκου, Souid. *s.vv.* Νάννακος, τὰ ἀπὸ Ναννάκου, and τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσομαι.

given was that, when he died, all men would be destroyed. The Phrygians hearing it made great lamentation. Hence the proverb "to cry as in the days of Annakos" used of those who mourn overmuch. When the flood came in Deukalion's time, all were destroyed. But when the ground was dry again, Zeus bade Prometheus and Athena to make images of clay, and calling upon the winds he bade them to breathe upon all these and so bring them to life. The place got its name *Ikónion* from the fact that the "images" were designed there[1].'

It seems probable that neither of these versions was wholly independent of Jewish tradition. Indeed, Buttmann[2] more than

Fig. 330.

Fig. 331.

Fig. 332.

Fig. 333.

a century since concluded that *Annakós*, who lived for over three hundred years, was none other than *Enoch*, who reached the age of three hundred and sixty-five[3]. And it is easy to surmise that the nasalised form of the name, *Nánnakos*, arose under the influence of *Noah*. Be that as it may, the popularity of the Hebrew story is sufficiently established by the remarkable coins of Apameia Kibotos[4]

[1] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἰκόνιον. Cp. *et. mag.* p. 470, 55 ff.

[2] P. Buttmann *Mythologus* Berlin 1828 i. 176, citing W. Baxter 'Philological letters' in *Miscellaneous Tracts on Antiquity* London 1779 i. 206.

[3] Gen. 5. 23.

[4] H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1907 i. 2. 2513—2518 figs. 825—827 discusses these coins and *ib.* pp. 2521—2523 appends a full bibliography of them, which ranges from O. Falconerius *Dissertatio de numo*

issued by Septimius Severus (fig. 330)[1], Macrinus (fig. 331)[2], and Philippus Senior (figs. 332, 333)[3]. The design unites two consecutive scenes. On the right, an ark inscribed *NOE* floats on the waters of the flood. Its lid is open, and from it Noah and his wife look out. Upon the lid perches the raven, and towards it flies the dove with an olive-twig in its claws. On the left, Noah and his wife stand on dry ground, uplifting their hands in gratitude to God for their escape. This pictorial type[4] presupposes some famous original, perhaps a frescoed Stoa[5], perhaps an illustrated Pentateuch[6].

But, though Jewish influence was undeniably strong at Apameia,

Apamensi Deucalionei diluvii typum exhibente Romæ 1668 down to modern times. It will suffice to cite Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 132—139, F. W. Madden 'On some coins of Septimius Severus, Macrinus, and Philip I., struck at Apameia, in Phrygia, with the legend ΝΩΕ' in the *Num. Chron.* Second Series 1866 vi. 173—219 pl. 6 f., Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 i. 2. 669—672 ('The Legend of the Flood in Apameia') pl. 2, 1 f., H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 pp. 48—50 fig. 1, E. J. Pilcher in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1903 xxv. 250 ff., B. V. Head in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. xxxix, 101 no. 182, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 666 f. fig. 313, C. F. Keary and C. Babington in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 1272 f. with pl. 1, 1. *Supra* ii. 610.

[1] F. W. Madden in the *Num. Chron.* Second Series 1866 vi. 194 f., 198 pl. 6, 1 (=my fig. 330) from the specimen in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, with *rev.* legend ЄΠΙΑΓ ΩΝΟ ΘЄΤΟVΑΡΤЄΜΑΓ ΑΠΑΜЄΩΝ and ΝΩ[Є].

[2] F. W. Madden *loc. cit.* pp. 195 f., 198 pl. 6, 2 (=my fig. 331) from the specimen in the Imperial Cabinet of Antiquities and Coins at Vienna, with *rev.* legend ΑΠΑΜЄΩ Ν and ΝΩ[Є].

[3] F. W. Madden *loc. cit.* pp. 196—198 pl. 6, 3 (=my fig. 332) from the specimen in the Waddington Collection, now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, with *rev.* legend ЄΠΜΑ VP ΑΛ ЄΞΑΝΔΡ OVBAPXIAΠ ΑΜЄΩΝ and ΝΩЄ. My fig. 333 is a fresh drawing made from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum (*supra* p. 528 n. 4).

[4] C. Lenormant in C. Cahier—A. Martin *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature* Paris 1853 iii. 199—202 pl. 30 publishes a 'sculpture dans les catacombes de Rome,' which repeats exactly the two juxtaposed scenes of the coin-type. E. Babelon in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1891 xxiii. 181 and Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 i. 2. 670 are impressed. But H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1907 i. 2. 2513 says: 'malheureusement il n'existe rien de pareil et la planche xxx du tome iii[e] des *Mélanges d'archéologie* ne représente pas du tout une *Sculpture dans les catacombes de Rome*, mais le type de la médaille d'Apamée agrandi. M. Babelon y a été trompé.' Cp. F. W. Madden *loc. cit.* p. 206 ('The other drawing is an enlarged copy of the type on the coins, and not, as stated, a drawing from the catacombs').

[5] Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 i. 2. 432 ('pictures in some public buildings'), 670 n. 3 ('Either a wall-painting or a scene in low relief'), B. V. Head in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. xxxix ('probably a copy of some painting at Apameia'), *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 666 ('probably copied from some painting in the city').

[6] V. Schultze *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften* Gütersloh 1922 ii. 1. 455 ('Man hat vermutet, dass ein Gemälde in einem öffentlichen Gebäude, etwa in einer Stoa, die Vorlage abgegeben habe; näher liegt, an einen illustrierten Pentateuch zu denken, der also Text und Bild zugleich bot').

it remains at least possible that the Jews had there fastened on native names and myths, adopting or adapting them to suit their own tradition. The town was called Kibotos, apparently the Grecised form of some Phrygian name, whose significance escapes us[1]. Another coin of Apameia, struck by Hadrian, shows (figs. 334—337)[2] Marsyas with *cornu copiae* and flutes seated in a rocky grotto: beneath him water streams from an inverted vase; above him are several chests and the legend *kibotoí*. F. Imhoof-Blumer[3] cites this coin-type in support of G. Hirschfeld's[4] conjecture that Apameia was nick-named Kibotos on account of its commercial importance[5]. To me it seems more likely that *Kibotoi*

Fig. 334.

Fig. 335.

Fig. 336.

Fig. 337.

was the name of some local festival[6]. But, whatever be the explanation, Jewish settlers would be quick to discover an allusion to their own ark and would probably claim that it had grounded on some neighbouring mountain[7]. Again, we may conclude that

[1] Sir W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* i. 2. 671, V. Schultze *op. cit.* ii. 1. 456 n. 2. ? cp. Κίβυρα in Phrygia (*supra* ii. 771).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. xxxix, 96 nos. 155 pl. 11, 10 (=my fig. 335 from a cast) and 156, no. 157 pl. 11, 11 (=my fig. 336 from a cast), no. 158 pl. 11, 12 (=my fig. 337 from a cast), *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 235 nos. 8771 pl. 308, 15 and 8772. Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 211 no. 19 pl. 7, 11 (=my fig. 334), *Weber Cat. Coins* iii. 495 no. 7036 pl. 250, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 666.

[3] Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* i. 211.

[4] G. Hirschfeld 'Kelainai—Apameia Kibotos' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1875* Phil.-hist. Classe 1. 15. His view, rejected by E. Schürer *Die Prophetin Isabel in Thyatira* 1892 p. 54 and Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 i. 2. 671 n. 2, is accepted as 'perhaps' correct by B. V. Head in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. xxxii and in *Hist. num.*[2] p. 666.

[5] Strab. 576 Ἀπάμεια ἡ Κιβωτὸς λεγομένη καὶ Λαοδίκεια, αἴπερ εἰσὶ μέγισται τῶν κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν πόλεων, 577 Ἀπάμεια δ' ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον μέγα τῆς ἰδίως λεγομένης Ἀσίας, δευτερεῦον μετὰ τὴν Ἔφεσον.

G. Hirschfeld *loc. cit.* p. 15 n. 4 remarks: 'Es ist auffallend genug, dass der nördlich gelegene türk. Ort Sandykly dasselbe bedeutet: sandyk heisst Kiste.'

L. Grasberger *Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen* Würzburg 1888 p. 117 notes that an artificial harbour at Alexandreia was called Κιβωτός (Strab. 795).

[6] For numismatic parallels see *supra* i. 534 n. 8. Our own *Boxing Day* is roughly analogous.

[7] Cp. *oracl. Sib.* 1. 261 ff. Geffcken ἔστι δέ τι Φρυγίης ἐπ' ἠπείροιο μελαίνης | ἠλίβατον τανύμηκες ὄρος· Ἀραρὰτ δὲ καλεῖται, | ὅττ' ἄρα σωθήσεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἔμελλον, | ἐν

a genuine Phrygian flood-myth underlies the story of Priasos, which Nonnos[1] relates as follows. When Zeus *Hyétios* flooded the plain of Phrygia with his showers and submerged both oak-trees and thorn-brakes, Priasos left his water-logged home and went off to the land of Aonia (*sc.* Boiotia), avoiding the deadly rain of Zeus. But amid strangers he ever shed tears as he thought of the Sangarios and longed for his familiar spring. At length Zeus *Hýpatos* quelled the flood and drove the waters back from the peaks of Sipylos, while *Ennosígaios* with his trident turned the whole stream into the depths of the sea. Then Priasos hastened to quit the soil of Boiotos and hied him back to his native land. His strong arm supported his aged father in the flood, and Zeus the Great in return for his piety brought him in safety from a watery grave—Zeus whom men call *Brómbios*. The meaningless title brings us up with a jerk. It is taken by C. F. Graefe, H. Köchly, and A. Ludwich from the manuscripts' *Brónbios*. But there can be little doubt that Count de Marcellus was right in restoring the appellative of Zeus *Ómbrios*, 'the Showery.'

Strabon[2] states that, according to 'the historians' (Kleitarchos?)[3], the Indians reverenced Zeus *Ómbrios*, the river Ganges, and local divinities. He is presumably fitting a Greek name to Indra, son of Dyaus, who fought *Vṛtra*, the demon of drought, and released the waters pent up by him[4].

τούτῳ μεγάλη δὲ ποθὴ καταθύμιος ἦεν· | ἔνθα φλέβες μεγάλου ποταμοῦ Μαρσύου (J. Geffcken cj. Μαρσύου ποταμοῖο) πέφυκαν. | τῷδε κιβωτὸς ἔμεινεν ἐν ὑψηλοῖσι καρήνοις | ληξάντων ὑδάτων, τότε δ' αὖ πάλιν οὐρανόθι πρό | θεσπεσίη μεγάλοιο θεοῦ πάλιν ἴαχε φωνή | τοῖον ἔπος· "Νῶε πεφυλαγμένε πιστὲ δίκαιε, | θαρσαλέως ἔξελθε σὺν υἱέσι καί τε δάμαρτι | καὶ νύμφαις τρισσαῖς καὶ πλήσατε γαῖαν ἅπασαν | αὐξόμενοι" κ.τ.λ. The first hint of this location is given by Sex. Iulius Africanus (on whom see *supra* ii. 695 f.) *ap.* Synkell. *chron.* 22 A—B (i. 38 f. Dindorf) ἦν δὲ ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων ὁ Νῶε, ὅτε ὁ κατακλυσμὸς ἐγένετο. ὡς δὲ ἔληξε τὸ ὕδωρ, ἡ κιβωτὸς ἱδρύθη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ἀραράτ, ἅτινα ἴσμεν ἐν Παρθίᾳ, τινὲς δὲ ἐν Κελαιναῖς τῆς Φρυγίας εἶναί φασιν· εἶδον δὲ τὸν τόπον ἑκάτερον· κ.τ.λ. = Kedren. *hist. comp.* 10 D (i. 20 Bekker) ὅτι τὰ ὄρη Ἀραρὰτ ἴσμεν ἐν Παρθίᾳ τῆς Ἀρμενίας εἶναι· τινὲς δέ φασιν, ἐν Κελαιναῖς τῆς Φρυγίας. See further Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 i. 2. 670—672.

[1] Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 522—544. Within this short passage we get the sky-god called successively Τέτιος Ζεύς (522), Ζηνός (529), Ζεὺς Ὕπατος (534), Ζεὺς Μέγας (543), Βρόμβιον (*leg.* Ὄμβριον) (544).

[2] Strab. 718 λέγεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν συγγραφέων, ὅτι σέβονται μὲν τὸν ὄμβριον Δία Ἰνδοὶ καὶ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους δαίμονας.

[3] So E. R. Bevan in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 422. Cp. Kleitarch. *frag.* 17 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 81 Müller) = Kleitarch. *frag.* 20 (*Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii. 748 Jacoby) *ap.* Strab. 718.

[4] E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 104, A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 58 ff., H. Jacobi in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 804, A. B. Keith *Indian Mythology* (*The Mythology of all Races* vi) Boston 1917 p. 133 f. *Supra* p. 273 n. 3.

In this connexion space must be spared for a few words regarding the Zeus-types of early Indian coinage. Diodotos ii, satrap of Baktriane, *c.* 261—250 B.C. struck for his suzerain Antiochos ii Theos of Syria both gold *statêres* and silver tetradrachms (fig. 338) bearing as obverse type his own portrait, and as reverse his canting badge—Zeus fulminant[1]. The god strides from right to left with a thunderbolt in his uplifted hand, an *aigis* on his outstretched arm, and an eagle at his feet. On attaining independence, *c.* 250 B.C.,

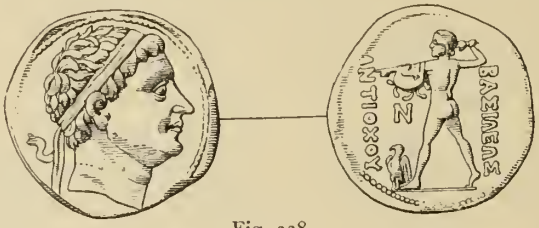


Fig. 338.

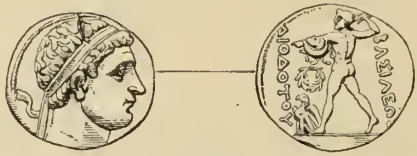


Fig. 339.

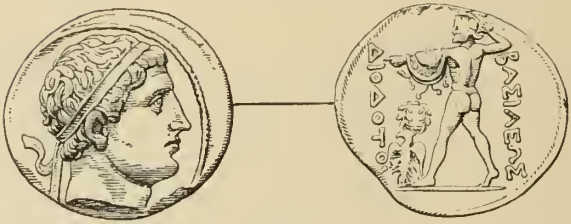


Fig. 340.

Diodotos ii continued to issue gold and silver coins of the same types (figs. 339 and 340), but of course substituted his own name for that of Antiochos[2]. The Zeus-type proved popular and

[1] G. Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 436 f., 464 pl. 2, 11 gold *statêr*, 12 silver tetradrachm, both in the British Museum. Cp. C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 229, 234, 308 pl. 54, 8 (=my fig. 338) British Museum.

[2] G. Macdonald *loc. cit.* i. 436, 464 pl. 2, 13 silver tetradrachm, 14 gold *statêr*, both in the British Museum. Cp. P. Gardner in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings pp. xx f., 3 pl. 1, 4 and 5 (=my fig. 339) gold *statêres*, pl. 1, 6 (=my fig. 340) and 7 silver tetradrachms, 8 silver *statêr*, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 836 fig. 364, R. B. Whitehead *The Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of Northwestern India* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 13) New York 1922 p. 13 pl. 1, 1 gold *statêr*, 2 silver tetradrachm, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 234, 308 pl. 54, 9 British Museum.

was repeated, perhaps by Demetrios i *c.* 190 B.C.[1], certainly by Agathokles *c.* 150 B.C. (figs. 341, 342)[2] and his contemporary Antimachos i Theos (fig. 343)[3].

The type itself was a Hellenistic modification of the old Hellenic striding Zeus[4]. By displacing the eagle on the hand of the god it had found room for the *aigís*, which in those days of intensive

Fig. 341.

Fig. 342.

Fig. 343.

[1] G. Macdonald *loc. cit.* i. 450 f., 465 pl. 3, 9 silver tetradrachm in the British Museum: ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟ[Σ].

[2] G. Macdonald *loc. cit.* i. 450, 465 pl. 4, 1 silver tetradrachm in the British Museum: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. Cp. P. Gardner in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings pp. xxviii, 10 pl. 4, 2 (=my fig. 342 from an electrotype) and p. 164 pl. 30, 5 (=my fig. 341) silver tetradrachms, both now in the British Museum, R. B. Whitehead *op. cit.* pl. 3, 2 silver tetradrachm in the British Museum.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings pp. xxviii f., 164 pl. 30, 6 (=my fig. 343).

[4] *Supra* ii. 739 ff.

Homeric study had become one of his most essential attributes—witness *e.g.* Zeus fighting Porphyrion on the great Pergamene frieze (pl. xlii)[1] or such lesser works as the Zeus from Kyrene

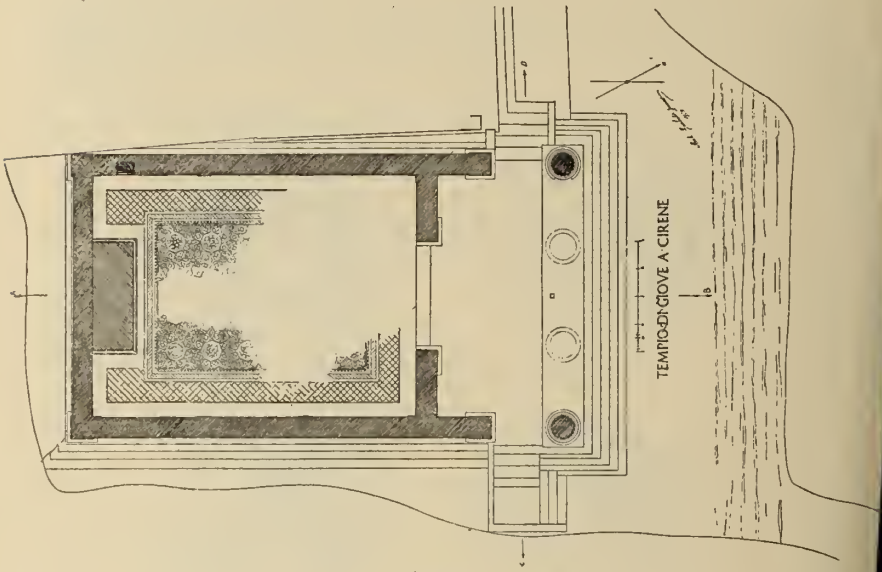


Fig. 344.

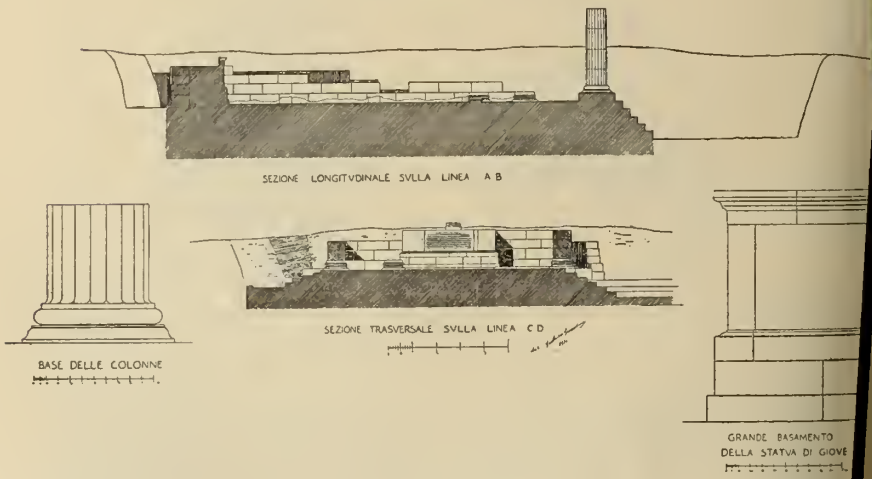

SEZIONE LONGITVDINALE SVLLA LINEA A B
SEZIONE TRASVERSALE SVLLA LINEA C D
BASE DELLE COLONNE
GRANDE BASAMENTO
DELLA STATVA DI GIOVE

Fig. 345.

[1] H. Winnefeld in *Pergamon* iii. 2. 50 ff. Atlas pl. 24 (=my pl. xlii), *Die Skulpturen des Pergamon-Museums in Photographien* Berlin 1903 pl. 15, C. Robert 'Die Götter in der pergamenischen Gigantomachie' in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 247 ff. fig. 8, A. von Salis *Der*

Relief from the eastern frieze of the great Altar at Pergamon, now in Berlin:
Zeus fighting Porphyrion.

See page 534, cp. *page* 56 *n.* o (5).

(fig. 346)[1] and its counterpart from Falerio (*Fallerone*) in Picenum

Altar von Pergamon Berlin 1912 pp. 54—57 fig. 3, W. H. Schuchhardt *Die Meister des grossen Frieses von Pergamon* Berlin—Leipzig 1925 p. 44 ff. pl. 22. See also Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 270 f. with fig. 198, B, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 520 ff. pl. 12, C. Picard *La sculpture antique de Phidias à l'ère Byzantine* Paris 1926 ii. 243, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Kunst der Antike <Hellas und Rom>* Berlin 1927 pp. 57, 687 with fig. 442.

The same subject, but without the *aigís*, is already found on the Gigantomachy-*amphora* with twisted handles, from Melos, now in the Louvre (no. S 1677) (bibliography *supra* ii. 435 nn. 4 and 5, iii. 56 n. o). This handsome vase, attributed by Furtwängler to the Talos Painter (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 193 ff. pls. 96 (=my pl. vii) and 97), is referred by Beazley to the *post*-Meidias period (J. D. Beazley *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 184), but even so must be more than two centuries earlier than the Pergamene frieze.

Vase and frieze presuppose a common original, perhaps the Pheidiac painting inside the shield of Athena *Parthénos* (*supra* ii. 435 n. 5).

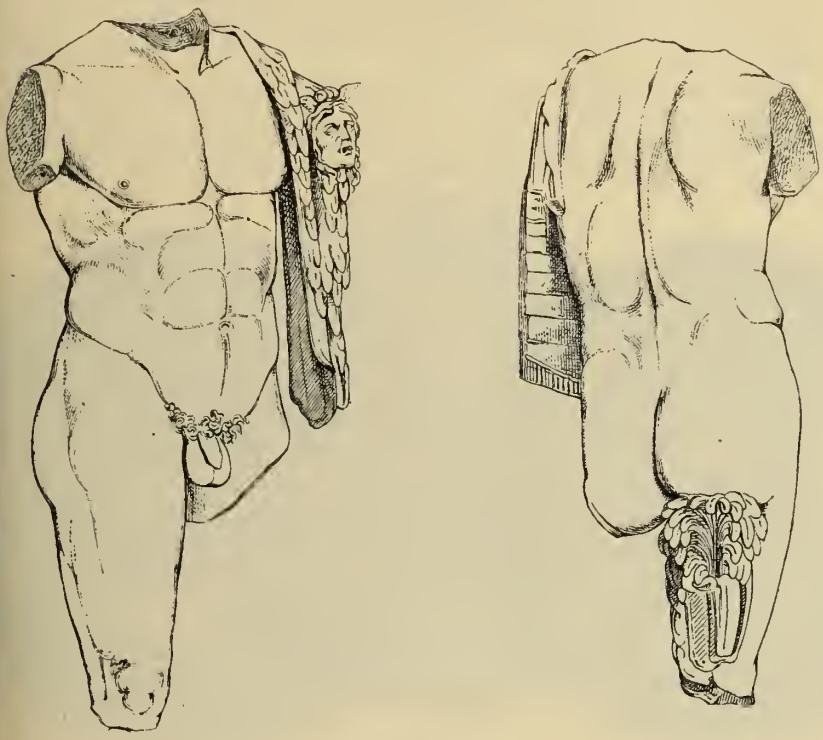
[1] E. Ghislanzoni 'Statua di Giove ed iscrizione onoraria agli imperatori Adriano ed Antonino Pio rinvenute in Cirene' in the *Notiziario archeologico* 1916 ii. 193—216 pls. 1 (groundplan of temple of Zeus etc.=my fig. 344), 2 (sections and bases=my fig. 345), 3 (statue of Zeus=my fig. 346), 4 (upper part of do.), G. Bagnani in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 238—241 pl. 18, 1 (statue of Zeus), 2 (statue of Athena), L. Mariani 'Zeus Aigiochos' in the *Notiziario archeologico* 1922 iii. 5—18 figs. 1 (statue of Zeus), 2 (upper part of do.), 3 (headless statue of Zeus in the Banco di Roma, transformed into a Perseus by the addition of a heroic head), 4 (torso of do.), 5—7 (head of do.), 8 (torso from Fallerone), 9 (statue from Atfih in the Cairo Museum), 10 f. (upper part of do.), C. Picard *La sculpture antique de Phidias à l'ère Byzantine* Paris 1926 ii. 429, 451.

On a terrace south of the Akropolis at Kyrene the Italians, in Aug. 1915, excavated the ruins of a temple overthrown by an earthquake in the second half of *s.* iv A.D. The temple, a tetrastyle prostyle building of the Corinthian order (20^m long × $12{\cdot}50^m$ wide), contained the remains of an oblong mosaic pavement and a large statue-base ($3{\cdot}60^m$ wide × $1{\cdot}50^m$ deep) set against the back-wall of the *cella*. On the pavement lay the figure of Zeus, broken but almost all there. The same site, in 1861, had yielded two female figures, a Hera (?) and an Athena (R. Murdoch Smith—E. A. Porcher *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene* London 1864 p. 106 nos. 120 and 121). The three together appear to have formed the favourite Capitoline triad (*supra* i. 45 fig. 14, 60 f. fig. 35, 781 fig. 566). Zeus now stands in the Museo di Bengasi (E. Ghislanzoni *loc. cit.* p. 211 fig. 11); his partners, in the British Museum (A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 255 nos. 1478 and 1479).

Zeus, an imposing statue ($2{\cdot}18^m$ high) in crystalline Parian marble, wears his *aigís* like a *chlamýs* over the left shoulder. His raised left hand rests on a long sceptre; his lowered right held a thunderbolt, as attribute rather than weapon. A tree-trunk (oak?) at his side and an eagle at his feet complete the figure, which should be regarded as an original of late Hellenistic times. Two inscriptions were found on the statue-base. One, of 138 A.D., occupies the broad side with a dedication to Hadrian and Antoninus Pius: *αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι, Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ | υἱῶ, Θεοῦ Νερούα υἱωνῶ, Τραιανῶ Ἀδριανῶ Σεβαστ[ῶ], | αὐτοκράτορι τὸ β′, ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστω, δημαρχι|κῆς ἐξουσίας κβ′, ὑπάτω τὸ γ′, πατρὶ πατρίδος, | σωτῆρι καὶ κτίστη, καὶ αὐτοκράτορι Τίτω Αἰλίω Καί|σαρι Ἀντωνείνω, υἱῶ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, | ἡ Κυρηναίων πόλις κοσμηθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ | καὶ το[ῖ]ς ἀγάλμασιν* (E. Ghislanzoni *loc. cit.* p. 197 fig. 1 gives a photographic facsimile, cp. *ib.* p. 205 fig. 8. G. Bagnani *loc. cit.* p. 238 has an inaccurate transcription). The other, on the narrow end of the base, reads *Ζηνίων | Ζηνίωνος* (E. Ghislanzoni *loc. cit.* p. 200 fig. 2)—sculptor? magistrate? priest? in any case a well-omened name (cp. *supra* ii. 921 n. o). Bagnani *loc. cit.* p. 241 concludes: 'My own theory is that when the temple of the Capitoline Triad was built or extensively restored by Hadrian, the people of Cyrene took as cult images a Zeus and an Athena of

Fig. 346.

(fig. 347)[1]. Zeus as conceived by the great cameo-artists of the Hellenistic age (pls. xliii, xliv and fig. 348)[2] wore an oak-wreath



a Fig. 347. *b*

the same late Hellenistic sculptor which stood in different buildings in Cyrene but were both of suitable size.... To complete the Triad they executed a statue of Sabina and dedicated the whole to the glory of the Emperor who had shown such signal interest in their welfare.' L. Mariani *loc. cit.* p. 10 fancies 'un' intenzionale somiglianza del Dio rappresentato coll' imperatore.'

[1] G. De Minicis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 21—23 ('un Apollo Libico'?), *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 2, 3[a] (=my fig. 347), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 247 f. (b.) ('so wird auch hier an einen Imperator im Zeuscostüm, nicht aber an den Gott selbst mit der Aegis zu denken sein'), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 108 no. 5, *id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 155 ('torse du Jupiter de Falerone, du même type à l'égide que le Jupiter récemment découvert à Cyrène'), *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 816 with Text iii. 38 by W. Amelung ('Die Figur wird ursprünglich den Kopf eines römischen Imperators getragen haben').

[2] A splendid Arabian sardonyx of two layers, whitish grey on opaque black, found at Ephesos towards the close of the eighteenth century, is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum of the Ducal Palace at Venice. It shows a majestic bust of Zeus, in three-quarter position, wearing oak-wreath and *aigís*. Furtwängler noted the Scopaic character of the design, but reached the right conclusion—'Ein herrliches Werk gewiss hellenistischer Zeit.' This is borne out by the abundant curling tresses of the head, its expression of

round his head and an *aigís* over his left shoulder. Even the

inward effortless triumph, and the pictorial quality of the whole (Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 2 f. pl. 1, 5, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 36 pl. 3, 7, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 243 ff. Gemmentaf. 3, 3, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 59, 8 (=my pl. xliii: scale ½), ii. 266, iii. 155, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 2, 2 (enlarged) p. 168).

Hardly less remarkable is a cameo of mottled green malachite, now in my collection and here published for the first time (pl. xliv: scale ½). Zeus appears as a noble full-face head, again wearing an oak-wreath (with three acorns) and a scaly *aigís* (in deeper green). This masterpiece may be placed somewhat later in the Hellenistic age than the sardonyx

a Fig. 348. *b*

above recorded, though earlier than such degenerate works as the mask from Otricoli in the Rotunda of the Vatican (Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 74 ff. no. 1 Atlas pl. 2, 1 f.), the bust from Pompeii in the Museum at Naples (*id. ib.* p. 82 f. no. 13 Atlas pl. 2, 3 f.), or the colossal head at Florence (*id. ib.* p. 86 f. no. 17 Atlas pl. 2, 5 f.). Malachite, obtained from mines between Suez and Sinai, was known to the Egyptians at a very early date (G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 p. 97), and amulets made of it have been widely credited with protective and curative powers (S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 30, *id. Die magischen Heil- und Schutzmittel* Stuttgart 1927 p. 261, cp. p. 282, W. M. Flinders Petrie *Amulets* London 1914 p. 52, Sir E. A. Wallis Budge *Amulets and Superstitions* Oxford 1930 p. 318). Pliny speaks of it as highly prized for making seals (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 114), though extant examples seem to be of the greatest rarity. Possibly malachite, like 'plasma' (*supra* i. 357 n. 4), was a rainy stone and as such deemed appropriate to Zeus.

Later still (*s.* ii B.C.?) and of much less merit is a grandiose circular sardonyx of three layers, now at Petrograd, which represents Zeus as a profile head with exaggerated frontal furrow and occipital curve: oak-wreath (one acorn) and *aigís* as before (Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 243 ff. Gemmentaf. 3, 4, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1881 p. 77 ff.

A sardonyx cameo from Ephesos, now in Venice :
Zeus with oak-wreath and *aigís*.

See page 537 *n.* 2.

A malachite cameo, now at Queens' College, Cambridge:
Zeus with oak-wreath and *aigís*.

See page 538 n. 0.

Fig. 349.

human Zeus was not complete without at least some hint of the *aigís*[1].

Demetrios i, the son and successor of Euthydemos i, expanded the kingdom of Baktria to include the Indus valley[2]. About 190 B.C. he struck silver tetradrachms (fig. 350)[3] bearing on the obverse his own bust, on the reverse Zeus standing with thunderbolt and sceptre. The Greek legend of the one side is translated by the Kharoshṭhī legend of the other. And it is at least possible that the

Fig. 350.

figure of Zeus the storm-god was intended as the Greek equivalent of the ancient[4] native god Indra. The reverse subject was repeated half a century later on the silver coins of Heliokles, both those struck in Baktria with a Greek legend and a purely Greek type

Atlas pl. 5, 1 (photograph of gem = my fig. 348, *a*: scale ½) and 2 (photograph of cast), Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 158 fig. 112, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 3, 1 (enlarged) p. 168. My fig. 348, *b* (scale ½) is from a cast by T. Cades *Collezione di N° 1400 Impronti delle migliori pietre incise, sì antiche, che moderne, ricavati dalle più distinte Collezioni conosciute dell' Europa* 1ma Classe, A 18).

It should be added that all three cameos owe something to the ever-popular type of Alexander, especially the thick neck, the upward glance, and the leonine hair above the forehead. If Alexander was figured in the likeness of Zeus (*supra* i. 57, 279), Zeus in turn borrowed an occasional trait from Alexander (see *e.g.* the Alexander-like Zeus in the *Casa dei Vettii* (*supra* i. 57 n. 4)). The ancients played on the parallel (*supra* i. 6 f.).

[1] *E.g. supra* ii. 811 n. 5 (Domitian?), 1194 (Nero, Domitian, Nerva).

A bronze statuette in the Fouquet Collection—of which several replicas are extant (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* v. 311 no. 7, 312 nos. 1, 4, 5, 6)—shows Alexander the Great wearing the *aigís* as his *chlamýs* (P. Perdrizet 'Un type inédit de la plastique grecque' in the *Mon. Piot* 1913 xxi. 59—72 figs. 1—7 pls. 4 and 5 (=my fig. 349). See further I. I. Bernoulli *Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen* München 1905 pp. 112 f. fig. 38, 126 ff. pl. 9, 1, 133 f. pl. 8, 3, C. C. Edgar 'A statue of a Hellenistic King' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 50—52 (Ptolemy ii Philadelphos?) pl. 2).

[2] Strab. 516, citing Apollodoros of Artemita *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 308 f. Müller) —a historian dating from the first half of *s.* i B.C. (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 399, 412 n. 2). See also G. Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 444 ff.

[3] R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 317 f. no. 2 pl. 14, 2, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 234 f. pl. 56, 3 (=my fig. 350): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ = *Maharajasa aparajitasa* | *Demetriyasa.* The coin is in the British Museum.

[4] *Supra* i. 190 n. 3, 741 n. 4.

(fig. 351)[1] and those struck in India with a bilingual legend[2] and a slightly orientalised type. The latter coins have for obverse design the king's bust[3], wearing sometimes a helmet marked with the head and wing of Medousa[4], sometimes a helmet with the horn and ear of a bull and an *aigís* over the left shoulder (fig. 352)[5]. Tetradrachms of the Indo-Scythian Azes are marked by progressive decadence (fig. 353)[6]. On the one side is the king on

Fig. 351.

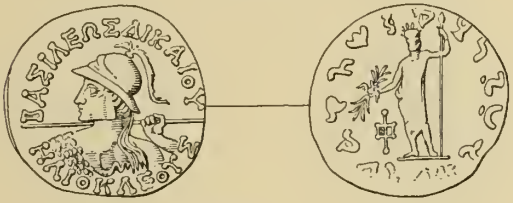


Fig. 352.

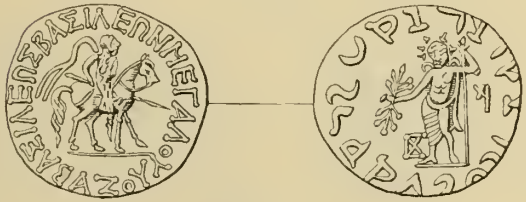


Fig. 353.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 21 pl. 7, 2 (=my fig. 351), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 839 fig. 370, G. Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 466 pl. 4, 8 tetradrachm of Attic weight. On the drachm (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins loc. cit.* pl. 7, 3) the head of Zeus is radiate.

[2] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ=*Maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa.*

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 23 pl. 7, 5 *statér* of Indian weight, cp. *ib.* p. 23 pl. 7, 6 quarter-*statér.*

[4] R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 321 f. pl. 14, 9.

[5] *Id. The Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of Northwestern India* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 13) New York 1922 pl. 6, 2 (=my fig. 352 from a cast), *id.* in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 322 pl. 14, 10.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 73 pl. 17, 9, V. A. Smith *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta* Oxford 1906 i. 43 no. 3. I figure

horseback with lance at rest; on the other, a radiate Zeus standing, with bolt and sceptre, in an attitude of oriental slackness. The pompous superscription is again bilingual.

Archebios, who reigned in the upper Kābul valley, gives more animation to his Zeus by making the god not merely hold but brandish the bolt (fig. 354)[1] and in some cases substituting the *aigís* for the sceptre (fig. 355)[2]. He also, following the example of Antialkidas (fig. 356)[3], issued square bilingual pieces in bronze with a dignified bust of Zeus on one side and the caps of the Dioskouroi on the other (fig. 357)[4].

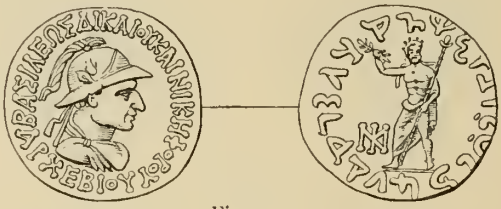


Fig. 354.

Fig. 355.

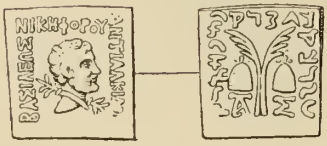


Fig. 356.

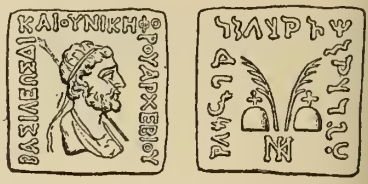


Fig. 357.

a specimen from the Tremlett collection, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ = *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahātasa Ayasa.*

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 32 pl. 9, 1—5, R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 323 pl. 14, 13 and 14 (=my fig. 354), pl. 15, 1 and 2.

[2] R. B. Whitehead *The Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of Northwestern India* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 13) New York 1922 pl. 6, 3, *id.* in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 322 f. pl. 14, 11 and 12 (=my fig. 355 from a cast).

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 27 pl. 8, 2. I figure a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings pl. 31, 5 (=my fig. 357), G. Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 591 pl. 8, 44.

No less dignified is the Zeus who appears on a silver coin of Peukolaos, another king in the upper Kābul valley. The god stands erect holding a long sceptre in his left hand and making a gesture with his outstretched right (fig. 358)[1]. The type recurs on a few rare tetradrachms of the Indo-Scythians Maues (fig. 359)[2] and Azes (fig. 360)[3].

A fresh and somewhat perplexing aspect of Zeus is found about 150 B.C. on tetradrachms of two contemporary and perhaps

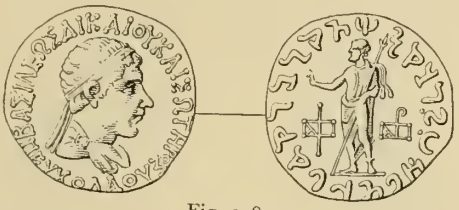


Fig. 358.

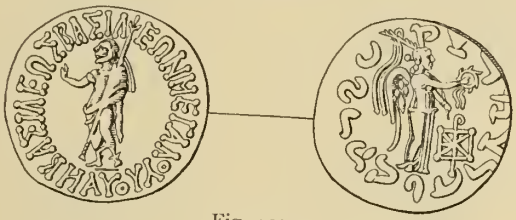


Fig. 359.

Fig. 360.

[1] R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 324 f. pl. 15, 4 ('The right hand may with outstretched finger and thumb be making a gesture of benediction or command. But I appear to see in the hand a small object in the shape of horns or a crescent...not a lotus'), Head *Coins of the Greeks* p. 81 pl. 45, 22 (=my fig. 358). E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 558 observes: 'The association of Peucolaus with Pushkalāvatī is proclaimed by his name, which is simply the adjective of Peucolaitis, an alternative form of the Greek Peucelaotis.'

[2] V. A. Smith *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta* Oxford 1906 p. 39 no. 6. I figure a specimen from the Tremlett collection, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 73 pl. 17, 8 ('r. hand advanced'), R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 340 ('thin, curved object in outstretched r. hand') pl. 17, 12 (=my fig. 360).

associated Bactrian rulers, Agathokles and Pantaleon. Agathokles has for reverse design Zeus holding Hekate as a torch-bearer on his extended right hand and leaning on a spear with his left (fig. 361)[1]. Pantaleon has Zeus holding the same Hekate and leaning on the same spear, but seated on a throne (fig. 362)[2]. Now the combination of Zeus with Hekate, though occasionally met with in the classical area[3], is hardly to be explained from Greek sources[4]. It is far more likely that we have here to do with the Hellenised version of a native Indian cult. Indra as a storm-god controlled both fire and water. Fire in the Vedic religion is Agni, and according to the *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[5] Agni had three

Fig. 361.

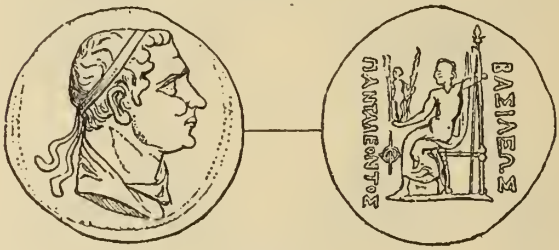


Fig. 362.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 10 pl. 4, 4 (=my fig. 361), cp. *ib.* pl. 4, 5 drachm, G. Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 449, 464 pl. 3, 6.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings pl. 30, 4 (=my fig. 362), G. Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 449, 465 pl. 3, 7.

[3] *Supra* i. 141 f. fig. 106 (double rock-cut throne on Chalke, inscribed Διός. Εκάτη[ς]), ii. 714 n. 3 (inscription at Stratonikeia honouring (*i*)*ερέα τοῦ* Πα[*ναμάρου Διὸς καὶ*] *τῆς* Εκάτης *τ*(*ῆ*)*ς* (*δ*)*αιδοφόρου*), ii. 835 n. 6, 838 (inscription at Rome by *sacerdus dei Brontontis et Aecate* (sic)).

[4] *Supra* i. 543 n. 1 Zeus and Hekate as parents of Britomartis (?).

[5] *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1. 2. 3. 1 f. (*The Satapatha-Brâhmaṇa* trans. J. Eggeling Part i (*The Sacred Books of the East* xii) Oxford 1882 p. 47): '1. Fourfold, namely, was Agni (fire) at first...[*ib.* 1. 3. 3. 13 ff. relates that the three former Agnis fled from fear of the thunderbolt] Thereupon the one who still constitutes the fire in our own time, concealed himself from fear. He entered into the waters. Him the gods discovered and brought forcibly away from the waters. He spat upon the waters, saying, "Bespitten are ye who are an unsafe place of refuge, from whom they take me away against my will!"

sons Ekata, Dvita, and Trita. Their names simply betoken 'First,' 'Second,' and 'Third.' But it certainly seems possible that Ekata child of the fire-god, was Grecised into a torch-bearing Hekate.

Further proof that in the upper Kābul valley Zeus was but another name for Indra may be had from the coinage of Eukratides and his successor Antialkidas. Certain square coppers of Apollodotos i Soter, re-struck by Eukratides *c.* 165 B.C., show the king's bust with a Greek legend on the obverse, a seated Zeus with a Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse (fig. 363)[1]. The latter describes

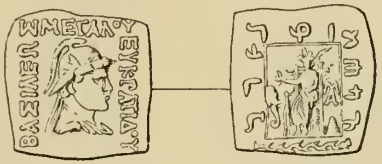


Fig. 363.

the god as 'the divinity of the city of Kāpiçī,' *i.e.* Kapisa[2] a city of the Paropanisadai visited in 630 A.D. by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsiang[3]:

'To the south-west of the capital was the *Pi-lo-sho-lo* Mountain. This name was given to the mountain from its presiding genius who had the form of an *elephant* and was therefore called *Pi-lo-sho-lo*[4].'

It will be seen that the forepart of the elephant in front of Zeus and the conical mountain behind him are alike appropriate to the god of Kapisa, here figured as Zeus enthroned with wreath and

Thence sprung the Âptya deities, Trita, Dvita, and Ekata. 2. They roamed about with Indra, even as nowadays a Brâhman follows in the train of a king....' Eggeling *ib.* p. 48 n. 0 comments: 'Trita, the Âptya (i.e. probably "sprung from, or belonging to the ap, or waters of the atmosphere"), seems to have been a prominent figure of the early Indo-Iranian mythology, the prototype, in many respects, of Indra, the favourite god of the Vedic hymns.... Dvita (the second) and Ekata are no doubt later abstractions suggested by the etymology of the name Trita (the third), although the former, Dvita, occurs already in the Vedic hymns.' See further *Hymns of the Atharva-veda* trs. M. Bloomfield (*The Sacred Books of the East* xlii) Oxford 1897 p. 521, A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 68 f., *id.* in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1921 xii. 604[b].

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 19 pl. 6, 8 (my fig. 363 is drawn from the cast of an uncatalogued specimen in the British Museum), E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 555 f., 560, 590 pl. 7, 36. *Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. *Rev. Kaviçiye nagara devatā.*

[2] A. Herrmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1898 f.

[3] J. Takakusu in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1921 ii. 841[a]—843[b].

[4] T. Watters *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629—645 A.D.* London 1904 i. 259. On the Sanskrit *pîlú-*, 'elephant,' see Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 245[a].

palm. A handsome tetradrachm of Attic weight issued by Antialkidas has room for greater detail (fig. 364)[1]. On the obverse is the royal bust within a fillet-border. On the reverse, surrounded by a Greek legend, a radiate Zeus clad in *chitón* and *himátion* sits on a decorative throne holding a long sceptre in his left hand and a Nike with wreath and palm in his right. In front of him appears the forepart of an elephant, which wears a bell round its neck and uplifts its trunk in salutation. A rare tetradrachm of the same ruler, struck on the Indian standard with bilingual legend, shows

Fig. 364.

Fig. 365.

Zeus parading with his elephant, which carries Nike on his head, wears a bell on his neck, and again raises his trunk at the salute (fig. 365)[2]. It will be remembered that Indra's famous elephant, Airâvata or Airâvaṇa[3], played a prominent part in the battles of

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 25 pl. 7, 9 (=my fig. 364).

E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 431 f. quotes from the *Book of Peace*, a late addition to the *Mahā-Bhārata*, the famous episode of the White Island (12. 337. 20 ff.): 'Three priests with the insignificant names "First, Second, Third,"[3] [[3]Ekata, Dvita, Trita] go to the far North (*diç uttarā*) where, in the "Sea of Milk," they find an Albion called "White Island," perhaps regarded as one of the seven or thirteen "islands," of which earth consists; and there Vishnu is worshipped as the one god by white men of extraordinary physical characteristics.'

[2] R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 325 f. pl. 15, 5. I figure a specimen of mine, formerly in the White King collection (*White King Sale Catalogue* Amsterdam 1904 pl. 1, 50). *Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦοΡοΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔοΥ. *Rev. Maharajasa jayadharasa Aṃtialikidasa.*

[3] M. Winternitz *A concise Dictionary of Eastern Religion* Oxford 1910 p. 34. Cp. Dr Vollmer's *Wörterbuch der Mythologie aller Völker*. Neu bearbeitet von Dr W. Binder Stuttgart 1874 p. 23 *s.v.* 'Airaput.'

his master[1]. The elephant that occurs so frequently on the Indian and Graeco-Indian coinages of the Kābul valley and north-western India—I figure bronze pieces struck by Menandros *c.* 165 (?) B.C. (fig. 366)[2], Maues *c.* 72 B.C. (fig. 367)[3], and Azes i *c.* 58 B.C. (fig. 368)[4] —must be identified with, or at least derived from[5], this same redoubtable beast, is in fact ultimately none other than the theriomorphic storm-god.

Fig. 366.

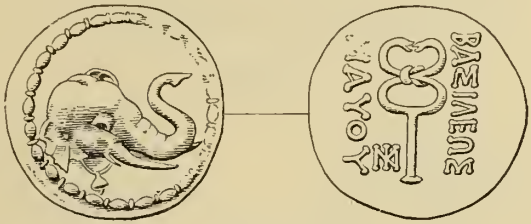


Fig. 367.

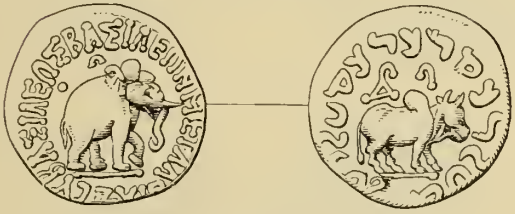


Fig. 368.

Fig. 369.

[1] A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 92.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 50 pl. 12, 6 (=my fig. 366), C. J. Brown *The Coins of India* Calcutta 1922 p. 26 pl. 2, 6.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 68 pl. 16, 1 (=my fig. 367), E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 p. 586 pl. 6, 2, C. J. Brown *The Coins of India* Calcutta 1922 p. 28 pl. 3, 4.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 87 pl. 19, 7 (=my fig. 368).

[5] So Professor Rapson *loc. cit.* p. 557.

Quasi-Greek in effect is a unique tetradrachm of Amyntas (*c.* 100—50 B.C.), which shows on one side a helmeted bust of the king wearing the *aigís* and thrusting a lance, on the other a radiate Zeus clad in *chitón* and *himátion*, who sits on a decorative throne with a long sceptre and a palm-branch in his left hand and Athena (not Nike) in his right (fig. 369)[1].

Finally tetradrachms of Hermaios (figs. 370, 371)[2], successor of Amyntas and last Yavana prince of the house of Eukratides, from

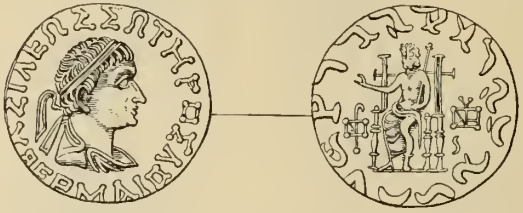


Fig. 370.

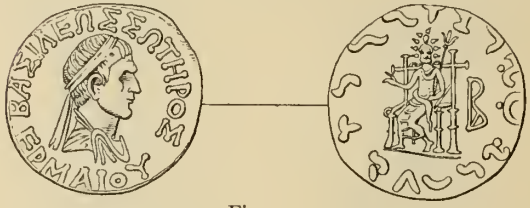


Fig. 371.

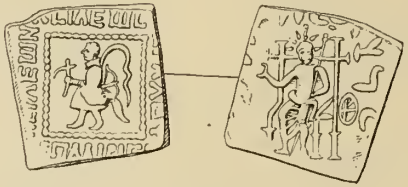


Fig. 372.

[1] R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 332 pl. 15, 7. My fig. 369 is from casts kindly sent to me by Mr Whitehead, who *loc. cit.* points out that even on the drachms of Amyntas (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 61 pl. 14, 10) the tiny figure carried by Zeus is not the usual Nike, but the exceptional Athena.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 62 f. pl. 15, 1, 2, and 4 (=my fig. 370 from an electrotype), cp. *ib.* p. 62 ff. pl. 15, 3, 5; 6, 7, Head *Coins of the Ancient* p. 109 pl. 62, 21, R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 339 f. pl. 17, 9—11. My fig. 371 is from casts of no. 10 given me by Mr Whitehead.

Square bronze pieces issued by Spalirises have *obv.* the king standing with battle-axe and bow, *rev.* the same type of Zeus enthroned (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 101 pl. 22, 2. I figure a specimen in the Fitzwilliam collection). ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ CΠΑΛΙΡΙCΟΥ = *Maharajasa māhātakasa Spalirisas*

c. 50 B.C. onwards combine the enthroned type of Zeus with the gesture first seen on the coin of Peukolaos[1]. This gesture, if I am not mistaken, is simply one variety of that ancient world-wide superstition, the prophylactic use of horns[2].

Another example of a local rain-god identified by the Greeks with their Zeus is that of the Philistine Marna or Marnas[3]. Bronze

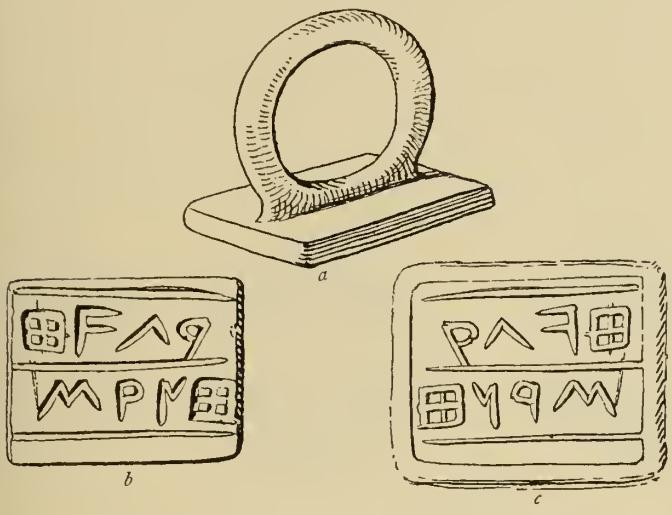


Fig. 373.

[1] *Supra* p. 543 fig. 358.

[2] C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 103 f., 124, F. T. Elworthy *Horns of Honour* London 1900 pp. 1—315, I. Scheftelowitz 'Das Hörnermotiv in den Religionen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 451—487 ('1 Die ursprüngliche Darstellung der Götter in Tiergestalt' (451—456). '2 Die Hörner am Haupt der Götter' (456—460). '3 Dämonen mit Hörnern' (460 f.). '4 Die Beziehungen der Götterhörner zum Monde' (461—471). '5 Hörner auf dem Haupte der Könige und Priester als Symbol göttlicher Macht' (471—473). '6 Hörner am Altar als Symbol der Heiligkeit' (473 f.). '7 Hornamulette zur Abwehr von dämonischen Einflüssen und zur Überwindung feindlicher Angriffe' (474—483). '8 Die magischen Wirkungen des Horns als Behälter und Blasinstrument' (483—487)), *id.* 'Horn I.' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1931 iv. 325—327, J. A. MacCulloch 'Horns' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* 1913 vi. 791[b]—796[a] ('1. Divinities with horns' 792[a]—793[a]). '2. Semi-divine and demoniac beings with horns' (793[a–b]). '3. Horned men' (793[b]—794[a]). '4. Magical aspects of horns' (794[a]—796[a]). '5. Horns in sacrificial and other rites' (796[a])), *supra* i. 506—521 ('Ritual Horns').

[3] On whom see the painstaking, though hardly exhaustive, article by K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 1899—1906. This should be supplemented by the admirable survey of my friend Professor S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 pp. 180—186. See also W. W. Baudissin 'Ombrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte' Giessen 1929 pp. 38 ff., iv. 5, 186 f.

I take this opportunity of publishing a bronze seal (fig. 373), which came to me with a parcel of miscellaneous antiquities from Egypt. The inscription (fig. 373, *b*) is deeply

coins of Gaza struck by Hadrian (figs. 374[1], 375[2]) and again by Faustina Iunior and Lucilla[3], Septimius Severus[4], Caracalla[5], Plautilla[6], and Geta[7] show the façade of a temple within which stand two youthful deities, apparently Apollon with his bow confronting the huntress Artemis. Fortunately for our understanding of the scene, the Apolline figure is expressly named *Marnas* (or more often *Marna*), and Sir G. F. Hill[8] has made out a strong case for regarding this divine pair as Marnas, the young Cretan Zeus, who—be it remembered—was himself a hunter[9], with Britomartis, a Cretan form of Artemis[10]. The pair bore names of kindred origin and significance; for if *Marnas* recalls the Cretan *marna*, 'virgin[11],' and denotes simply 'young man,' *Brito-martis* is said to have been a Cretan term for 'sweet maid[12].' Consorts could hardly have been

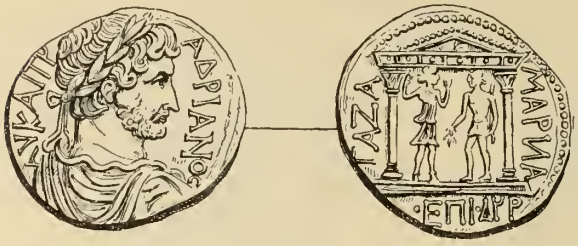


Fig. 374.

Fig. 375.

better matched. Naturally, however, among a Semitic people the name *Marnas* was re-interpreted as *Marna*, 'our Lord,' and tended to drop its final sibilant[13].

incised in an archaic alphabet of Graeco-Phoenician character (see *e.g.* Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* p. 4 § 4), and Professor S. Langdon has suggested to me that the second line of the impression (fig. 373, *c*) contains in retrograde script the name *Marnas* (𐤌𐤓𐤍𐤎). But the first line, though perfectly legible, remains obscure (𐤒 ? 𐤋 𐤌 = *s w l* (or *g*) *q*?).

[1] F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 216 pl. 11, 4 (=my fig. 374), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. lxxv ff., 146 f. pl. 15, 10, S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 180 pl. 34, 29.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. lxxv n. 3, 146 f. pl. 15, 11 (=my fig. 375).

[3] *Ib.* p. 158 pl. 16, 6. [4] *Ib.* p. 161 no. 119. [5] *Ib.* p. 164 no. 133.

[6] *Ib.* p. 165 no. 135. [7] *Ib.* p. 166 no. 137.

[8] G. F. Hill *Some Palestinian Cults in the Graeco-Roman Age* (extr. from the *Proceedings of the British Academy* v) London 1912 pp. 13—17, *id. The Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza, by Mark the Deacon* Oxford 1913 pp. 1—152 (noticed by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 317 f.).

[9] *Supra* i. 157 n. 3, 645, 652, 663 n. 2, ii. 522, 727.

[10] *Supra* i. 542 n. 4. [11] *Supra* i. 149 n. 1.

[12] *Supra* i. 542 n. 3, cp. 543 n. 1.

[13] The point is contested (K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 1899 f.) Sir G. F. Hill *Some Palestinian Cults* p. 16 f. concludes 'that the two deities, looking like Apollo and Artemis, in the temple at Gaza, are Marnas and his consort Britomartis

Markos Diakonos[1], writing *c.* 420 A.D.[2], tells how in 395 the people of Gaza ascribed a two months' drought to the presence in their midst of Saint Porphyrios. They therefore offered sacrifices and prayers to Marnas, whom they took to be 'lord of showers' and identified with Zeus[3], or more particularly with Zeus *Kretagenés*[4]. For a week they continued reciting hymns and resorting to a place outside their city called the place of prayer. But, when nothing happened, they gave up the attempt to coerce their god and returned to their usual avocations. The Christians then, men, women, and children, to the number of 280 came together and besought Saint Porphyrios to go out with them and pray for rain. He agreed to do so, proclaimed a fast, and bade all keep a night-long vigil in the Holy Church. This they did, with thirty prayers and as many genuflexions, not to mention choruses chanted and the lessons read. At dawn they took the standard of the Cross and, the saint at their head, proceeded with hymns to the Old Church, founded by Bishop Asklepas, on the west of the city, where again they offered the

the Cretan Zeus and the Cretan Artemis, connected in name in the same way as Zeus and Dione; and that the name Marnas is probably Cretan in origin, its Syrian appearance being fortuitous.' Contrariwise Prof. S. A. Cook *op. cit.* p. 182 ff. argues that *Marna*, primarily a Semitic name, was later etymologized to suit the Cretan *Marnas*. However, that the god was really of Cretan extraction seems clear, not only from the statements of Epiphanios (*ancor.* 106 (i. 209 Dindorf) καὶ Μαρνᾶς δοῦλος Ἀστερίου τοῦ Κρητὸς παρὰ Γαζαίοις), Markos Diakonos (*infra* p. 553 n. 1), and Stephanos of Byzantion (*supra* i. 149 n. 1), but also from other mythological evidence (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 248 ff.) and above all from a mass of archaeological *data* (see *e.g.* F. B. Welch 'The Influence of the Aegean Civilisation on South Palestine' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 117—124 (ceramics), H. Thiersch in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1908 xxiii Arch. Anz. p. 378 ff. (ceramics), A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 77—94 ('Cretan Philistines and the Phoenician Alphabet'), R. A. S. Macalister *The Philistines: their History and Civilization* London 1913 pp. 106—113, *id.* in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 840[b] ff., H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1924 ii. 283—295, J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Berkeley, California 1930 pp. 126—131).

[1] Mark. Diak. *v. Porphyrii episcopi Gazensis* 19 ff. This remarkable biography, known at first from the Latin rendering by Gentianus Hervetus in the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Februarius iii. 643 ff. (lxv. 1211 ff. Migne), was published in Greek, from a MS. at Vienna (cod. Vindob. hist. Gr. 3), by M. Haupt in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1874* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 171 ff., and, with the help of a better MS. at Oxford (cod. Barocc. Gr. 238), by the Societatis Philologae Bonnensis Sodales as a Teubner text (Lipsiae 1895). See further A. Nuth *De Marci Diaconi vita Porphyrii episcopi Gazensis quaestiones historicae et grammaticae* Bonnae 1897 pp. 1—61.

[2] H. Dörries in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 1867.

[3] Mark. Diak. *v. Porph.* 19 ὡς δὲ ἐπέμενεν μὴ βρέχων ὁ θεὸς τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μῆνα καλούμενον Δῖον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν δεύτερον Ἀπελλαῖον, πάντες ἐθλίβοντο. συναχθέντες δὲ οἱ τῆς εἰδωλομανίας εἰς τὸ Μαρνεῖον, πολλὰς θυσίας καὶ εὐχὰς ἐποίουν τούτου ἕνεκεν· ἔλεγον γὰρ τὸν Μάρναν κύριον εἶναι τῶν ὄμβρων, τὸν δὲ Μάρναν λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν Δία.

[4] *Id. ib.* 64 (quoted *infra* p. 553 n. 1).

same number of prayers. Then on to the shrine of the martyr Timotheos, which contained also the relics of the martyr Maior and the confessor Thea. Once more they offered the same number of prayers and genuflexions. After which they returned to the city, with three prayers and three genuflexions on the way. But here a hitch occurred. They found the city-gates closed against them by the jealous heathen, and a two hours' wait ensued. Thereupon God, beholding their patience, in his mercy stirred up a strong south wind. The sky clouded over, lightnings and thunders began at sundown, and so heavy a rain fell that it looked more like hail. Sundry Greeks, beholding these marvels, believed and opened the gates. They joined the Christians, shouting: 'Christ alone is God—He alone has conquered.' The saint had them into the Holy Church, where he baptised 78 men, 35 women, and 14 children of whom 5 were girls. That night and the next day rain fell in such abundance that all men feared the collapse of houses, most of which were of crude brick. 'Our Lord Jesus Christ'—we read[1]—'spent from the 8th to the 10th of Audynaios (January 3—5) in raining,' and on the 11th his followers celebrated the Epiphany with hymns and thanksgivings. Indeed, the same year witnessed the accession of another 105 to their numbers.

The sequel is too long to quote in detail. But it appears that Porphyrios was vexed with the ungodly conduct of the idolaters; for at Gaza they still dealt in divinatory dreams, especially at the Marneion[2]. So he wrote a letter of protest to Ioannes Chrysostomos, Bishop of Constantinople, who informed Eutropios the Chamberlain, who in turn brought his influence to bear upon Arkadios. The upshot was an edict that the temples of Gaza be closed and the traffic in divination stopped. Hilarios, an imperial commissioner, was sent to Gaza to carry out this decision. He did close the temples in general and overthrew their idols. But, in return for a substantial bribe, he allowed the traffic of Marnas to continue. Porphyrios then went in person to visit Ioannes the metropolitan of Kaisareia in Palestine; and together they repaired to Rhodes, where the anchorite Prokopios informed them that Chrysostom was not a *persona grata* at court and commended them to Amantios, Chamberlain of the Empress Eudoxia. The two Bishops reached Constantinople on 7 January 401. Eudoxia received them favourably

[1] *Id. ib.* 21 ἐποίησεν δὲ βρέχων ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀπαύστως ἀπὸ τῆς ὀγδόης Αὐδυναίου μέχρι τῆς δεκάτης. κ.τ.λ. The naïve phraseology would be hard to parallel. ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν is, of course, the Christian rendering of *Marna* (*supra* p. 550).

[2] *Id. ib.* 26 ἔτι γὰρ ἐχρημάτιζον ἐν Γάζῃ, μάλιστα τὸ καλούμενον Μαρνεῖον.

and herself broached the matter to Arkadios, who at first was unwilling to take action. The Bishops, however, prayed that Eudoxia, then pregnant, might bear him a son; and she promised that, if this should befall, she would do all they wanted and further found a Christian church in the heart of Gaza. And so it fell out. Theodosios ii was born, and Arkadios, moved by gratitude, granted the Christian petition. The Bishops returned *viâ* Rhodes, reached Gaza on 1 May 401, and were followed ten days later by the arrival of the commissioner Kynegios and a large body of troops. These at once set about the task of demolishing the eight idolatrous temples of Gaza—those of Helios, Aphrodite, Apollon, Kore, and Hekate, the Heroeion, the Tychaion of Tyche, and, most famous of all, the Marneion of Zeus *Kretagenés*[1]. But the priests of Marnas, getting wind of this attack, barricaded the doors of the inner temple with big stones, brought all valuables down into the *ádyta*, concealed there also the effigies of the gods, and themselves escaped through the same *ádyta* by a variety of ways leading upwards[2]. The attackers thus repulsed turned their attention to the other temples, overthrew some, fired others, and plundered all their treasures. Saint Porphyrios, however, strictly forbade the Christians to partake in such looting. For ten days the crowd laid waste the temples. There was some doubt as to the fitting treatment of the Marneion —should it be demolished? should it be burnt? should it be purified and consecrated as a church?—till the Bishop proclaimed a fast and a solemn evening service. At this a boy, seven years old, who stood there with his mother, suddenly cried aloud: 'Burn the inner

[1] *Id. ib.* 64 ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ναοὶ εἰδώλων δημόσιοι ὀκτώ, τοῦ τε Ἡλίου καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Κόρης καὶ τῆς Ἑκάτης καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Ἡρωεῖον (ἠροῖον cod. Paris. bibl. nat. 1452. ἱερωΐων codd. Barocc., Vindob.) καὶ <τὸ (*ins.* Haupt)> τῆς Τύχης τῆς πόλεως, ὃ ἐκάλουν Τυχαῖον (τύχεον cod. Vindob.), καὶ τὸ Μαρνεῖον (μαρνίον codd. Barocc., Vindob.), ὃ ἔλεγον εἶναι τοῦ Κρηταγενοῦς (κρητὰ γένους cod. Paris. bibl. nat. 1452. κρίτα γένους codd. Barocc., Vindob. The correction was made by Henschen) Διός, ὃ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι ἐνδοξότερον πάντων τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ.

Proklos the neo-Platonist, who held that the philosopher should be the hierophant of all mankind, composed a special hymn in honour of Marnas (Marin. *v. Procl.* 19 δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ τῶν ὕμνων αὐτοῦ πραγματεία, οὐ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι μόνον τιμηθέντων ἐγκώμια περιέχουσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μάρναν Γαζαῖον ὑμνοῦσα καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν Λεοντοῦχον Ἀσκαλωνίτην καὶ Θυανδρίτην ἄλλον Ἀραβίοις πολυτίμητον θεὸν καὶ Ἶσιν τὴν κατὰ τὰς Φίλας ἔτι τιμωμένην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἁπλῶς ἅπαντας. καὶ γὰρ πρόχειρον ἐκεῖνο εἶχεν ἀεὶ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ θεοσεβέστατος ἀνήρ, ὅτι τὸν φιλόσοφον προσήκει οὐ μιᾶς τινὸς πόλεως οὐδὲ τῶν παρ' ἐνίοις πατρίων εἶναι θεραπευτὴν κοινῇ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου κόσμου ἱεροφάντην).

[2] Hence Hieron. *epist.* 107. 2 iam et Aegyptius Serapis factus est Christianus; Marnas Gazae luget inclusus et eversionem templi iugiter pertremiscit. Cp. *eund. comment. in Isaiam prophetam* 17 (xxiv. 241 Migne) Serapion Alexandriae et Marnae templum Gazae in ecclesias domini surrexerunt.

temple down to the ground, for many dreadful things have happened there, and, most dreadful of all, the sacrifices of men! Burn it on this wise. Bring liquid pitch and sulphur and pigs' lard. Mix the three and anoint therewith the doors of bronze. Then set fire to them, and so the whole temple is burnt: otherwise, it cannot be. But leave the outer temple with its precinct. And after the burning purify the place and there found a Holy Church[1].' This inspired utterance he repeated, first in the Syrian tongue, later in Greek. The Christians, accordingly, with the help of Kynegios and the magistrates followed the boy's advice and burnt the Marneion to the ground. The conflagration, which lasted many days, was succeeded by a house-to-house search for idols and books of magic used in the idolaters' initiatory rites[2]. So the great pagan temple was utterly destroyed in June 402, and a Christian church, which took five years to build, was erected on the site of it. Some advised the preservation of the old circular plan; but Porphyrios, accepting the plan furnished by Eudoxia, preferred a cruciform structure and dedicated the same on Easter Day 407, calling it Eudoxiane after its illustrious patroness.

Incidentally we learn various details about the old Marneion. It was circular, it was surrounded by two concentric colonnades, and it had by way of centre an elevated dome[3]. It had also a veneer of marble incrustations, which were regarded as sacred and restricted

Mark. Diak. *v. Porph.* 65 *καὶ πρῶτον βουληθέντες καταστρέψαι* [*τὰ εἴδωλα καὶ*] *τὸ Μαρνεῖον ἀνεκρούσθησαν· οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς τοῦ εἰδώλου ἐκείνου προακούσαντες ἔσωθεν τὰς θύρας τοῦ ἐνδοτέρου ναοῦ λίθοις μεγάλοις προέφραξαν καὶ καταγαγόντες εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα ἄδυτα ὅσα ἦν τῷ ἱερῷ τίμια σκεύη, ἔτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ζῴδια τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ ἔκρυψαν καὶ διὰ* (H. Usener cj. *ἐκ*) *τῶν αὐτῶν ἀδύτων ἔφυγον δι' ἄλλων ἀνόδων· ἔλεγον γὰρ τὰ εἰρημένα ἄδυτα ἔχειν πολλὰς ἀνόδους εἰς διαφόρους τόπους.*

[1] *Id. ib.* 66 (cp. 68) *καύσατε τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἔνδον ἕως ἐδάφους· πολλὰ γὰρ δεινὰ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ, μάλιστα αἱ ἀνθρώπων θυσίαι. τοιούτῳ δὲ τρόπῳ καύσατε αὐτόν. ἀγάγετε ὑγρὰν πίσσαν <καὶ> θεῖον καὶ στέαρ χοίρειον καὶ μίξατε τὰ τρία καὶ χρίσατε τὰς χαλκᾶς θύρας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὸ πῦρ ἐπιβάλετε, καὶ οὕτως πᾶς ὁ ναὸς καίεται· ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν δυνατόν. τὸν δὲ ἐξώτερον ἐάσατε σὺν τῷ περιβόλῳ. καὶ μετὰ τὸ καῆναι καθάραντες τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖ κτίσατε ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν.* All this, and more, in the Syrian tongue. Porphyrios adjured the boy's mother to tell him whether the utterance was due to any trickery. She most solemnly denied it and suggested that the saint should examine the boy with threats. So the Bishop had a whip fetched and the boy hoisted up, while the whip-holder bade him confess or be beaten on the spot. The boy at first remained silent, but suddenly repeated exactly the same advice in the Greek language, which neither he nor his mother had learned!

[2] *Id. ib.* 71 *εὑρίσκοντο δὲ καὶ βιβλία πεπληρωμένα γοητείας, ἅτινα ἱερὰ αὐτοὶ ἔλεγον, ἐξ ὧν τὰς τελετὰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀθέμιτα ἐποίουν οἱ τῆς εἰδωλομανίας, καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἴσα τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτῶν ἔπασχον.*

[3] *Id. ib.* 75 *συνεβούλευον οὖν τινες κτισθῆναι αὐτὴν κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ εἰδωλείου· στρογγυλοειδὲς γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν, περιβεβλημένον δυσὶν στοαῖς ἀλληλοεσωτέραις, τὸ δὲ μέσον*

to a place that no man, and certainly no woman, might enter: Porphyrios set them in the pavement outside the new Church on purpose that they might be trodden under foot, not only by men, but by women, dogs, pigs, and cattle—an outrage which offended the idolaters more deeply than the burning of their temple; indeed most of them, particularly the women, thenceforth refused to walk on those marble slabs[1]. Within the precinct were certain wells, one of considerable depth, equipped with buckets, ropes, and a wooden top, being at the west end of the Christian Church[2].

Finally, it is tempting to conclude that this round building, with concentric colonnades, underground chambers, and secret means of egress, dedicated moreover to Zeus *Kretagenés* in whose service human victims were slain, really did—as we have already suggested[3] —bear a significant resemblance to the Cretan Labyrinth. Gaza *Minóa* presupposes Minos[4].

Be that as it may, Marnas was admittedly equated with Zeus. A stone embedded in a modern wall at Kanatha (*Ḳanawât*) in the *Ḥaurân* reads:

'Annelos, son of Kamasanos, made this for Zeus Marnas the Lord[5].'

Further, it is on record[6] that a certain Septimius Arabianus (whose name points to his nationality), a man notorious for alleged thefts but set at liberty by Heliogabalus, once came among the senators

αὐτοῦ ἦν ἀναφυσητὸν κιβώριον καὶ ἀνατεταμένον εἰς ὕψος, εἶχεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἃ τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἔπρεπεν, εὔθετα δὲ πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα παρὰ τῶν εἰδωλομανῶν μυσαρά τε καὶ ἀθέμιτα.

On the architecture see further Sir G. F. Hill *Some Palestinian Cults* p. 14 f. with n. 1 on p. 15, R. A. S. Macalister *The Philistines: their History and Civilization* p. 110 ff.

[1] Mark. Diak. *v. Porph.* 76 ἐκχοϊσθείσης οὖν τῆς τέφρας καὶ πάντων τῶν βδελυγμάτων περιαιρεθέντων τὰ ὑπολειφθέντα σκύβαλα τῆς μαρμαρώσεως τοῦ Μαρνείου, ἅπερ ἔλεγον ἱερὰ εἶναι καὶ ἐν τόπῳ ἀβάτῳ τυγχάνειν, μάλιστα γυναιξίν, ταῦτα συνεῖδεν ὁ ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἔξω εἰς τὴν πλατεῖαν πλακωθῆναι, ἵνα καταπατῶνται οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κυνῶν καὶ χοίρων καὶ κνωδάλων. τοῦτο δὲ πλέον ἐλύπησεν τοὺς εἰδωλολάτρας τῆς καύσεως τοῦ ναοῦ. ὅθεν οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, μάλιστα αἱ γυναῖκες, οὐκ ἐπιβαίνουσιν τοῖς μαρμάροις ἕως τοῦ νῦν.

[2] *Id. ib.* 80 φρέατα τυγχάνουσιν ἔσωθεν τοῦ περιβολαίου τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἐξ ὧν ἐστιν ἓν ἀπὸ δυτικοῦ μέρους τῆς νῦν ἁγίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, οὐκ ὀλίγον βάθος ἔχον. κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Supra* i. 478, S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 180.

[4] *Supra* i. 235 with fig. 174.

[5] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* etc. iii no. 2412*g* Ἀννηλ[ο]ς Καμασάνου ἐπόησε Διὶ Μάρνᾳ τῷ κυρίῳ.

[6] Septimius *frag.* 1 Peter *ap.* Lamprid. *v. Alex. Sev.* 17. 3 f. nam cum quidam Septimius Arabianus (so H. Peter for *Arabinus* codd. *B. P.*, ed. Med.), famosus crimine furtorum et sub Heliogabalo iam liberatus, inter senatores principem salutatum venisset, exclamavit: 'O Marna, o Iuppiter, *o* di inmortales, Arabianus (*Arabinus* ed. Med.) non solum vivit, verum etiam in senatum venit, fortassis etiam de me sperat: tam fatuum, tam stultum esse me iudicat?'

to salute Alexander Severus. The indignant Emperor cried out: 'O Marnas, o Iupiter, o gods immortal, Arabianus is not only alive, but actually ventures into the Senate and, like as not, hopes to get something out of me: does he deem me such a fatuous fool?' The combination '*O Marna, o Iuppiter*' amounts—as Friedländer[1] saw—to a virtual identification. It is probable that Marnas, like other oriental deities[2], had a cult-centre as far west as Ostia. An inscription[3] found at Portus Traiani states that the men of Gaza, at the bidding of their ancestral god, were honouring their benefactor the Emperor M. Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix by the hand of Ti. Claudius Papirius custodian of the sanctuary.

Marnas as 'lord of showers' must also have been a god responsible for the fertility of the land and for the very life of its

Fig. 376.

Fig. 377.

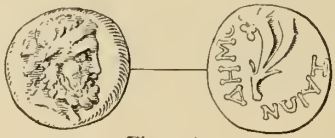


Fig. 378.

inhabitants. As such he seems to have acquired a fresh appellation, *Aldémios* or *Áldos*[4]. Perhaps he had a specialised cult on the hill *Aldíoma*, which lay on the east side of Gaza and furnished great stones for the foundation of the Christian Church[5].

Zeus *Kretagenés* was conceived sometimes as an infant[6], sometimes as a youth[7], sometimes as a full-bearded god[8]. Marnas too had his variations of type. On coins of Gaza from the time of

[1] L. Friedländer *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine*[8] Leipzig 1910 iv. 151 n. 2.

[2] G. Calza *Ostia*[2] Milano—Roma (1933) p. 18.

[3] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 926 ἀγα(θ)ῇ τύχῃ. | αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα | M. Ἀντώνιον | Γορδιανὸν Εὐσεβῆ | Εὐτυχῆ Σεβαστόν, | τὸν θεοφιλέστατον | κοσμοκράτορα ἡ πόλις | ἡ τῶν Γαζαίων ἱερὰ καὶ | ἄσυλος καὶ αὐτόνομος, | πιστὴ (καὶ?) εὐσεβής, λαμπρὰ | καὶ μεγάλη ἐξ ἐνκ(ε)λ(ε)ύσεως | τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ | τὸν ἑαυτῆς εὐεργέτην | διὰ Τιβ. Κλ(αυδίου) Παπειρίου | ἐπιμελητοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. The restoration ἐξ ἐνκελεύσεως is due to P. Wesseling. G. Kaibel *ad loc.*: 'Deus patrius Marnas est.'

[4] *Supra* ii. 675 n. 4, 1187 n. 0.

[5] Mark. Diak. *v. Porph.* 79.

[6] *Supra* i. 51 f. figs. 27 and 28, 150 figs. 116 and 117, 401 fig. 298 (?).

[7] *Supra* p. 550 n. 9.

[8] *Supra* i. 149 figs. 113—115.

Hadrian to that of of Geta (figs. 374, 375)[1] he is a youthful hunter. Under Gordianus Pius (fig. 376)[2], though still youthful, he approximates more closely to the normal aspect of Zeus; for, while raising his right hand, he holds a thunderbolt on his left arm and sometimes has an eagle at his feet[3] or else is crowned by Nike standing on a column behind him. On bronze pieces issued *c.* 250—150 B.C. (fig. 377)[4] he appears as a mature man half-draped in a *himátion* and uplifting a wreath. On other bronze pieces struck in *s.* ii or i B.C. (fig. 378)[5] a laureate head with a bushy beard is aptly described by Sir G. F. Hill as 'Zeus, that is to say Marnas.'[6]

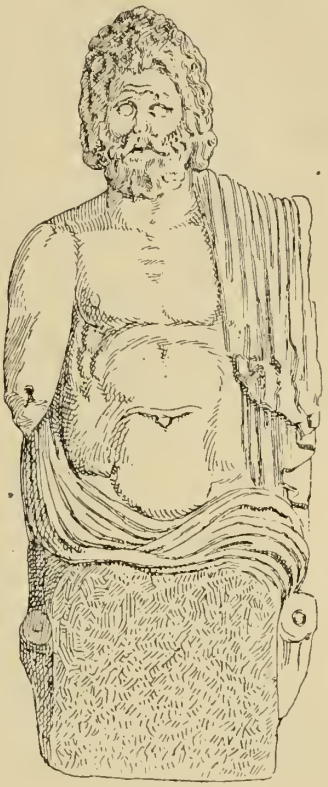


Fig. 379.

The same god is represented on a colossal scale by a figure found near Gaza in 1879 and now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople (fig. 379)[7]. In a sand-dune known as *Tell el Ajoul* ('Hill of the Calf') on the left side of the *Wadi Gazze*, some two hours to the south-west of Gaza, Arab masons had dug up certain well-cut blocks of stone and sold them in the town. Prospecting for more they discovered, lying on its back in a pit 2^{m} deep, the floor of which showed remains of a mosaic pavement, the upper half of

[1] *Supra* p. 550.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine p. 168 pl. 17, 9 (=my fig. 376 from a cast).

[3] G. F. Hill *Some Palestinian Cults* p. 17.

[4] F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 211 pl. 11, 1 (=my fig. 377), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. lxxi, 143 pl. 15, 3, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 282 pl. 77, 31.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. lxx f., 143 pl. 15, 1 and 2 (=my fig. 378 from a cast).

[6] Sir G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine p. lxxi.

[7] Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 352 ff. no. 611 fig. (=my fig. 379). See also G. Murad in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1879 xxxvii. 198 ('ohne Zweifel Jupiter,' but with the editorial comment 'vermuthlich Serapis'), C. R. C[onder] in the *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1882* London p. 147 f. fig., G. A. Smith *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* London 1894 p. 188, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2382, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 14 no. 6.

a statue in white crystalline marble. The god is seated on a throne with no elbow-rests but a high back adorned at its base with two large rosettes. He wears a *himátion* in Olympian fashion over his left shoulder and round his legs, which were carved in a separate block. His right arm, to judge from its mortise, held out some attribute, probably a thunderbolt or a *phiále*, hardly a Nike. His left was raised and the hand must have rested high up on a long sceptre. The head has abundant but irregular locks of hair and a full beard. The forehead is marked by two deep furrows, and the eyes are sunk beneath troubled brows. G. Mendel, after a careful analysis of the style, concludes that we have here mediocre work of *s.* ii A.D. No doubt the sculptor aimed at being impressive and, with that end in view, sought to combine a Pheidiac arrangement of the drapery with Scopaic eyes and post-Lysippian hair. But above all he—like his predecessors of Pergamon or Rhodes—relied on sheer size. The actual height of the fragment is *c.* 3·20^{m}, and it must rank as at least the largest of all extant statues of Zeus.

It is possible that before this fusion of the Philistine Marnas with the Greek Zeus there had been an earlier *rapprochement* of the Philistine god with the Hebrew Jehovah. The famous quarter-shekel of the Philisto-Arabian series, which represents *Jahu* as a solar Zeus on a wheeled and winged seat, places in his hand a hawk(?) instead of an eagle (*supra* i. 232 f. fig. 171, *b* and pl. xxi)[1]. And a hitherto unpublished coin of the same series, struck at Gaza in *s.* v B.C., shows for obverse design the profile head of a grave bearded god wearing a wreath, and for reverse a hawk and an olive-spray (fig. 380)[2]. Have we here, in this obvious copy of Athenian mintage, not Athena and her owl, but *Jahu* and his bird?

Fig. 380.

At Halikarnassos rain was connected with Dionysos, for there was a local cult of Bakchos *Ombrikós*, 'god of Showers.'[3] The date

[1] To the bibliography (*supra* i. 232 n. 1) add now Sir G. F. Hill in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. lxxxvi ff., 181 pl. 19, 29 ('hawk'), H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. xi fig. 81 ('Falken'...'Jahwe als Triptolemos ...oder (wahrscheinlicher, wegen der Maske) als Dionysos! (H. Gressmann, Zeitschr. f. d. alttest. Wissensch., N. F. II 1925 S. 16 f.)'), S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 147 ff. pl. xxxii ('eagle or hawk').

[2] The coin is in my collection. On the legend ~o='Gaza' see J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1877 xvii. 221 ff. and Sir G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine p. lxxxiii ff.

[3] Bekker *anecd.* i. 225, 2 f. οἱ δὲ Ὄμβρικος (*leg.* Ὀμβρικὸς) ὑπὸ Ἁλικαρνασέων (*leg.* Ἁλικαρνασσέων) Βάκχος.

of this cult is unknown, but the appellative is already found in a Dionysiac context as early as the first half of the sixth century B.C. F. Dümmler[1] many years ago published a Corinthian *kratér*, found at Caere and now preserved in the Louvre[2], which illustrates two successive scenes (fig. 381, *a* and *b*) from a Dorian farce[3]. The one

a

b

Fig. 381.

shows a flute-player and a masked man[4] dancing to the sound of the flutes, while two companions are surprised by their master in the act of carrying off a full wine-jar. The men are named *Eúno(o)s*,

[1] F. Dümmler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1885 lvii. 127—131 pl. D, 1 (=my fig. 381, *a*), 2, 3 and pl. E, 1, 2 (=my fig. 381, *b*).

[2] E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* Paris 1897 p. 55 no. E 632.

[3] H. Schnabel *Kordax* München 1910 pp. 35 f. fig., 48 ff., M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 129 f. figs. 123 a, 123 b, A. W. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy* Oxford 1927 p. 263 f.

[4] E. Pottier *loc. cit.* 'un compagnon barbu à masque de Satyre.'

'Kindly,' and *Ophélandros*[1], 'Helpful'; the master, *Omriqós*, that is *Om(b)rikós*, 'he of the Showers.' He grasps a couple of lissom sticks and has the naked men at his mercy. The other scene gives the sequel[2]—the two misdemeanants confined in the wine-cellar, with their ankles in fetters and their heads in a sort of cangue or pillory (*xýlon*, *kýphon*), dependent for their food on the services of a small handmaid. Laconian *deikelíktai* are known to have represented fruit-stealers[3] or the like[4]; and there can be little doubt that H. Schnabel[5] was right in claiming a ritual origin for such burlesque. If so, the master of the wine-bin began by representing Dionysos and naturally continued to bear his name[6].

Finally, we may note that in Kypros the part of Zeus *Ómbrios* was played by a goddess, not a god. An interesting terra cotta sketched by Cesnola at Salamis (fig. 382)[7] portrays a naked and nymph-like female kneeling on her left knee as she empties a large pitcher borne on her shoulder. Behind her is a rock with a lion's-

[1] *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i. no. 2314 Thisbe (*Kakosí*) Ὀφέλανδ[ρος]=Lebas—Foucart *Béotie* no. 382=R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 247 no. 750. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2872 Koroneia (*Hagios Georgios*), 2 τοῦ Ὀφελάνδρου=Lebas—Foucart *Béotie* no. 666, 2.

[2] H. Payne *Necrocorinthia* Oxford 1931 p. 122: 'No one has ever doubted that the scene on the back is connected with that on the front.' That is wrong: A. Körte in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii. 91 n. 61 doubts it.

[3] Sosibios *frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 627 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 621 D—E.

[4] Poll. 4. 104 f.

[5] H. Schnabel *Kordax* München 1910 p. 53 'Der ursprünglich sakrale Raub der Opfergaben wird zur mimischen, burlesken Diebesszene, die in der Posse fortlebt durchs ganze Altertum bis auf unsere Tage.'

[6] A. Körte in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii. 90 ff. fig. 8 regards Εὔνους, Ὀφέλανδρος, and Ὄμβρικος as Bacchic *daímones*, not men. C. Fränkel 'Korinthische Posse' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1912 lxvii. 94—106 with 2 figs. takes all three to be slaves and Ὄμβρικος in particular to mean 'the Umbrian' (cp. Θρᾷξ, Φρύξ, Λυδός)—a view which H. Payne *Necrocorinthia* Oxford 1931 p. 122 n. 3 pronounces to be 'the only reasonable suggestion'! But Miss Fränkel admits that the misshapen Corinthian dancers are in general daemonic ('Ein sicheres Ergebnis der Forschung ist gleichfalls, dass jene Vorbilder der attischen Schauspieler dämonischer Natur sind, da sie auf mehreren Darstellungen mit mythischen Personen gruppiert werden') and that the performers represented on this exceptional vase are drawn and costumed in their likeness ('Und damit ergibt sich überraschender Weise, dass der Dümmlersche Krater ein Zwischenglied bietet zwischen der korinthischen Dämonenwelt und den attischen Schauspielern. In Gestalt und Tracht der korinthischen Dämonen wird eine korinthische Posse gespielt, und diese enthält bereits die Grundelemente der attischen Komödie, ohne dass freilich das Bühnenbild konsequent festgehalten würde'). She demurs to a divine appellative in -ικος ('denn eine Bildung auf -ικος ist unter der Fülle altertümlicher Götter-Epiklesen bis jetzt unerhört'). But, apart from Bakchos Ὀμβρικός (*supra* p. 558 n. 3), we can at least quote Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ (*Il.* 16. 233).

[7] A. P. di Cesnola *Salaminia* London 1882 p. 200 with fig. 203 (=my fig. 382), *ib.*[2] London 1884 p. 183 f. fig. 219.

head spout, from which gushes a stream of water still coloured green. The base is inscribed 'The Goddess of Showers[1].' This terra cotta combines, cleverly enough, two Hellenistic motives—that of the crouching Aphrodite[2] and that of the lion's-head fountain[3]. Perhaps we are meant to conclude that the pitcher-bearing goddess was mistress of some neighbouring spring. If so, we can hardly forget that *Chýtroi*, the 'Pitchers,' with its well-known double spring[4], was within easy reach of Salamis.

Fig. 382.

(h) Zeus *Hyétios.*

Essentially similar to Zeus *Ómbrios*, 'the Showery,' was Zeus *Hyétios*, 'the Rainy[5].' We have already seen that Nonnos applied both names to one god[6]; and, whereas Plutarch's list of agricultural

[1] The inscription ΘEA H OMBRIOS (*sic*) is given in the text as ΘEA H OMBRIOΣ. The discrepancy may be due to mere carelessness, but rouses our suspicion. Where is the terra cotta in question? [2] Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* ii. 205 no. 1.

[3] A. Cartault *Terres cuites grecques* Paris (1890) p. 75 f. pl. 22 collection Lecuyer (modern?).

[4] E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2531.

[5] Literary allusions to Zeus Τέτιος will be found in Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 17 f., Epiktet. *diss.* 1. 19. 12, 1. 22. 16, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 12 f. Lang, Aristeid. *or.* 1. 8 (i. 13 Dindorf), Max. Tyr. *diss.* 41. 2, Poll. 1. 24, Themist. *or.* 30, 349 A, Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 13, 537, 6. 229, 321, 8. 136, 259, 274, 294, 10. 297 (Zagreus), 12. 59, 13. 522, 21. 334, 25. 103, 23. 227, 287, 25. 114, 27. 13, 31. 214, 39. 141, 46. 30, 47. 545, 600, *argum.* 1. 6. 2, Prokop. Gaz. *epist.* 26, 136. [6] *Supra* p. 531.

deities was Zeus *Ómbrios*, Demeter *Proërosía*, Poseidon *Phytálmios*[1], that of Themistios includes Demeter's daughter, Zeus *Hyétios*, and Poseidon *Phytálmios*[2].

The cult of Zeus *Hyétios* was fairly wide-spread. He was said to have been born on the summit of Mount Tmolos in Lydia[3]. At Antimacheia in Kos the members of the local deme and any who cared to join them used to go in procession and offer sacrifices on an altar of Zeus *Hyétios*[4]. The same god had an open-air altar in

[1] *Supra* p. 527.

[2] Themist. *or.* 30, 349 A εἰ δὲ καὶ Διόνυσον παρακαλοῖμεν καὶ Νύμφας καὶ Δήμητρος Κόρην Ὑέτιόν τε Δία καὶ Ποσειδῶνα Φυτάλμιον, πλησιάζομεν ἤδη ταῖς τελεταῖς κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Supra* ii. 957 n. 2.

G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 393, moved by the analogy of the Cretan Zeus, conjectures 'that somewhere near the Lydian birthplace of the god was also his tomb' and that this may be referred to in the late *Homeri et Hesiodi certamen* 94 f. Rzach οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμφὶ Διὸς τύμβῳ καναχήποδες ἵπποι | ἅρματα συντρίψουσιν ἐρίζοντες περὶ νίκης (Plout. *sept. sap. conviv.* 10. 154 A attributes the passage to Lesches, but see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 128, W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 253 f.). He holds that the Roman custom of the magistrate presiding at the games in the attire of Iupiter *Capitolinus* (Iuv. 10. 36 ff.) 'may have been of Etrusco-Lydian provenance', and notes that 'The alytarch of the Olympian games at Antioch impersonated Zeus' (Io. Malal. *chron.* 12 p. 286 f. Dindorf καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἀλυτάρχης ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ θείᾳ κελεύσει ὀνομασθεὶς πρῶτος Ἀφρόνιος (*leg.* Ἀφράνιος cp. *chron.* 17 p. 417 Dindorf) ὁ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, πολίτης Ἀντιοχεύς. ὅστις φορέσας τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ ἀλυτάρχου τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐτιμᾶτο καὶ προσεκυνεῖτο ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεύς, μὴ ἀνιὼν δὲ εἰς οἶκον τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας μήτε εἰς κλίνην ἀναπίπτων, ἀλλ' εἰς ἑξάερον καθεύδων εἰς ἔδαφος ὑπεράνω λίθων καὶ καθαρῶν στρωμάτων καὶ θρυΐνης ψιάθου. ἐφόρει δὲ στολὴν διάχρυσον ἄσπρην ὡσεὶ χιὼν καὶ στέφανον ἀπὸ λυχνιτῶν καὶ ἄλλων τιμίων, καὶ κατεῖχε ῥάβδον ἐβελίνην, φορῶν εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους πόδας σανδάλια ἄσπρα. ἐκάθευδε δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας εἰς τὸ ἑξάερον τῆς λεγομένης βασιλικῆς τὸ Καισάριον, τὸ κτισθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος Ἰουλίου τοῦ δικτάτορος, ὅπου ἵστατο ὁ ἀνδριὰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ ἔξω τῆς Κόγχης τῆς βασιλικῆς). Elderkin's article moots many interesting possibilities, but hardly amounts to a rigorous demonstration of any one.

[4] W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 269 ff. no. 382 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 396 f. no. 3718 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1004 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1107 (in the old church at *Antimachia*, the decree of a religious society *c.* 200 B.C. conferring honours on two of its members), 1 ff. ἐπὶ μ[ον]άρχου (*sc.* an eponymous magistrate of the Coans) Νικόφρονος, μηνὸ[ς] | Ἀρταμιτίου (*sc.* the first summer month)· ἔδοξε τῶι κοινῶ[ι] | τῶν συμπορευομένων παρὰ Δ[ία] | [Ὑ]έτιον· Χάρμιππος Παρμενίσ[κου] | [κ]αὶ Φίλιστος Φιλίστου καὶ Λύκα[ι]|θος Παρμενίσκου εἶπαν· ἐπε[ι]|δὴ Νικαγόρας Θευδώρου κα[ὶ] | Λύκαιθος Λευκίππου, γενόμ[ε]|νοι ἐπιμήνιοι (*sc.* priests who made the monthly offerings) αὐτεπάγγελ|τοι, τά τε ἱερὰ ἐξέθυσαν τῶ[ι] | Διὶ καὶ ἀνενεώσαντο τὰν θυ|σίαν τοῦ Διός, καὶ τὰν ὑποδοχὰ[ν] | [ἐ]ποήσαντο τῶν δαμοτᾶν καὶ | [τ]ῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀξίως τῶ[ν] | [θ]εῶν, σπουδᾶς καὶ προθυμίας | [ο]ὐθὲν ἐλλείποντες· ὅπως οὖν κα[ὶ] | [ο]ἱ μετὰ ταῦθ' αἱρούμενοι ἐπιμήνιοι [πο]ι[λ]ὺ προθυμοτέρος αὐτὸς παρέχ[ων]|[τ]αι, εἰδότες τὰν τῶν δαμοτᾶν ε[ὔ]|[ν]οιαν, δεδόχθαι Νικαγόραν μὲ[ν] | [κ]αὶ Λύκαιθον ἐπαινέσαι ἐπί τ[ε] | τᾶι αἱρέσει καὶ εὐσεβείαι ἀν [ἔ]|χοντι ποτὶ τὸς θεὸς καὶ τ[ὸς]| [δ]αμότας, καὶ στεφανῶσαι [αὐ]|τὸς ἀπὸ χρυσῶν δέκα· το[ὶ δὲ] | ταμίαι ἀναγραψάντων τόδε [τὸ ψά]|φισμα ἐς στάλαν λιθίναν κ[αὶ] | ἀναθέντων παρ τὸν βωμὸν | τοῦ Διός· τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα [τὸ γι]|νόμενον ἐς τὰν στάλαν τε[λε]|σάντων τοὶ ταμίαι. See further Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 4. Apparently the sacrifice to Zeus Ὑέτιος had been allowed to lapse for some years and had

the grove of Trophonios at Lebadeia[1]. And it was at his altar in Argos that Polyneikes' friends swore to capture Thebes or perish in the attempt[2].

i. The Ox-driving of Zeus *Hyétios* at Didyma.

Alkiphron[3] informed us that Attic villagers in time of drought presented Zeus *Hyétios* with a ram, or a he-goat, or it might be a boar; failing these, a cake or even a pinch of incense would serve. But admittedly the most desirable victim for him was a bull.

This squares with a couple of inscriptions from Didyma near Miletos, which describe one Theon, son of Theon, a personage of importance, as 'driver of the ox to Zeus *Hyétios*[4].' The official in question cannot have been prior to the first century B.C.[5]; but by the help of other inscriptions from the district B. Haussoullier has shown that the ceremony of 'ox-driving' at Didyma was an institution of earlier date, and has made it probable that it was an old rite celebrated before a statue or altar of Zeus *Hyétios* in the precinct of Zeus *Sotér*—a rite which had fallen into neglect and had been restored subsequently at some date impossible to determine with accuracy but hardly before the second century B.C.[6]

then been renewed by Nikagoras and Lykaithos, who had also at the same time made up the sacrificial arrears (so W. Dittenberger *ad loc.*).

[1] Paus. 9. 39. 4 with Sir J. G. Frazer's n. *ad loc.*

[2] Paus. 2. 19. 8. But see *infra* p. 566 n. 2.

[3] Alkiphr. *epist.* 3. 35 (quoted *supra* p. 319 n. 1).

[4] Βοηγὸς παρὰ Δία Ὑέτιον. The first inscription was published by B. Haussoullier in the *Rev. Philol.* N. S. 1897 xxi. 42 and, with corrections, in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* Paris 1898 p. 148 Προφήτης Θέω[ν] Θέωνο[ς], δήμου Λερίων, στεφανηφορήσας, γυμνασιαρχήσας νέων, γυμνασιαρχήσας τῶ[ν] πατέρων, παιδονομήσας, χορηγός, πασῶν τῶν χορηγιῶν μισθωτής, κωτάρχης (see A. Boeckh on the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2880 and H. Keil in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 2212 C—D), βοηγὸς παρὰ Δία Ὑέτιον, ἀγωνοθέ[της] Δ[ι]δυμήων, ἀνὴρ εὐσεβής. The second inscription was added by Haussoullier in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* p. 148 Προφήτης | Θέων Θέωνος τὸ δεύτερον, | στεφανηφορήσας, γυμνασι|αρχήσας τῶν τριῶν γυμνα|σίων, παιδονομήσας, ἀγωνο|θετήσας, χορηγήσας, πασῶν| χορηγιῶν μισθωτής, κωτάρ|χης, βοηγὸς παρὰ Δία Ὑέτιον, | ἀνὴρ εὐσεβέστατος. Theon, son of Theon (an auspicious name), was the right man to run up the steps of office and pass rapidly from εὐσεβής to εὐσεβέστατος.

[5] Haussoullier in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* p. 148 f., cp. an inscription from Teichioussa published by W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1896 xvi. 221 ff. no. 17, 13 ff. προφήτης | Θέων Θέωνος, | ἀνὴρ εὐσεβής after a *prophétes* who served in Olympiad 171 or 173 (96—85 B.C.).

[6] Haussoullier in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* pp. 149—154 citing (1) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2858, 5 ff. (Milctos) Ἀθηναίου τοῦ Τ[ηρέ]ως φιάλη βοηγίαι νικήσαντος, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγραφή, ἐπιχώ[ριαι ἐνεν]ήκοντα, (2) *Rev. Philol.* N. S. 1898 xxii. 128 no. 2853 *bis*, 9 f. Καλλιάνακτο[ς] | [τ]οῦ Σωστράτου φιάλη [β]οη[γ]ίαι νικήσαντος, (3) *ib.* no. 2853 *ter*, 8 f.

In this context Haussoullier aptly cites from Hesychios the following gloss: 'Zeus' ox, *i.e.* the sacred ox, set free for Zeus; this is a festival of the Milesians[1].' He further attempts to reconstruct some details of the 'ox-driving' from a consideration of analogous customs elsewhere. Thus in the neighbouring island of Kos[2] on

Πολυδώρου τοῦ Μενεκρίτου [βοηγίαι] | [νικ]ήσαντος φιάλη. Kallianax probably, and Polydoros certainly, date from the reign of Prousias ii (180—149 B.C.), (4) an unpublished inventory from Didyma, which mentions an offering of queen Kleopatra: line 6 runs [ἄλλη Ἡρ]ώιδου τοῦ Αὐτοφῶντος βοηγίαι ν[ικήσαντος], (5) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 222 (Le Bas' copy) = E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1885 vi. 351 f. no. 102 (C. R. Cockerell's copy). Thanks to Haussoullier p. 149 ff. and A. Wilhelm *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* Wien 1909 p. 177 ff. (A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 275) this important inscription can now be read: – – – | ..... δια[κ]ε[λευ]θέντος τοῦ [δήμου τοῖς]| [συνέδρ]οις καὶ τοῖς στρατηγ[οῖς συνεπιμελη]|[θῆναι ὅπω]ς πρόνοια γένηται, ὃν [ἂ]ν [ὁ]| [θεὸ]ς καθιστά[ν]ῃ [κ]αιρὸν π[ρ]οσ[ή]|[κοντα] εἰς τὴν ὀφείλουσαν [τῶι] Δ[ιὶ τῶι] | [Σωτῆ]ρ[ι] θυσίαν, καὶ ἱερουργίαν συντ[ελ]|[ε]ῖσθαι καθὼς ἐθίζεται τῶι [θ]εῶι, διὰ τὸ | [ἐ]κ πλείονος χρόνου μηδένα ὑπομε[με]|νηκέναι· ἔδοξε τοῖ[ς] συ[ν]έδροις, | [γ]νώμη ἐπιστατῶν, συγκεχωρῆσθα[ι] | Ἐπινίκῳ Ἐπινίκου τοῦ Ἡφαισ[τί]ωνος | στῆσαι στήλην πρὸς τῶι ἱερῶι το[ῦ] Δ[ι]|[ὸ]ς τοῦ Σωτῆρος, χάριν τοῦ ἀναγράφε|σθαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ὑπομεν[ό]ντων [β]|οηγῶν παρὰ Δία ἐν τῶι ἱε[ρ]ῶι τῶι ἐν Δι|δύμοις καθότι ἡ [ἀνα]γρα[φ]ὴ [τ]ῶ[ν] χ[ορ]|[ηγῶν? κεῖται .....] | Ἐπὶ στ[εφανηφόρου Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Εὐ]|ἀνθου βοη[γ]ὸς [τ]ρ[ίτ]ον Ἐπ[ίνικος Ἐπινί]|[κ]ου τοῦ [Ἡφαι]στ[ί]ωνος. | [Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ] | [μεθ'] Ἡρακλείδην ..... Then follow three illegible lines and Ἐπὶ προ[φητεύοντος τοῦ δεῖνος] | [το]ῦ ....., [βοηγὸς ὁ α]ὐ[το][ῦ] τοῦ προφήτου υἱὸς Ποσιδώ|νιος. The inscription appears to be not earlier than *s.* ii B.C. Epinikos son of Epinikos is again a name of excellent omen.

To these inscriptions should be added a marble slab built into the churchyard wall at *Olamysh* between Klazomenai and Teos (F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 692 ff. no. 5633, 1 ff. – – [κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Τηΐοις μέτεστιν, ὡς ἐπιγέγρα[πται – –]|[– –]ς τῶν τελῶν. ἀτελεῖς δὲ αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ χορηγ[ιῶν καὶ] | [ξενοδ]οχιῶν καὶ βοηγιῶν καὶ λαμπαδ-αρχιῶν. κ.τ.λ.).

[1] Hesych. Διὸς βοῦς· ὁ τῷ Διὶ ἄνετος βοῦς, ὁ ἱερός. ἔστιν δὲ ἑορτὴ Μιλησίων.

[2] W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 77 ff. no. 37 = J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 19 ff. no. 5 = P. Müllensiefen in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 357 ff. no. 3636 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 716 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1025 part of an extensive marble calendar (*c.* 300 B.C.), detailing Coan rites for the month Batromios (*supra* ii. 238 n. o; but this month is now equated with Anthesterion, not Poseideon): the inscription formerly lay, face downwards, in a tank near the hospital at Kos. 1 ff. – – | – – ε ευνο ..... ν .. ο ..... η. τὰν σεσα[μασ]|[μέναν – –] ἔ[ν]θαπερ τ[οὺς] ἄλλ[ου]ς [θ]έ[μεν]οι | [– – ἰ]ερεὺς μὲν κα[ὶ .....] μονάρχου – – | – – π – – ἰόντω, ἱεροποιοὶ δὲ καὶ τοὶ κάρυκες ἰόντω κ[α]|[τὰ] χ[ιλιασ]τύα[ς], ἰοῦσ[ι δὲ πο]τ[ὲ]λ[ᾶ]ν[τ]ι βοῦν ἐξ ἑνάτας [ἑ]κάστ[ας] | .. ε ... .έων καὶ Πασθεμιαδᾶν πράτων καὶ [Νοστ]ιδᾶν (cp. *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 928, 1 f.)· ἐς δὲ [τ]|ὰν [ἀγορ]ὰν ἐλάντω Πάμφυλοι πρᾶτοι, ἐν ἀγορᾶι δὲ σ[υ]μμί[σ]|[γον]τι, ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς κα[θ]ήσθω [πὰρ] τ[ὰν] τράπεζαν ἔχων τὰ[ν] | [στο]λ[ὰ]ν (so Wilamowitz-Moellendorff: Hicks suggested [ῥάβ]δο]ν and, later, [φιά]λ[α]ν) τὰν ἱεράν, τοὶ δὲ ἱερ[οποιοὶ ἑκατ]έρω τᾶς τραπέζας· [Πάμ]|[φυλοι] δὲ ἐπελάντω βοῦ[ς τρεῖς τοὺ]ς [κ]αλλί[σ]τους, αἱ μ[έγ κα] | [το]ύτωγ κριθῆι τις· αἱ [δὲ μή, Τ]λλεῖς τρ]εῖς ἐλάντω, αἱ μέγ [κα]|[το]ύτωγ κριθῆι τις· αἱ δὲ [μή, Δυμᾶνες τρε]ῖς τοὺς [λ]οιπούς, α[ἱ μέ]|[γ] κα τούτωγ κριθῆι τις· α[ἱ δὲ μή, ἀτέρους] ἐλάντω ἐς τὰν ἀγ[ορ]|ὰν καὶ ἐπελάντω κατὰ τα[ὐτά, αἱ μέ]γ κα τούτωγ κριθῆι τ[ις·] | [α]ἱ δὲ μή, τρίτον ἐπελαντω καὶ ἀτ[έρους]· αἱ δέ κα τούτωγ κρι[θῆι]|[μ]ηδείς, ἐπικρίνονται βοῦν ἑκ χι[λιασ]τύος ἑκάστας | ἐλά[σ]|[α]ντες δὲ τούτους συμμίσγον[τι τοῖ]ς ἄλλοις, καὶ εὐθὺ[ς] | [κρίν]οντι καὶ εὔχονται καὶ

the twentieth day of the spring month Batromios there was a sacrifice to Zeus *Polieús*. The victim was an ox chosen the previous day with due solemnity. Seven and twenty oxen, given by the nine subsections of each of the three Dorian tribes, were led in procession to the market-place. Here nine of the beasts were set apart and mixed before presentation. A table was placed, presumably in the precinct of Zeus, whose priest sat beside it with the sacrificial attendants near him. He had or held something sacred; but what it was we do not know for certain, because unfortunately the text at this point is illegible. The most probable conjecture makes him dressed in a sacred garment. Each tribe in turn then presented three of the nine oxen to the priest. First the Pamphyloi drove up the three finest; next the Hylleis, another three; lastly the Dymanes, the remaining three. If none of these were chosen, the process recommenced; and so on, till the whole number of twenty-seven oxen had been driven up to the table. If all these proved unsatisfactory, a further selection of nine oxen, one from each of the three sections of each tribe, was made. These were mixed with the rest and driven up to the table as before, when the final choice took place. The ox that bowed its neck (and so signified its willingness to die[1]) was sacrificed to Hestia by a priest described as the 'prerogative-bearer[2] of the kings,' that is, of the tribal kings[3]. The ox chosen for Zeus was brought by the heralds into the market-place, where its owner or his representative declared: 'I present the ox to the Coans; let the Coans pay the price thereof

ἀποκαρύ[σσον]τι· ἔπειτα ἐπελάντ[ω]|[αὖτ]ις κατὰ ταὐτά. θύεται δέ, αἱ μέγ κα ὑποκ[ύψ]ει (so Hicks: H. von Prott cj. ὑποκ[άμψ]ει. W. Schulze in *Hermes* 1885 xx 491 f. cites examples of -ει as an old form of the sigmatic aorist subjunctive), τᾶι Ἰστίαι· θύ|[ει δὲ γ]ερεαφόρος βασιλέων καὶ ἱερὰ παρέχει καὶ ἐπιθύει ἱερὰ ἐξ [ἠ]|[μ]ιέκτου, γέρη δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ δέρμα καὶ τὸ σκέλος, ἱεροποι[οὶ] | [δ]ὲ [σ]κέλος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα τᾶς πόλιος. τὸν δὲ κριθέντα τ[ῶι] | Ζηνὶ κάρυκες ἄγοντι ἐς ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δέ κα ἐν τᾶι ἀγορᾶι ἐω[ν]|[τι], ἀγορεύει οὗ κα ἦι ὁ βοῦς ἢ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ κήνου ἐνδέξιο[ς·] | ["Κώ]ι[ο]ις παρέχω τὸ[μ] βοῦν, Κῶιοι δὲ τιμὰν ἀποδόντω<τω> τᾶι Ἰστί[αι"]. | κ.τ.λ.

[1] Cp. the heifer sacrificed to Artemis Περσία by Lucullus (Plout. *v. Luc.* 24) and the filly sacrificed to the daughters of Skedasos by Pelopidas (Plout. *v. Pel.* 22).

[2] H. von Prott *ad loc.* cp. an inscription from Pserimos near Myndos (W. R. Paton in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 282 no. 7, 3 καὶ τοῦ γερηφόρου Αὐρ. Δημοκρίτου τοῦ β'). This official carried the γέρη, *i.e.* those parts of the sacrificial victim that were the perquisite of the priests (P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1245 f.).

[3] Aristot. *pol.* 7 (6). 8. 1322 b 26 ff. ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ἡ πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἀφωρισμένη τὰς κοινὰς πάσας, ὅσας μὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἑστίας ἔχουσι τὴν τιμήν· καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους, οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς, οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις, Poll. 8. 111 οἱ δὲ φυλοβασιλεῖς, ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν ὄντες, μάλιστα τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπεμελοῦντο, συνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ τῷ παρὰ τὸ βουκολεῖον. See further Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 44 ff. ('Priestly kings in ancient Italy and Greece').

to Hestia.' With the further details of the sacrifice[1] we are not here concerned; but it is clear that the driving up of the cattle (to ensure the self-selection of the victim) was an essential part of the ceremony. In similar fashion an ox was chosen every alternate year by the Coans for Zeus *Machaneús*[2]. The animal was selected

[1] Partly cited *supra* ii. 238 n. 0.

[2] W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 88 ff. no. 38 = J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 25 ff. no. 6 = P. Müllensiefen in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 361 ff. no. 3637 = Michel *Receuil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 717 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1026 a further part of the same marble calendar. 11 ff. *ἐνδεκάται· Ζηνὶ Μαχ[α]|[ν]ῆι βοῦς κρίνεται τὸ ἄτερον ἔτος ἐφ' οὗ κα ἔωντ[ι] Κ[α]ρνεῖαι, κα[θά]|[π]ερ τοῦ Βατρομίου τῶι Ζηνὶ τῶι Πολιῆϊ κρίνεται, [καὶ χ]ο[ί]ρος προ|καυτεύεται, καὶ προκαρύσσεται καθάπερ τῶι Πολιῆϊ. δυωδε[κ]|άται· Ζηνὶ Μαχανῆϊ ὄϊες τρεῖς τέλεωι καὶ βοῦς ὁ κριθεὶς τὸ | ἄτερον ἔτος ἐφ' οὗ κα ἔωντι Καρνεῖαι, τὸ δὲ ἄτερον ἔτος ὄϊες [τ]|ρεῖς τέλεωι· ταῦτα θύει ἰαρεὺς ὁ τῶν Δώδεκα Θεῶν καὶ ἱερὰ [π]|αρέχει· τούτοις προθύεται πὰρ τὸγ κο[ιν]ὸν (sc. βωμόν) ἃ φέροντι Φυλεομ|α[χ]ίδαι ἀλφίτων ἡμίεκτον, οἴνου τετάρταν· γέρη δὲ Φυλεομ|αχίδαις δίδοται τοῦ βοὸς ὀπλά, τα[ρ]σός, τῶν δὲ ὀΐων τὸ ὠμὸν | ἐξ οὗ ἀ θεομοιρία* (cp. Hesych. *s. vv. θευμορία, θευμοριαζέτω*) *τάμνεται κα[ὶ τὸ στῆ]θος· γέρη λαμβάνει ὁ ἰ[α]|ρεὺς σκέλη καὶ δέρματα· τᾶι αὐτᾶι ἀμέραι· Ἀθαναί[αι] Μαχα[νί]|δι δάμαλις κριτὰ τὸ ἄτερον ἔτος ἐφ' οὗ κα ἔωντι Καρνεῖα[ι, τ]|ὸ δὲ ἄτερον ἔτος ὄϊς τελέα· θύει ἰαρεὺς καὶ ἀπορραίνεται θαλ|άσσαι* (cp. *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 593, 14 ff. = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 568 f. no. 5398, 14 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1218, 14 ff. (Ioulis in Keos) *τῆι δὲ ὑστεραί[ηι ἀ]|[π]οραίνεν τὴν οἰκίην ἐλεύθερον θαλά[σση]|[ι] πρῶτον, κ.τ.λ.)· τούτων οὐκ ἀποφορά· [θύ]στρα δίδοται τᾶι θεῶι ἐλαί[ου] | τέτορες κοτυλέαι, οἴνου τε[τ]άρτα, πρόχοι καιναὶ δύο καὶ κύλ[ι]|[κες] καιναὶ τρεῖς [τ]ο[ῖς . . . . . ο]ις τὰμ πόλιν ὠνεῖσθαι δά[μαλιν]|[– – δρ]αχμ – – υ – – τα – –.*

Zeus Μαχανεύς is here associated with Athena Μαχανίς. At Argos near the tomb of Pelasgos was a vessel of bronze supporting archaic figures of Artemis, Zeus, and Athena: Lykeas took the second figure to be that of Zeus Μηχανεύς and said that the Argives who went to Troy had here sworn to capture the city or die in the attempt; others declared that the vessel contained the bones of Tantalos (Paus. 2. 22. 2. See further *supra* ii. 1144 n. 2, but observe that the words *ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸ ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα κ.τ.λ.* are ambiguous. The meaning *may* be that the *χαλκεῖον* was itself supported by archaic figures of the three deities, in which case cp. the tripods with anthropomorphic supports discussed by P. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1896 xvi. 275—280). An inscription found at Argos in 1906 contains the last few paragraphs of a treaty concluded *c.* 450 B.C. between the two Cretan towns Knossos and Tylissos. Both had clearly been colonised by settlers from Argos, and the fifth of the extant sections provides that, when sixty rams are sacrificed to *Machaneús*, a leg of each victim should be reserved for Hera, obviously as the paramount Argive goddess (W. Vollgraff 'Inscription d'Argos' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1910 xxxiv. 331—354 with fig. 1 photo, transcription, and facsimile, part of which (vv. 9—11) = my fig. 383):

ΒΙΚΑΤΟΙΜΑΧΑΝΕΙΟΥΟΜ
ΕΣΤΟΝΣΕΓΗΕΚΟΝΤΑΤΕΛΕΟΝΣΟΓΙΝΣΚΑΙΤΑΙΒΡΑΙ
ΤΟΣΚΕΛΟΣΓΕΚΑΣΤΟΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΤΟΟΥΜΑΤΟΣ

Ἰ κα τοῖ Μαχανεῖ θύομ-
ες τὸνς Ϝεξέκοντα τελέονς ὄϊνς, καὶ ταῖ Ϝ(Ἑ)ραι
τὸ σκέλος Ϝεκάστο διδόμεν τῶ θύματος

Fig. 383.

on the eleventh day of some month later than Pedageitnios (= Poseideon) and Batromios (= Anthesterion), possibly Karneios (?)[1], and was sacrificed on the twelfth.

With the examples of ox-driving adduced by Haussoullier

At Tanagra Zeus Μαχανεύς and Athena Ζωστειρία were worshipped together (*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 548 (with facsimile = my fig. 384) = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 766 a *pôros* slab in the Museum at Tanagra (*Skimatari*) [Διὸ]ς | Μα[χ]ανέος, | Ἀθα[ν]ᾶς | Ζω[στειρ]ίας). At Megalopolis there was a cult of Athena Μαχανῖτις (Paus. 8. 36. 5 ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Μαχανίτιδος, ὅτι βουλευμάτων ἐστὶν ἡ θεὸς παντοίων καὶ ἐπιτεχνημάτων εὑρέτις) and an acrolithic image of Aphrodite Μαχανῖτις (Paus. 8. 31. 6 ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ Δαμοφῶν ἐποίησεν Ἑρμῆν ξύλου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ξόανον· καὶ ταύτης χεῖρές εἰσι λίθου καὶ πρόσωπόν τε καὶ ἄκροι πόδες. τὴν δὲ ἐπίκλησιν τῇ θεῷ Μαχανῖτιν ὀρθότατα ἔθεντο, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν· Ἀφροδίτης τε <γὰρ (*ins.* Clavier) > ἕνεκα καὶ ἔργων τῶν ταύτης πλεῖσται μὲν ἐπιτεχνήσεις, παντοῖα δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἀνευρημένα ἐς λόγους ἐστίν). On the

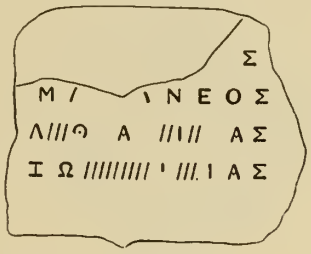


Fig. 384.

Dorian month Μαχανεύς or Μαχάνειος, which in Korkyra was the equivalent of the Attic Γαμηλιών, at Kalchedon and Byzantion of the Attic Μαιμακτηριών (?), see Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 594 n. 19, J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 26, and the cautious statements of W. Sontheimer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 141.

The meaning of Μαχανεύς as an appellative is uncertain. Lykeas' attempt to connect it with μάχεσθαι (Paus. 2. 22. 2) involves a false quantity. The usual rendering 'Gott der Belagerung (?)' (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 142 n. 0, W. Dittenberger in *Hermes* 1881 xvi. 164 ff., W. Sontheimer *loc. cit.*) assumes a relation to μηχαναί, 'engines of war,' which could hardly be earlier than *s.* iv B.C. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1215 thought that Zeus derived his title from Athena 'die Erfinderin auf dem Olympos': this would at least square with Pindar's conception of Zeus as patron of the arts, cp. Pind. *frag.* 57 Bergk[4], 57 Schroeder *ap.* Dion. Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 239 Dindorf Δωδωναῖε μεγάσθενες | ἀριστότεχνα πάτερ (*id. Pyth.* 1. 41 ἐκ θεῶν γὰρ μαχαναὶ πᾶσαι βροτέαις ἀρεταῖς), and with Pausanias' explanation of Athena Μαχανῖτις (Paus. 8. 36. 5 cited *supra*). But Pausanias elsewhere gives a broader sense to Aphrodite Μαχανῖτις (Paus. 8. 31. 6 cited *supra*) as 'Contriver' of devices and wiles; and E. Maass *De Aeschyli Supplicibus commentatio* Gryphiswaldiae 1890 p. xxxiii, aptly citing *h. Herm.* 436 μηχανιῶτα, holds that an allusion to the Argive cult of Zeus Μαχανεύς underlies Aisch. *suppl.* 594 τὸ πᾶν μῆχαρ, οὔριος Ζεύς and 1072 καὶ δίκᾳ δίκας ἔπεσθαι ξὺν εὐχαῖς ἐμαῖς λυτηρίοις μηχαναῖς θεοῦ πάρα. Personally I incline to think that the title is an old one, 'Contriver' in the sense of 'Crafty' (note Aisch. *P. v.* 989 f. οὐκ ἔστιν αἴκισμ' οὐδὲ μηχάνημ' ὅτῳ | προτρέψεταί με Ζεὺς γεγωνῆσαι τάδε), and very possibly goes back to the early belief in Zeus as a magician (cp. the myth of Zeus and Metis or the epic tag μητίετα Ζεύς (*supra* i. 14 n. 1, i. 1147)).

[1] See Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1026, 11, 15, 22 with n. 1.

should be grouped two or three other cults from the same district of Karia. A bronze coin of Stratonikeia, struck by Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna, has for its reverse type a very similar rite (fig. 385)[1]. A humped bull of its own accord approaches a garlanded altar or platform, on which stands a man wearing a short *chitón*, a *chlamýs*, and *endromídes*. This personage in his left hand holds a sceptre, in his right a dagger, which he is about to plunge into the neck of the bull. Other coins of Stratonikeia, issued by the same imperial couple or by their immediate successors Caracalla and Geta, show Zeus himself attired in the self-same costume

Fig. 385.

Fig. 386.

Fig. 387.

(figs. 386, 387)[2]. I infer, therefore, that the sceptre-bearing slayer of the bull was a priestly king, who acted the part of the god. It will be noticed that the rite takes place in front of a fine spreading oak, the sacred tree of Zeus. An interesting confirmation of this coin-type may be read in an inscription from Panamara. It appears that on one occasion, during the procession of the Panamareia[3], the free ox went before the priest to the council-chamber at Stratonikeia and actually showed him the way[4].

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria etc. p. 157 pl. 24, 8. My fig. 385 is from a drawing made by the late Mr F. Anderson and published in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 417 fig. 14.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria etc. p. 156 no. 55 Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna, *Weber Cat. Coins* iii. 1. 382 f. no. 6568 pl. 231 (=my fig. 386) Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria etc. p. 158 pl. 24, 10 (=my fig. 387) Caracalla and Geta (the bust of the latter purposely obliterated). See also *supra* i. 19 figs. 4 and 5.

[3] *Supra* i. 20.

[4] G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1904 xxviii. 20 ff. no. 1 B, 15 ff. ἐ[πι]|διξαμένου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεργίαν φαν[ε]||ρωτάτην καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀνιμένου βοὸς | πρὸς εὐσεβίαν τοῦ ἱερέως, ὅστις | πρῶτον ἐλθὼν τότε ἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῇ | ἀγομένῃ πομπῇ ὡδήγησεν τὸν ἰε|ρέα ἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μετὰ τὰς | θυσίας εὐθὺς ἐχωρίσθη. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 30 n. 5, A. Brinkmann in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1916 lxxi. 159, H. Oppermann *Zeus Panamaros* Giessen 1924 p. 59 no. 9 and p. 61.

Again, at Halikarnassos the cult of Zeus *Askraîos*, who—as we have already seen[1]—was likewise essentially related to the oak, involved a strictly analogous sacrifice. A herd of goats used to be driven up to a certain spot in front of the god's sanctuary. Prayer was offered, and on its conclusion one of the goats under no constraint advanced to the altar. The priest thereupon took hold of it and slew it as being an acceptable sacrifice[2].

Not unlike the ritual of Zeus *Askraîos* at Halikarnassos was that of Zeus at Pedasa. Here the custom was that a great concourse of people assembled to witness a strange procession. A goat bound with a cord and followed, not led, by the priest passed through the midst of the crowd and, turning neither to right nor to left, went straight along the road to its destination seventy furlongs away[3].

It seems, then, that the 'ox-driving' of Zeus *Hyétios* at Didyma finds its explanation, not as an attenuated form of 'Minoan' bull-grappling sports[4], but as a rite analogous to those of Zeus *Polieús* and Zeus *Machaneús* in Kos, Zeus at Stratonikeia, Zeus *Askraîos* at Halikarnassos, and Zeus near Pedasa. Further, these Carian cults may be found to throw light on that mysterious service, the Athenian Bouphonia. For it is known that the Carian Zeus had some foothold in Attike[5]; and it is to be observed that the nearest

[1] *Supra* ii. 872 n. 0 (5) figs. 807—811.

[2] Apollon. *hist. mir.* 13 p. 107, 19 ff. Westermann.

[3] Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 137 (149) p. 50, 11 ff. Westermann.

[4] So Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 8 n. 18.

[5] The kinsmen of Isagoras, son of Tisandros, sacrificed to Zeus Κάριος (Hdt. 5. 66 ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι (*sc.* at Athens) δύο ἄνδρες ἐδυνάστευον, Κλεισθένης τε ἀνὴρ Ἀλκμεωνίδης...καὶ Ἰσαγόρης Τισάνδρου οἰκίης μὲν ἐὼν δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενέες αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ). Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1949 comments: 'Herodot. v 66 erzählt, dass die Familie des Isagoras dem Zeus K. opferte, als Beweis der unattischen Herkunft derselben (vgl. v. Wilamowitz Kydathen 143, 64). Jedenfalls ist dies eine der frühesten Nachrichten von einem eingeführten orientalischen Kulte, nicht ein Überbleibsel einer "karischen" Urbevölkerung, deren Vorhandensein übrigens auf andere Weise gesichert scheint.' C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 88 f. would find a trace of the Isagorean cult on certain Eupatrid coins, which he believes to have been struck by Tisandros (*ib.* pl. 4, P 66, P 67) and by Isagoras during his brief supremacy at Athens (*ib.* pl. 14, P 260, P 261). These coins, didrachms and tetradrachms respectively, show on their reverse the facing head of a panther—the sacred beast of Zeus Κάριος (cp. *supra* ii. 575 fig. 483, 599 n. 2).

On the other hand it must be borne in mind that Attike was ravaged by Carians before Kekrops' foundation of the dodecapolis (Philochoros *frag.* 11 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 386 Müller) *ap.* Strab. 397). The akropolis of Megara was called Καρία after Kar, son of Phoroneus (Paus. 1. 40. 6, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Καρία): on it stood a roofless temple of Zeus Κόνιος (L. C. Valckenaer cj. Κρονίου, Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 642 n. 75 cj. κωνίου 'kegel-förmig, metae modo,' K. F. Hermann cj. σκοτίτου or χθονίου—all unconvincing), a *mégaron* of Demeter erected by king Kar, etc. (Paus. *loc. cit.*).

verbal parallel to the *Bouphónia* of Athens is the *Taurophónia* of Mylasa in Karia[1], a possible stepping-stone between the two localities being Anaphe in the Kyklades[2].

ii. The Ox-slaughter of Zeus *Polieús* at Athens.

On the Akropolis at Athens, north of the north-eastern angle of the Parthenon[3], stood the altar and statue of Zeus *Polieús*; and close to it, another statue of Zeus, by the sculptor Leochares[4]. The form and fashion of these two statues can hardly be determined with certainty. But Otto Jahn has made it at least probable that both of them were represented on the bronze coinage of Athens[5]. The relevant types are as follows.

Of coins issued during the Hellenistic age, from *c.* 322 B.C. onwards, one group, and that the most numerous, shows Zeus as a nude figure striding forward with his left foot in advance: his right hand is uplifted and brandishes a bolt; his left is thrown out before him as if to secure balance (figs. 388—390)[6]. If we stress the analogy of bronze statuettes made during the early decades of the

[1] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 404 (quoted *supra* ii. 582 n. 5). See further the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 417, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 252, and the excellent article of Ziehen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 24—27.

[2] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 249 (a base of bluish local marble built into the outer gateway of the monastery of the Panagia Kalamiotissa, on the site of the temple of Apollon Ἀσγελάτας at Anaphe, and inscribed in lettering not earlier than *s.* i B.C.), 18 ff. *σ[τ]εφανῶσαι [τ]ὸν προειρημέ[νον] | [Ἀρχ]ωνίδαν χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ ἀρισ[τ]ε[ί]ῳ εὐσεβείας [τε] ἕν[εκα τᾶς π]ο[τὶ] | [τὸν θε]όν, ἀρετᾶς δὲ καὶ φιλοπονίας τᾶς ἐς τὰ[ν] πατρίδα, καὶ ἀνακα[ρύσ-σεσ][θ]αι [κ]αθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κατατυγχάνοντος ἱεροκάρυκος ἑ[ν] | [τε τ]ᾷ παναγύρει τῶν Ἀσγελαίων ἑ[κ] τοῦ βωμοῦ μετὰ τὰς θυσίας [τὰ]ς το[ῦ θεοῦ] | [καὶ] τοῖς Θευδα(ι)σίοις τᾷ Βρυ... καὶ ὑπὸ τὰ .....Γα Ταυροφόνηα μετὰ τὰς | [σ]πονδάς· κ.τ.λ.*

[3] W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] München 1931 p. 242.

[4] Paus. i. 24. 4 *καὶ Διός ἐστιν ἄγαλμα τό τε Λεωχάρους καὶ ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος Πολιεύς, ᾧ τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐς τὴν θυσίαν γράφων τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένην αἰτίαν οὐ γράφω. κ.τ.λ.* (cited *infra* p. 577 n. 2).

[5] O. Jahn 'Giove Polieo in Atene' in the *Nuove Memorie dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 1865 ii. 1—24 with pl. 1. See also Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 19, 24, 54 ff., Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 137 f. pl. BB, 1—3. But G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 1996 is more cautious: 'Den athenischen Zeus [*sc.* Λεωχάρους] wollte Jahn...ohne ausreichende Begründung auf athenischen Münzen wiedererkennen, die jedenfalls nichts für L. Charakteristisches zeigen.'

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 80 f. pl. 14, 4—6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 73 pl. 34, 15, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 362 f. pl. 210, 11 and 13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 376 f. But by far the fullest collection of material is that of J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 70, 26, pl. 71, 8, 9, pl. 73, 12, pl. 77, 26, 27, pl. 81, 32—52. My fig. 388 is from a specimen in my collection, fig. 389 from Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 137 pl. BB, 1, fig. 390 from E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 301 fig.

fifth century[1], it is tempting to suppose that the statue here portrayed had originally an eagle poised on its left arm. Indeed, this would account well for the fact that many of the coins add an eagle seated at the god's foot (figs. 391, 392)[2], and some an eagle actually resting on his outstretched arm (fig. 393)[3]. Zeus as omnipotent antagonist might be thought to need both thunderbolt and lightning-bird. Nevertheless the eagle was hardly an essential adjunct[4], and the evidence of the coins, on the whole, tells against it.

Fig. 388.

Fig. 389.

Fig. 390.

Fig. 391.

Fig. 392.

Fig. 393.

A second group represents Zeus in milder mood. He no longer strides forward against the foe, but stands erect with left foot less advanced. Instead of brandishing the bolt, he merely holds it in his lowered right hand. This leaves his left arm extended in a rather meaningless manner (fig. 394)[5] and beneath it the die-sinker found room for a variable symbol—an owl (fig. 395)[6], an ear

[1] *Supra* i. 84 ff., ii. 739 ff.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 80 nos. 541—547, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 72 pl. 34, 14, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 363 pl. 210, 12, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 72, 25, pl. 73, 13, pl. 75, 13, pl. 81, 17—31. My fig. 391 is from a specimen of mine, fig. 392 from E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 301 fig.

[3] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 80, 25 (=my fig. 393), 26—28.

[4] See *e.g.* P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 159 pl. 8, 42.

[5] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 80, 22 (=my fig. 394), 23, 24.

[6] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 81, 1—6. My fig. 395 is from Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 12 pl. 2, 23[a]=Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 24 fig. 5 (Berlin).

of barley (fig. 396)[1], a ship's prow (figs. 397, 398)[2]. If this group too, as seems probable, shows an actual statue of bronze still existing on the Akropolis at the time of issue, that statue must have been a later and somewhat clumsy modification of the old militant figure, and may perhaps be assigned to the second or third decade of the fifth century B.C.[3]

Fig. 394.

Fig. 395.

Fig. 396.

Fig. 397.

Fig. 398.

In imperial times a fresh set of bronze pieces (figs. 399—402)[4] presents us with a refined and amended version of the foregoing type. The stance of the god is more springy and natural, and his

[1] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 81, 7 (=my fig. 396) and 8.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 81 pl. 14, 7, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 363 no. 5938, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 81, 9—16. My fig. 397 is from a specimen in my collection, fig. 398 from Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 137 pl. BB, 2.

[3] *Supra* ii. 745 f. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 24 f.: 'Die Formen, soweit sich über dieselben bei der Kleinheit des Bildes und der mässigen Erhaltung des Exemplars urteilen lässt, gehören dem reifen Archaismus an, der freilich bei der Darstellung in einem späten Stempel von seiner Schärfe verloren haben mag, dennoch aber bestimmt genug hervortritt, um es wenigstens glaublich zu machen, dass die Figur nicht für die Münze erfunden, sondern von einer Statue copirt ist.'

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 104 pl. 18, 5, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 137 pl. BB, 3, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 92, 5 and 6. My figs. 399, 400 are from Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 54 fig. 7 a, b, *id. Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 93 fig. 165, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 12 pl. 2, 23, all of which depend on the drawings in E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 396 fig. and T. Combe *Veterum populorum et regum numi qui in Museo Britannico adservantur* Londinii 1814 p. 131 no. 99 pl. 7, 1. But, since in these drawings the *phiále* appears with much greater distinctness than in the photographs of the coins, I have for honesty's sake added fresh drawings taken from J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 92, 5 (=my fig. 401) and from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum (=my fig. 402). If the alleged *phiále* is discredited, it might be possible to explain the outstretched hand of the god as a gesture of welcome. He is hardly putting a pinch of incense on his own altar.

outstretched hand is better employed in holding a *phiále*(?) over a conspicuous altar. One specimen (fig. 403)[1] shows an eagle on the extended arm—another case of intrusive adjunct, but useful as serving to connect the latest with the earliest statue.

Fig. 399.

Fig. 400.

Fig. 401.

Fig. 402.

Fig. 403.

I gather that the three series of coins represent three successive statues of Zeus *Polieús*, the third being Leochares' improvement, not—as Jahn[2] supposed—upon the first, but—as Overbeck[3] saw—upon the second. If so, we have to recognise in Zeus *Polieús* a development at once external and internal, aesthetic and ethical, to be compared with that which transformed the sixth-century *Pallás* advancing with uplifted lance[4] into the fifth-century *Parthénos* standing with lance at rest.

[1] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 92, 7 (=my fig. 403).

[2] O. Jahn in the *Nuove Memorie dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 1865 ii. 23 f.

[3] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 54 f.

[4] Whether this was the type of Athena Πολιάς is a moot point. O. Jahn *De antiquissimis Minervae simulacris Atticis* Bonnae 1866 p. 10 ff., citing both literary and monumental evidence, pronounced in favour of the fully armed fighting goddess in the so-called 'Palladion' pose, and his verdict has been accepted by the majority of subsequent critics (see *e.g.* Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 332 ff., E. Petersen *Die Burgtempel*

Sundry dedications to Zeus *Polieús* are on record. A base or throne of Pentelic marble found on the Akropolis was put up for him by a member of the deme Paiania[1]. And a silver bowl belonging to him was kept among the treasures of Athena[2].

The importance of his cult at Athens may be judged from the fact that in the theatre his priest occupied a marble throne immediately adjoining the splendid central seat of the priest of Dionysos *Eleuthereús*[3].

The festival of the god[4] was known by a variety of names as

der Athenaia Berlin 1907 p. 40 ff.). Others, however, have argued cogently in favour of a seated figure (*e.g.* E. Gerhard *Über die Minervenidole Athens* Berlin 1844 pp. 4—6 ('Athena Polias') pl. 1, *id. Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 6 ff. pl. 242, 1, R. Schöne *Griechische Reliefs aus athenischen Sammlungen* Leipzig 1872 p. 12 pl. 2, 1, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 687 ff.), and A. Frickenhaus 'Das Athenabild des alten Tempels in Athen' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1908 xxxiii. 17—32 has proved from inscriptions that for some thirty years in the course of the fourth century B.C. the goddess of the ἀρχαῖος νεώς wore a στεφάνη, πλάστρα ('ear-rings'), ὄχθοιβος ἐπὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ or περὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ ('necklace'), ὅρμοι πέντε, γλαῦξ χρυσῆ, αἰγὶς χρυσῆ, γοργόνειον (χρυσοῦν ?), φιάλη χρυσῆ ἐν τῇ χειρί—a continuity of garb which allows us to suppose that it was an old traditional costume and is at least compatible with the monumental evidence for a seated weaponless Athena. Accordingly G. von Brauchitsch *Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 pp. 167—180 ('Das Bild der Athena') concludes that the standing armed goddess was the Athena of Peisistratos, the cult-statue of the Hekatompedon, to whose care Athens was entrusted during the Persian invasion, when the older and more sacred seated goddess, Athena Πολιάς, was temporarily withdrawn from her sanctuary in the then existing Erechtheion.

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 1550 *b* [– – Π]αιαν[ιεὺς] | [ἀνέθ]ηκεν Διὶ Πολιε[ῖ].

[2] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 652 *A*, 48 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 586 *a*, 48 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 814 *A*, 48 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1388 *A*, 48f. [καρχ]ήσιον Διὸς Πολιῶς ἀργυρô[ν, στ][αθμὸν τούτο : HΠΔΔΔΔΓΗΗΗ :]. This καρχήσιον was an object of value, which is frequently mentioned in the temple inventories—first in 428—427 B.C., when it weighed 200 drachmas (*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 149, 10), last about 390—389 B.C., when its weight had fallen to 199 drachmas (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 661, 4). See further O. Jahn—A. Michaelis *Arx Athenarum*[3] Bonnae 1901 p. 52 on Paus. 1. 24. 4.

[3] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 242 ἱερέως | Διὸς Πολιέως. Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 470 no. 281 date the lettering 'Little before Christian era.' A photographic view of this and the adjacent thrones is given by M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 pl. 4. A. E. Haigh *The Attic Theatre*[2] Oxford 1898 p. 124 observes: 'That the thrones belong to the fourth century, and were erected in the time of Lycurgus, appears to be proved by the excellence of the workmanship. Each of them has an inscription in the front, recording the title of the priest or official for whom the seat was reserved. These inscriptions are all of the Hellenistic or Roman period; but behind them are faint traces of older inscriptions, which may possibly go back to the fourth century.'

[4] See the monograph of O. Band *De Diipoliorum sacro Atheniensium* Halae Saxonum 1873 pp. 1—67, P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 489 ff. and in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 399 ff., revised in his *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 pp. 203—221 ('Buphonien'), *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1055—1057 ('Buphonia'), *id. ib.* Suppl. iii. 339 f. ('Dipolieia'), Nilsson *Gr. Feste* pp. 14—16 ('Buphonien'), Harrison

the *Dipolíeia*[1] or *Diipolíeia*[2], the *Dipóleia*[3] or *Diipóleia*[4], the *Dipólia*[5] or *Diipólia*[6], and even the *Diospólia*[7]. The ancient grammarians derive these names from that of *Zeùs Polieús*[8], and we have every reason to accept their derivation[9]. The same festival, or rather the

Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. pp. 424—429 ('Bouphonia or Diipolia'), *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 111—113 ('*Bouphonia*, or ... Dipolia'), Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 4—7 ('*bouphonia*'), F. Schwenn *Gebet und Opfer* Heidelberg 1927 pp. 99—119 ('Buphonien'), L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 pp. 158—174 ('Dipolieia'), 253, and other literature to be cited later.

[1] J. Wackernagel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1890 xlv. 480—482 argues for Διπολίεια as the correct form, and restores accordingly *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 2 *A*, 18 f. [Διπολ]ιείοις καὶ | [Παναθε]ναίοις and *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1 no. 555 *a*, 7 [ἱ]ερ[ε]ῦσιν, οἳ Διπολι[ει-]. L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1906 ii. 1. 63 ff. no. 16 A a, 8 vindicates these restorations and publishes a more exact reading of the latter line, *viz.*: Κέρ[υ]χσιν οἳ Διπολιε[ι-]. In Aristoph. *pax* 420 H. Sharpley prints Διπολιεί', Ἀδώνια. Διπολιεῖα (G. Hermann on Aristoph. *nub.* 984 and M. H. E. Meier *De gentilitate Attica* Halis 1835 p. 46 no. 29) is supported by διπολιεῖς (*sic*), the manuscript reading of Bekker *anecd.* i. 91, 7.

[2] Διπολίεια Hesych. *s.v.* (cod.). M. Schmidt *ad loc.* assumes a fusion of two forms, *viz.* Διπόλια. In favour of this is the reading of cod. V. in the *et. mag.* p. 275, 1 Διπόλεῖα. Against it is the evidence quoted *supra* n. 1.

[3] Διπόλεια schol. Aristoph. *pax* 419, 420. Διπολεῖα Choirobosk. *orthogr.* in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 192, 20 (A. Lentz in Herodian. ii. 1. 493, 2 prints Διπόλεια) and 28. Διπολεῖον *et. mag.* p. 275, 3 (cod. D.).

[4] Διπόλεια Aristoph. *pax* 420 (codd.) with schol. *ad loc.* (codd. R. V.), schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 984, Harpokr. *s.v.* Διπόλεια (codd. B. I. N. and E.), Hesych. *s.v.* Διπόλια, Souid. *s.vv.* Βουφόνια (codd. A. B. E.), Διπόλεια, Διπόλια (cod. V.), Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Διπόλεια (p. 518, 1), Favorin. *lex.* p. 508, 43 f., Theodos. *gramm.* p. 69, 21 Goettling. Διπολεία Zonar. *lex. s.v.* (p. 525, 2 f.). Διπολεῖον Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Διπολεία (p. 525, 2 f.), *et. mag.* p. 275, 3. Διηπόλεια Harpokr. *s.v.* Διπόλεια (cod. C.).

[5] Διπόλια Hesych. *s.v.*, cp. Aristoph. *nub.* 984 Διπολιώδη. Διπόλια was wrongly restored by A. Kirchhoff in *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1 no. 555 *a*, 7 [ἱ]ερ[ε]ῦσιν, οἳ Διπολί[οις], cp. *ib.* no. 531, 12 f. Δ|ιπολ[-]: see *supra* n. 1.

[6] Διπόλια Antiph. *tetr.* 1. 4. 8, Ail. *var. hist.* 8. 3, Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10, schol. Aristoph. *pax* 419 (cod. V.), schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 408, 984 (cod. V.), Harpokr. *s.v.* Διπόλεια (codd. except B. C. I. N. and E.), Bekker *anecd.* i. 238, 21, *et. mag.* p. 275, 1, Hesych. *s.vv.* Βούτης, Βουφονία, Διπόλια, Souid. *s.vv.* Βουφόνια, Διπόλεια (codd. except A. B. C. E. V.), Διπόλια, Θαύλων, Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 8 and 24. Διπολία *et. mag.* p. 275, 1. Διηπόλια Souid. *s.v.* Διπόλεια after διῆρξα (codd. C. V.).

[7] Διοσπόλια Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30.

[8] So schol. Aristoph. *pax* 419, *nub.* 984, Hesych. *s.v.* Διπολίεια, Souid. *s.v.* Διπόλια, cp. Favorin. *lex.* p. 508, 43 Διπόλεια, τῷ Διὶ τελεταί. From a supposed Zeus Πολιαῖος Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Διπόλεια (p. 518, 1 ff.), *et. mag.* p. 275, 1 f. From an equally impossible Zeus Πολειαῖος Choirobosk. *orthogr.* in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 192, 29.

[9] The formation of Διπολίεια from Ζεὺς Πολιεύς is exactly paralleled by that of Διισωτήρια (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 469, 21 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1008, 21 (118/7 B.C.), *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 471, 30 and 78 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1006, 30 and 78 (122/1 B.C.), *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1358, 15, *ib.* ii. 3 no. 1387, 3 (?)) from Ζεὺς Σωτήρ (O. Band *De Diipoliorum sacro Atheniensium* Halae Saxonum p. 10, Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 512 n. 3, 524 n. 1, L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 pp. 174—176). J. Wackernagel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1890 xlv. 480 ff.

most impressive portion of it[1], was called the *Bouphónia*[2] or 'Ox-slaughter[3].' It took place on the fourteenth day of Skirophorion[4], a month corresponding roughly with our June—July.

contends that the old dative Διὶ Πολιεῖ gave rise to the form Διπολίεια, which was subsequently changed into Διιπολίεια to suit the later dative Διὶ Πολιεῖ. He holds that in like manner the *Διισωτήρια became the Διισωτήρια. The earlier form may be inferred from the name of the god's temple Δισωτήριον (Bekker *anecd.* i. 91, 6 f. Δισωτήριον καλοῦσιν Ἀθήνησι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Σωτῆρος Διός. ἔστι δὲ Ἀττικὸν τὸ σχῆμα. Διπόλια γοῦν καλεῖται ἑορτή. κ.τ.λ.): the later form naturally occurs in the inscriptions, which are all of Hellenistic date. As to the successive terminations Διιπολίεια, Διιπόλεια, Διιπόλια Wackernagel *loc. cit.* p. 481 compares the series ὑγιείη, ὑγείη, ὑγία (F. Blass *Pronunciation of Ancient Greek* trans. W. J. Purton Cambridge 1890 pp. 18, 61, K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*[3] Berlin 1900 p. 49 n. 362, G. Meyer *Griechische Grammatik*[3] Leipzig 1896 p. 132 n. 2, A. Thumb in K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 76).

E. Curtius *Attische Studien* Göttingen 1862 i. 247 proposed to connect Διπόλια with the root πελ- and to regard it as the festival of the Διπόλοι or 'Zeus-worshippers.' But the term Διπόλοι is nowhere found.

Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 111 n. 2 would render 'the festival of the Plough Curse' (*ib.* p. 23 δῖο- for δῖσο=*dīro-*). But she later abandoned this derivation.

[1] Hesych. *s.v.* Βούτης (Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 8)· ...ὁ τοῖς Διπολίοις τὰ Βουφόνια δρῶν. The two names occur together also in Aristoph. *nub.* 984 f., Ail. *var. hist.* 8. 3 Διιπόλια τὴν ἑορτὴν καλοῦσι καὶ Βουφόνια, Hesych. *s.v.* Βουφονία=Souid. *s.v.* Βουφόνια, schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 985=Souid. *s.v.* Βουφόνια *bis.*

That the Βουφόνια was, to speak strictly, a definite rite which took place at the festival of the Διπολίεια, is recognised by J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 149, P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 489, in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 407, in his *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 203, and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1055, Suppl. iii. 339 f., L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 158 f., and the great majority of modern scholars. Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 512 (cp. *ib.* p. 517 n. 1) thought that the festival might have been called Διπόλια in official language, Βουφόνια in popular parlance. H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 197 inferred from Ail. *loc. cit.* 'dass zwei Berichte über zwei Feste zusammengeworfen sind.' U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1932 ii. 172 (cp. *ib.* p. 353) 'die altattischen Διειπόλια, Μαιμακτήρια, Βουφόνια' is doubly inexact.

[2] Βουφόνια Aristoph. *nub.* 985 with schol. *ad loc.*, Ail. *var. hist.* 8. 3, Harpokr. *s.v.* Βουφόνια, Hesych. *s.v.* Βούτης (Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 8), *et. mag.* p. 210, 30, Souid. *s.v.* Βουφόνια, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 691, 64. Βουφονία Hesych. *s.v.* (cod.), Bekker *anecd.* i. 221, 22. Βουφόνεια Souid. *s.v.* Βουφόνια (cod. E.).

[3] The contention of W. Robertson Smith *The Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1894 (*ib.*[3] London 1927) p. 304 ff. (accepted by Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] ii. 295, *ib.*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 4 ff., Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 111, N. W. Thomas in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 508, and others) that Βουφόνια denotes 'Ox-*murder*' has been called in question by P. Stengel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 402 (cp. *Il.* 7. 466 βουφόνεον δὲ κατὰ κλισίας καὶ δόρπον ἔλοντο with schol. *ad loc.* βουφονεῖν ἐστὶν οὐ τὸ θύειν θεοῖς, ἄτοπον γὰρ ἐπὶ θυσίας φόνον λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ φονεύειν βοῦς εἰς δεῖπνου κατασκευήν), in his *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 213 ff., and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 339 f.

[4] Schol. Aristoph. *pax* 419, *et. mag.* p. 210, 30 ff. The only divergent statement is found, among other blunders, in Bekker *anecd.* i. 238, 21 ff. Διπόλια γάρ ἐστιν ἑορτὴ μὲν Διί, ἣ καὶ Δειλία (Bekker cj. Διάσια) καλεῖται, γίνεται δὲ ἕκτην (A. Mommsen cj. ἕκτῃ) ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Σκληροφοριῶνος (Bekker cj. Σκιρροφοριῶνος) μηνός.

(α) Ritual of the Dipolieia.

The ritual of the Dipolieia is known to us primarily from passages in Porphyrios[1] and Pausanias[2]. Porphyrios appears to be

[1] It will be convenient here to print the passages *in extenso* as they stand in the Teubner text (ed. A. Nauck) and further on to discuss particular points.

Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10 βοῦν δὲ Δίομος ἔσφαξε πρῶτος, ἱερεὺς ὢν τοῦ Πολιέως Διός, ὅτι τῶν Διιπολείων (so Nauck for Διιπολίων) ἀγομένων καὶ παρεσκευασμένων κατὰ τὸ πάλαι ἔθος τῶν καρπῶν ὁ βοῦς προσελθὼν ἀπεγεύσατο τοῦ ἱεροῦ πελάνου· συνεργοὺς γὰρ λαβὼν τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι παρῆσαν, ἀπέκτεινε τοῦτον.

Porph. *de abst.* 2. 29 ff. τὸ γὰρ παλαιόν, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν ἐλέγομεν, καρποὺς τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων θυόντων, ζῷα δὲ οὔ, οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν τροφὴν καταχρωμένων, λέγεται κοινῆς θυσίας οὔσης Ἀθήνησιν Δίομον ἢ Σώπατρόν τινα, τῷ γένει οὐκ ἐγχώριον, γεωργοῦντα δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἐπεὶ πελάνου τε καὶ τῶν θυλημάτων ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἐναργῶς κειμένων, ἵνα τοῖς θεοῖς ταῦτα θύοι, τῶν βοῶν τις εἰσιὼν ἀπ' ἔργου τὰ μὲν κατέφαγεν τὰ δὲ συνεπάτησεν, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπεραγανακτήσαντα τῷ συμβάντι, πελέκεώς (J. J. Reiske cj. πέλεκύν) τινος πλησίον ἀκονωμένου, τοῦτον ἁρπάξαντα, πατάξαι τὸν βοῦν. τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βοός, ὡς ἔξω τῆς ὀργῆς καταστὰς συνεφρόνησεν οἷον ἔργον ἦν εἰργασμένος, τὸν μὲν βοῦν θάπτει, φυγὴν δὲ ἑκούσιον ἁρόμενος ὡς ἠσεβηκώς, ἔφυγεν εἰς Κρήτην. αὐχμῶν δὲ κατεχόντων καὶ δεινῆς ἀκαρπίας γενομένης, ἐπερωτῶσι κοινῇ τὸν θεὸν ἀνεῖλεν (so R. Hercher for ἀνεῖπεν) ἡ Πυθία τὸν ἐν Κρήτῃ φυγάδα ταῦτα λύσειν (Nauck cj. παύσειν), τόν τε φονέα τιμωρησαμένων καὶ τὸν τεθνεῶτα ἀναστησάντων ἐν ᾗπερ ἀπέθανε θυσίᾳ λῷον (so C. A. Lobeck for the corrupt ἀπέθανον σιάλω δν (or ὄν). J. J. Reiske had cj. ἀπέθανεν ἐργασίᾳ λῷον) ἔσεσθαι γευσαμένοις τε τοῦ τεθνεῶτος καὶ μὴ κατασχοῦσιν (Nauck condemns καὶ μὴ κατασχοῦσιν as 'verba corrupta'). ὅθεν ζητήσεως γενομένης καὶ τοῦ [Σωπάτρου (*expunxit* Nauck)] μεταιτίου (so J. J. Reiske for μετὰ) τῆς πράξεως ἀνευρεθέντος, Σώπατρος νομίσας τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν (so ed. pr. αὐτὸ codd. Mm.) δυσκολίας ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι ὡς ἐναγοῦς ὄντος (ὡς ἐναγοῦς ὄντος 'verba aut spuria videntur esse aut vitiosa' Nauck), εἰ κοινῇ τοῦτο (J. Bernays cj. ταὐτὸ) πράξειαν πάντες, ἔφη πρὸς τοὺς αὐτὸν (so ed. pr. αὐτὸ codd. Mm.) μετελθόντας, δεῖν κατακοπῆναι βοῦν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως. ἀπορούντων δὲ τίς ὁ πατάξων ἔσται, παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο, εἰ πολίτην αὐτὸν ποιησάμενοι κοινωνήσουσι (so R. Hercher for καὶ κοινωνήσουσι) τοῦ φόνου. συγχωρηθέντων οὖν τούτων, ὡς ἐπανῆλθον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, συνέταξαν οὕτω τὴν πρᾶξιν, ᾗπερ (J. Bernays cj. ᾗπερ) καὶ νῦν διαμένει παρ' αὐτοῖς. 30 ὑδροφόρους παρθένους κατέλεξαν· αἱ δ' ὕδωρ κομίζουσιν, ὅπως τὸν πέλεκυν καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἀκονήσουσιν. ἀκονησάντων δὲ ἐπέδωκεν μὲν τὸν πέλεκυν ἕτερος, ὁ δ' ἐπάταξε τὸν βοῦν, ἄλλος δ' ἔσφαξεν· τῶν δὲ (so ed. Cantabrigiae 1655 for δὴ) μετὰ ταῦτα δειράντων, ἐγεύσαντο τοῦ βοὸς πάντες. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων τὴν μὲν δορὰν τοῦ βοὸς ῥάψαντες καὶ χόρτῳ ἐπογκώσαντες (so Nauck for ἀπογκώσαντες or ἀπεγκώσαντες) ἐξανέστησαν, ἔχοντα ταὐτὸν ὅπερ καὶ ζῶν ἔσχεν σχῆμα, καὶ προσέζευξαν ἄροτρον ὡς ἐργαζομένῳ. κρίσιν δὲ ποιούμενοι τοῦ φόνου πάντας ἐκάλουν εἰς ἀπολογίαν τοὺς τῆς πράξεως κοινωνήσαντας. ὧν δὴ (so J. Bernays for ὡς δὲ) αἱ μὲν ὑδροφόροι τοὺς ἀκονήσαντας αὐτῶν ᾐτιῶντο μᾶλλον, οἱ δὲ ἀκονήσαντες τὸν ἐπιδόντα (so Nauck for ἐπιδιδόντα) τὸν πέλεκυν, οὗτος δὲ τὸν ἐπισφάξαντα (on the assumption that this omits a stage, Nauck cj. οὗτος δὲ τὸν πατάξαντα, ὁ δὲ πατάξας τὸν σφάξαντα and Bernays cj. οὗτος δὲ τὸν πατάξαντα, ὁ δὲ τὸν ἐπισφάξαντα. But see *infra* p. 584 n. 1), καὶ ὁ τοῦτο δράσας τὴν μάχαιραν, καθ' ἧς οὔσης ἀφώνου τὸν φόνον κατέγνωσαν. ἀπὸ δ' ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀεὶ τοῖς Διιπολείοις (so Nauck for Διοσπολίοις) Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ἀκροπόλει οἱ εἰρημένοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ποιοῦνται τὴν τοῦ βοὸς θυσίαν. θέντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς χαλκῆς (Nauck cj. ἐπὶ χαλκῆς) τραπέζης πέλανον καὶ ψαιστά, περιελαύνουσι τοὺς κατανεμηθέντας βοῦς, ὧν ὁ γευσάμενος ἅπτεται. καὶ γένη τῶν ταῦτα δρώντων ἔστιν νῦν (Nauck cj. ἔστι τρία)· οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατάξαντος [Σωπάτρου (*delevit* Nauck)] βουτύποι καλούμενοι πάντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ περιελάσαντος κεντριάδαι· τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπισφάξαντος δαιτροὺς ὀνομάζουσιν διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς μερεανομίας γιγνομένην δαῖτα. πληρώσαντες δὲ τὴν βύρσαν, ὅταν πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἀχθῶσιν, ἀτεπόντωσαν (J. Bernays cj. καταποντοῦσι. But see *infra* p. 584 n. 2) τὴν μάχαιραν.

quoting *verbatim* from Theophrastos' treatise *On Piety*[1] (*c.* 332 B.C.); and Pausanias writes (*c.* 170 A.D.) as one who has visited the Akropolis and taken a personal interest in its cults. The following account is in the main that of Porphyrios[2], words enclosed in square brackets being additions from Pausanias:—

[Barley and wheat[3],] made up into semi-solid porridge and solid cakes[4], were placed on the bronze table [or altar of Zeus *Polieûs*[5]].

31 οὕτως οὔτε τὸ παλαιὸν ὅσιον ἦν κτείνειν τὰ συνεργὰ τοῖς βίοις ἡμῶν ζῷα, νῦν τε τοῦτο φυλακτέον ἐστὶ πράττειν.

[2] Paus. 1. 24. 4. (after the sentence cited *supra* p. 570 n. 4) τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέως κριθὰς καταθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν μεμιγμένας πυροῖς οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσι φυλακήν· ὁ βοῦς δέ, ὃν ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἑτοιμάσαντες φυλάσσουσιν, ἅπτεται τῶν σπερμάτων φοιτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν. καλοῦσι δέ τινα τῶν ἱερέων βουφόνον, < ὃς κτείνας τὸν βοῦν (*ins.* A. Michaelis *duce* F. Sylburg) > καὶ ταύτῃ τὸν πέλεκυν ῥίψας—οὕτω γάρ ἐστίν οἱ νόμος—οἴχεται φεύγων· οἱ δὲ ἅτε τὸν ἄνδρα ὃς ἔδρασε τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἰδότες, ἐς δίκην ὑπάγουσι τὸν πέλεκυν. ταῦτα μὲν τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον δρῶσιν. *Infra* p. 583 n. 2.

Paus. 1. 28. 10 τὸ δὲ ἐν πρυτανείῳ καλούμενον, ἔνθα τῷ σιδήρῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀψύχοις δικάζουσιν, ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄρξασθαι νομίζω. Ἀθηναίων βασιλεύοντος Ἐρεχθέως, τότε πρῶτον βοῦν ἔκτεινεν ὁ βουφόνος ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Πολιέως Διός· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπολιπὼν ταύτῃ τὸν πέλεκυν ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας φεύγων, ὁ δὲ πέλεκυς παραυτίκα ἀφείθη (H. Hitzig cj. ἀφείθη ἐς θάλασσαν) κριθεὶς καὶ ἐς τόδε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κρίνεται. *Infra* p. 583 n. 5.

[1] That Porphyrios is transcribing from Theophrastos περὶ εὐσεβείας, was detected by J. Bernays *Theophrastos' Schrift über Frömmigkeit* Berlin 1866 p. 122 ff.

[2] H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 187 ff. contends that Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 is citing from Theophrastos, not the ritual of the Athenian Dipolieia, but that of some Ionian, probably Delian, cult (*infra* (β) Sopatros). And this 'ionische Hypothese' has met with some measure of approval. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 14 accepts it outright. So did P. Stengel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 399 ff., but later withdrew his support (*id. Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 204 f.) and ended by definite denial of von Prott's contention (*id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 330). C. Robert also in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1899 clxi. 526 rejected the idea, and so does L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 167. F. Schwenn *Gebet und Opfer* Heidelberg 1927 p. 100 regards the rite as Attic, and at most will say: 'Es ist möglich, dass ein solches Fest auch an anderen jonischen Orten stattfand.'

To me it would seem that to accept von Prott's hypothesis is practically to charge Porphyrios, a very learned and honest man, with incredible ignorance or deliberate misrepresentation of the facts. For he had himself lived and studied at Athens under Apollonios and Longinus, so that he certainly ought to have known the ritual of one of the chief Athenian festivals, and he asserts in perfectly explicit terms ἀπὸ δ' ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀεὶ τοῖς Διοσπολίοις Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ἀκροπόλει οἱ εἰρημένοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ποιοῦνται τὴν τοῦ βοὸς θυσίαν. I cannot, therefore, adopt von Prott's assumption that Porphyrios is contaminating Attic with non-Attic elements.

[3] Paus. 1. 24. 4 κριθὰς...μεμιγμένας πυροῖς, described in the sequel as τῶν σπερμάτων. Cp. Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10 τῶν καρπῶν, subsequently called τοῦ ἱεροῦ πελάνου.

[4] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 πέλανον καὶ ψαιστά, cp. *ib.* 2. 29 πελάνου τε καὶ τῶν θυλημάτων. The word πέλανος (on which see P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1894 xxix. 281—289 ('ΠΕΛΑΝΟΣ'), 1896 xxxi. 477 f. ('Nachtrag zu ΠΕΛΑΝΟΣ'), *id.* in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juni 21, 1902 p. 780 ff., Aug. 24, 1907 p. 1063 f., *id. Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 pp. 66—72 ('ΠΕΛΑΝΟΣ'), Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.* p. 88 ff.) is used of the same offerings by Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10, schol. Aristoph. *pax* 419, schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 985 = Souid. *s.v.* Βουφόνια *bis*, Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 20 ff., Hesych.

s.v. Διπολίεια, *et. mag.* p. 275, 4. A more substantial cake is implied by Hesych. *s.v.* Βουφονία·...πόπανον...οἷον πλακούντιον ἐξ ἄρτου. Πόπανον is the word also in schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 985 (ἄλλως)=Souid. *s.vv.* Βουφόνια, Θαύλων, Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 23 ff. See further O. Band *De Diipoliorum sacro Atheniensium* Halae Saxonum 1873 p. 19 n. 14.

[5] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 ἐπὶ τῆς χαλκῆς τραπέζης (cp. *ib.* 2. 29 ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης), but Paus. 1. 24. 4 ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν. (1) P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 492 n. 1 denies that there is any incongruity, since the altar would have been covered with a bronze plate: this was commonly done by way of preparation for burnt-offerings, and always in the case of valuable altars—see Lolling in Ἀθηνᾶ 1891 p. 595. The same view is taken by Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 519. But H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 193 n. 1 justly objects that such an altar would not be called τράπεζα. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 208 n. 1 is content to conclude: 'Die χαλκῆ τράπεζα wird sich freilich von einem βωμός wenig unterschieden haben; τράπεζαι

Fig. 404.

sind grosse altarförmige massive Basen (Brückner, Ornament und Form der att. Grabstelen 1 f.). Die Form beider geht ineinander über (Pfuhl, Athen. Mitt. xxviii 336).' (2) H. von Prott himself *loc. cit.* regards the discrepancy as evidence that Pausanias is describing an Attic, Porphyrios, or rather his source Theophrastos, a non-Attic cult. But see *supra* p. 578 n. 2. (3) H. Mischkowski *Die heiligen Tische im Götterkultus der Griechen und Römer* Königsberg i. Pr. 1917 pp. 1—3 ('Das Verhältnis von Tisch und Altar') holds that table and altar served the same purposes and ends by asserting: 'Wie in der Darstellung so werden auch in der Sprache die beiden Kultgegenstände miteinander vermengt. βωμός—ara bezeichnete mehr den allgemeinen Zweck, τράπεζα—mensa die besondere Form.' But his premises are far from secure. He thinks that the Naples vase noted below (fig. 404) represents two tables, on one of which a fire is burning; that the use of a table for animal burnt-offerings is proved by Diog. Laert. 4. 56=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 5. 37. 7 ff. ὁ πολλὰ χλευάσας βροτούς, ὅσοι θεοῖς ἔθυον, | οὐ μοῦνον ἐσχάρης πέρ βωμῶν τε καὶ τραπέζης | κνίσῃ, λίπει, θυλήμασιν θεῶν ἔδαισε ῥῖνας; that the silver βωμός of Paus. 2. 17. 6 and the bronze βωμός of Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 39 were really metal τράπεζαι; etc. etc.—a string of highly disputable contentions. (4) I have elsewhere urged that an altar for the presentation of vegetable offerings was normally shaped like a table and called τράπεζα, whereas an altar for the burnt-sacrifice of animals was a solid structure called βωμός (*Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 370 ff.). If so, it is natural to suppose that

the barley and wheat were set out *ἐπὶ τῆς χαλκῆς τραπέζης* (Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30), while the ox was slain *ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ* (Paus. 1. 28. 10). Zeus Πολιεύς, in short, like Zeus Λύκαιος (Paus. 8. 30. 2), had both kinds of altar, doubtless close together—perhaps even in actual contiguity (cp. the *τράπεζα* + *βωμός* of Dionysos on a volute-*amphora* from Ruvo, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 282 ff. no. 2411, O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860 xxxii. 5 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pls. 37 and 38 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 154, 1 and 2, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 349 fig. 417. My fig. 404 is an extract from Jahn's pl. 37, illustrating the juxtaposition of the cult-statue with both types of altar)). On this showing the statement that the cereals were placed *ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν* (Paus. 1. 24. 4) is inexact.

I take this opportunity of publishing (fig. 405) a votive table in terra cotta, found in the Kabeirion near Thebes and now in my collection. Oblong top, $4\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ inches; legs

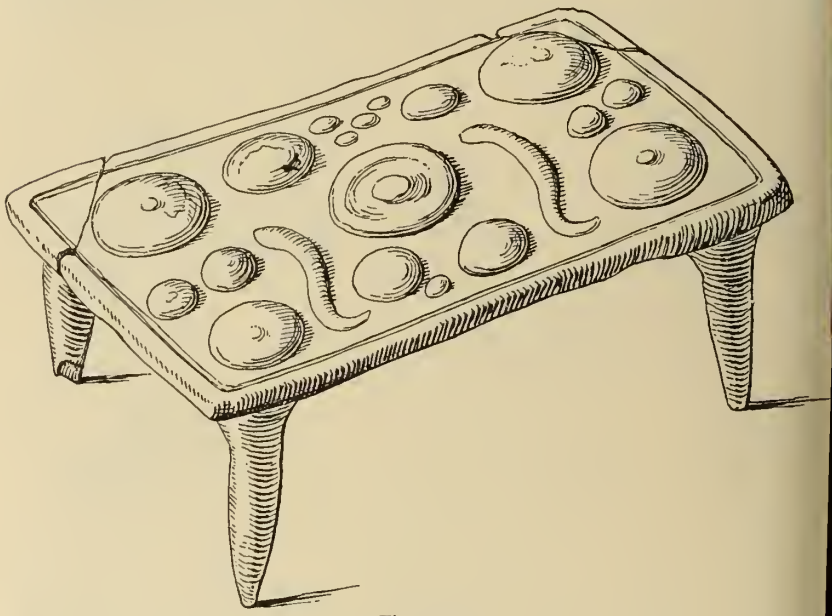


Fig. 405.

(one restored), $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. The clay is covered with a white slip, which shows many traces of paint: the table itself was yellow, the offerings on it were red. In the centre is a *phiále omphalotós*. In each corner is a cake (or cup?—*μαστός*, *μαστίον supra* ii. 346 n. 0) shaped like a female breast with central nipple. Smaller circular cakes, some of which may be meant for fruit, are scattered about. And there are two slices of meat (eels?). For Egyptian, Assyrian, Syro-Phoenician, Persian, and Hittite parallels see K. Galling *Der Altar in den Kulturen des alten Orients* Berlin 1924 p. 9 f. ('Altartische') pl. 2 figs. 14—17, p. 49 f. ('Der löwenfüssige Altartisch') pl. 10 fig. 24, p. 50 f. ('Die privaten Altartische') pl. 10 fig. 25, a—p, pp. 64 f. ('Der Tischaltar'), 77 ('Tischaltäre 1—26'), p. 83 ff. ('Der Tischaltar') pl. 15 figs. 9—15, 16—19, p. 92 ff. ('Der chettische Tischaltar') pl. 15 figs. 8, 11, pl. 16 fig. 12. Recently W. Deonna in a clearly conceived and admirably illustrated article ('Mobilier Délien' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1934 lviii. 1—90 with 61 figs.) has traced the whole evolution of 'la table d'offrandes' from earliest pagan beginnings up to latest Christian usage. His series includes food set out on the bare soil or mound or rock; the platter; the platter with low feet; the platter with legs; the table; the table with rings or hollows; the table with vases and viands in relief; etc.

Oxen assigned for the purpose[1] were then driven round[2], and the ox

One piece of evidence must be examined with special care. In the eastern frieze of the temple of Athena Nike (Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 127 Archit. pl. 9, A, B = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 15 nos. 1, 2) the central group of assembled deities (fig. 406) comprises, from left to right, Poseidon seated and Athena standing, balanced by Zeus enthroned and, in front of his footstool, certain traces on the background of the relief. B. Sauer 'Das Göttergericht über Asia und Hellas' in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 p. 96 ff., relying on a sketch by Gilliéron, took these traces to represent a 'Zähltisch' like that on the Dareios-vase (*supra* ii. 853 pl. xxxviii). Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 449 saw in them, not a table for votes, but a table for wreaths to indicate the victory bestowed by Zeus Ἐλευθέριος. 'It was,' he says, 'a sacred table, like that brazen trapeza which stood in front of Zeus Polieus on the Akropolis, and upon which the

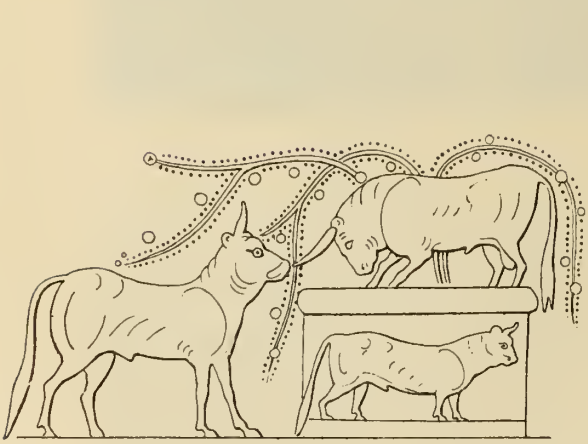
Fig. 406.

sacrificial ox was offered at the Bouphonia.' Now if the said traces were really those of a table, they might indeed have been identified as the table of Zeus Πολιεύς. But the two legs, when photographed from a cast, appear rather to be human and, if so, are better explained by C. Blumel *Der Fries des Tempels der Athena Nike* Berlin 1923 p. 12 f. pl. i—iii (part of which = my fig. 406) as those of a winged Nike standing before the seated Zeus (again cp. the Dareios-vase). L. Ross—E. Schaubert—C. Hansen *Die Akropolis von Athen nach den neuesten Ausgrabungen* I. *Tempel der Nike Apteros* Berlin (1839) p. 12 pl. 11, c had long since suggested Ganymedes, and R. Förster in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1870 p. 39 f. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1874 xxxii. 102, with much less likelihood, a goat-legged Pan.

[1] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 τοὺς κατανεμηθέντας βοῦς. P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1056 translates (after J. Bernays) 'sattgeweidete Stiere,' full-fed oxen. But Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 516 n. 2 with more reason prefers 'die zugewiesenen Rinder.'

[2] This part of the ceremony—a moment of tense anticipation—is, if I am not mistaken, represented on two Attic vases of late black-figured style, very probably the work of the same artist: (1) An *amphora* at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 367 f. no. 1882, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 8 pl. 242, 3 (= my fig. 407) and 4, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 122, 7 and 8) shows a rectangular altar, surrounded by four oxen, with an olive(?)-tree

Fig. 407.



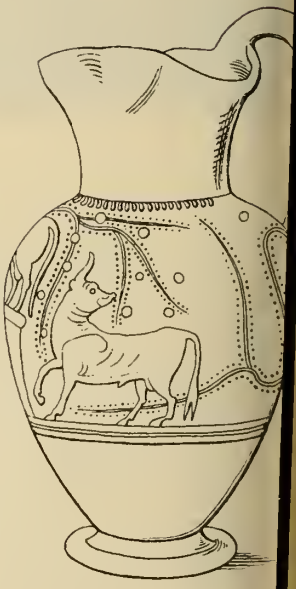


Fig. 408.

that [drew near the altar and[1]] tasted of the meal was slain. Minute regulations were observed in connexion with its slaughter. Chosen virgins called *Hydrophóroi* or 'Water-carriers' brought water, with which certain men whetted an axe and a knife. This done, another man handed the axe. Another [, named the *Bouphónos*, used the axe and[2]] struck the ox. Yet another slit the animal's throat[3], presumably with the knife. After that, it was flayed. Its flesh was distributed to all and tasted by all. Next they sewed up the skin, stuffed it with hay, raised up the would-be ox, and yoked it to a plough as though it were alive again and at work. [Meantime the *Bouphónos*, having struck the first blow, dropped his axe beside the altar, left it there and fled the country. The axe was at once tried (presumably in the Prytaneion[4]) and definitely acquitted[5].] At the

in the background. One of the oxen, seen against the black altar, is necessarily painted white. Two others, emerging to right and left, face outwards. A fourth, on the far side of the altar, is by the law of early perspective raised above it, though not completely so. (2) An *oinochóe* at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 366 f. no. 1335, G. Micali *Storia degli antichi popoli italiani* Firenze 1832 iii. 173 no. 3, *id. Monumenti per servire alla storia degli antichi popoli italiani*[2] Firenze 1833 Atlas pl. 98, 3 (=my fig. 408)) has an almost identical group, except that the white ox seen against the altar is on a slightly smaller scale, while those to right and left of it are differently disposed. The same trick of perspective makes the feet of the furthest ox disappear behind the altar. We must not, of course, assume with Jahn that the first ox was merely painted on an oblong pedestal or that the last ox was actually standing upon it.

[1] Paus. 1. 24. 4 ὁ βοῦς δέ, ὃν ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἑτοιμάσαντες φυλάσσουσιν, ἅπτεται τῶν σπερμάτων φοιτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν. I should endorse the opinion of L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 159 n. 4: 'Dabei wird weniger daran zu denken sein, dass man ihn hungern liess (Prott, Rh. Mus. 52, 1897, 194), als an die übliche Säuberung und Schmückung des Opfertieres. Der griechische Ausdruck ἑτοιμάζειν setzt eher eine positive Handlung voraus.' It is, however, possible that in Pausanias' day the finest ox was at the critical moment induced to come forward, apparently of its own accord.

[2] The neatest mend of this defective passage (*supra* p. 577 n. 2) is certainly A. Michaelis' insertion of <ὃς κτείνας τὸν βοῦν> after the word βουφόνον. This was an improvement on F. Sylburg's <οὗτος ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν βοῦν κτείνας>. Michaelis also suggested ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν. <τοῦτον δὲ κτείνας ὁ Βουφόνος> (καλοῦσι δέ τινα τῶν ἱερέων βουφόνον) καὶ ταύτῃ κ.τ.λ. All attempts to fill the *lacuna* must, of course, rely on Paus. 1. 28. 10 (*supra* p. 577 n. 2).

[3] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 ὁ δ' ἐπάταξε τὸν βοῦν, ἄλλος δ' ἔσφαξεν. So in *Od.* 3. 447 ff. Thrasymedes struck (ἤλασεν) the ox for sacrifice with an axe, and Peisistratos then cut its throat (σφάξεν) and let the blood run out, so that it died; after which it was cut up, etc.

[4] Aristot. Ἀθ. πολ. 57. 4, Dem. *c. Aristocr.* 76, Aischin. *c. Ctes.* 244, Poll. 8. 120, Harpokr. *s.v.* ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ, Bekker *anecd.* i. 311, 15 f., Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 495, 3 f., Souid. *s.v.* ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ, *et. mag.* p. 362, 54 ff., Favorin. *lex.* p. 718, 43 ff. See further an interesting note by Sir J. G. Frazer in his *Pausanias* ii. 370—372 and a couple of articles by W. W. Hyde 'The Prosecution of Lifeless Things and Animals in Greek Law' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1917 xxxviii. 152—175, 285—303.

[5] Paus. 1. 24. 4 (context *supra* p. 577 n. 2) οἱ δὲ ἅτε τὸν ἄνδρα ὃς ἔδρασε τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἰδότες, ἐς δίκην ὑπάγουσι τὸν πέλεκυν, 1. 28. 10 (context *supra* p. 577 n. 2) ὁ δὲ πέλεκυς

trial all that had shared in the bad business were charged with bloodshed and forced to plead in defence of their action. So the Water-carriers blamed the men that whetted the axe and knife. The men that whetted the axe and knife blamed the man that handed the axe. The man that handed the axe blamed, not indeed the man that first struck the ox[1] (for he had left his axe and fled), but the man that completed the slaughter with his knife. The man that completed the slaughter with his knife blamed the knife. Finally the knife, since it could not say a word in its own defence, was condemned as guilty of the bloodshed and cast into the sea[2]. It thus appears that the real culprits, the man that first struck the

παραυτίκα ἀφείθη κριθεὶς καὶ ἐς τόδε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κρίνεται. Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 514 n. 2 justly remarks that ἀφείθη must here mean 'was acquitted' because a few lines before, in the clause πρὶν ἢ Θησεὺς ἀφείθη, Pausanias had used the same word in that sense. B. Tamaro also in the *Annuario della r. scuola di Atene e delle missione italiane in oriente* 1921—1922 iv.—v. 5 (cp. *id.* 'La Bouphonia' in the *Cronaca delle Belle Arti* 1920 p. 10 f.) accepts that meaning. Even H. von Prott, who holds that the axe was really cast out of the country, does not deny that Pausanias meant 'the axe was acquitted' and is reduced to supposing that he must have misunderstood his authority (*Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 194 n. 1). L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 159 f., while admitting that von Prott's solution is possible, inclines to adopt an emendation proposed by E. Pottier in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 270 n. 24 and printed in the text as a certainty by H. Hitzig ἀφείθη <ἐς θάλασσαν> (cp. Paus. 1. 3. 1 ἀφιεὶς Θησεὺς ἐς θάλασσαν Σκίρωνα). But this expedient confuses the axe with the knife and misses the whole point of the situation.

[1] In Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 (context *supra* p. 577 n. 1) ὧν δὴ αἱ μὲν ὑδροφόροι τοὺς ἀκονήσαντας αὐτῶν ᾐτιῶντο μᾶλλον, οἱ δὲ ἀκονήσαντες τὸν ἐπιδόντα τὸν πέλεκυν, οὗτος δὲ τὸν ἐπισφάξαντα, καὶ ὁ τοῦτο δράσας τὴν μάχαιραν, καθ' ἧς οὔσης ἀφώνου τὸν φόνον κατέγνωσαν the text is sound. A. Nauck wanted to read οὗτος δὲ <τὸν πατάξαντα, ὁ δὲ πατάξας> τὸν σφάξαντα and J. Bernays printed οὗτος δὲ <τὸν πατάξαντα, ὁ δὲ> τὸν ἐπισφάξαντα. But obviously ὁ πατάξας could not blame anybody, for he had made good his escape. In fact Pausanias says: οἱ δὲ ἅτε τὸν ἄνδρα ὃς ἔδρασε τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἰδότες ἐς δίκην ὑπάγουσι τὸν πέλεκυν (1. 24. 4). P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 494 takes this to mean that the bystanders did not know where the doer of the deed was to be found. But, strictly speaking, we can only render the phrase, as H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 198 insists, 'not knowing the man that had done the deed.' Probably Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 514 is right in saying: 'Die übrigen Versammelten thun so, als wenn sie den, der das Rind erschlagen, nicht kennten, und führen das am Orte gebliebene Beil vor Gericht.' Yet Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 205 is dissatisfied: 'Der Erklärung Mommsens...steht das ἅτε entgegen: man wird zu verstehn haben, sie wissen weder den Namen noch sonst etwas Näheres von dem Mann, der plötzlich erscheint, den Stier tötet und sofort wieder verschwunden ist.'

[2] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 (context *supra* p. 577 n. 1) πληρώσαντες δὲ τὴν βύρσαν, ὅταν πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἀχθῶσιν, κατεπόντωσαν τὴν μάχαιραν. J. Bernays cj. καταποντοῦσι; but H. von Prott *loc. cit.* p. 195 ingeniously suggested that the aorist κατεπόντωσαν, like the preceding aorist κατέγνωσαν, was taken over from the text of Theophrastos. L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 169 agrees.

Cp. Ail. *var. hist.* 8. 3 καταγινώσκουσι δὲ τῆς μαχαίρας, καὶ λέγουσι ταύτην ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν.

ox and the axe with which he did it, both escaped, the blame being transferred from them to the knife. Why the Athenians took such elaborate precautions to ensure the safety of the assailant and his tool, is a question that must be considered in due course[1].

Those that took part in the ritual of the Dipolieia belonged to three sets of persons known from their respective duties as the *Boutýpoi* or 'Ox-strikers,' the *Kentriádai* or 'Goad-men,' and the *Daitroí* or 'Carvers.' Theophrastos seems to have described them as *géne*, 'clans[2].' But Photios speaks of the *Kentriádai* as 'a *patriá* of Kerykes[3]'; and this may well be taken to mean 'a family of the clan Kerykes[4].' Further, as J. Toepffer pointed out[5], the Kerykes are said on good authority to have performed the solemn functions of *Mágeiroi* (another name for *Daitroí*[6]) and *Boutýpoi*. Hence in all probability A. Mommsen is right, when he contends that the *Boutýpoi*, *Kentriádai*, and *Daitroí*, who discharged the priestly duties connected with the cult of Zeus *Polieús*, were three families all belonging to the great clan of Kerykes[7].

The *Boutýpos*, then, was a priest, whose business it was to strike

[1] *Infra* p. 604 f.

[2] Theophr. *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 (context *supra* p. 577 n. 1) καὶ γένη τῶν ταῦτα δρώντων ἔστιν νῦν· οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατάξαντος [Σωπάτρου] Βουτύποι καλούμενοι πάντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ περιελάσαντος Κεντριάδαι· τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπισφάξαντος Δαιτροὺς ὀνομάζουσιν διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς κρεανομίας γιγνομένην δαῖτα.

[3] Phot. *lex.* Κεντριάδαι· πατριὰ κηρύκων (*leg.* Κηρύκων).

[4] The Delphian Labyadai, who seem to have been a phratry rather than a clan (L. Ziehen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 308)—at any rate they swore by Poseidon Φράτριος as well as by Apollon and Zeus Πατρῷος (*supra* ii. 233 n. 7)—, comprised several πατριαί or 'families' (J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 718 ff. no. 2561, A 26 n., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 438, *a* 26 n. 19 on πατρίαι (*sic*), H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 p. 1130). H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 195, 197 was mistaken in regarding πατριά as necessarily an Ionic word for γένος (on the strength of Hdt. 2. 143, 3. 75). H. S. Jones' new ed. of Liddell and Scott p. 1348 distinguishes the two uses of the term as '*clan*' and '*family*,' but unfortunately assigns the Labyadai inscription to the former, not the latter, heading.

[5] J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 151 f. cited Athen. 660 A ὅτι δὲ σεμνὸν ἦν ἡ μαγειρικὴ μαθεῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθήνησι Κηρύκων. οἵδε γὰρ Μαγείρων καὶ Βουτύπων ἐπεῖχον τάξιν, ὥς φησι Κλείδημος ἐν Πρωτογονίας πρώτῳ (*frag.* 17 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 362 f. Müller)), cp. *ib.* 425 E Κλείδημος δὲ τοὺς Μαγείρους Κήρυκάς φησι καλεῖσθαι (*frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 359 Müller)). On Kleidemos of Athens (Tertull. *de an.* 52), the oldest Atthidographer (Paus. 10. 15. 5, cp. Plout. *de glor. Athen.* 1), see F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 591 ff.

[6] Hesych. *s.vv.* Δαιτρόν· ...οἱ δὲ Μάγειρον, Δαιτρός· Μάγειρος διαιρῶν τὰ κρέα, ἢ ὁ ἐν τραπέζῃ κόπτων τὰ μέρη. Δαὶς γὰρ ἡ εὐωχία.

[7] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 521 f. J. Toepffer *op. cit.* p. 149 ff. had supposed that the three γένη of Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 were merely three 'classes' of officials taking part in the Bouphonia. But H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 195 f. points out that this view is incompatible with the use of ἀπό in Porphyrios' sentence (*supra* n. 2).

the first blow[1]. It follows that he must be identified with the *Bouphónos*[2]; for he, as Pausanias informed us[3], was a priest who struck the ox with his axe. It seems likely that *Boutýpos* was a euphemistic equivalent of *Bouphónos*. The one meant 'Ox-striker'; the other, 'Ox-slaughterer.' However that may be, we have inscriptional evidence of *Boutýpoi* both early and late. A narrow *stéle* of white marble, found by R. Chandler built into a wall at Athens and now preserved in the British Museum (fig. 409)[4], mentions a *Boutýpos* in connexion with the Dipolieia[5]. To judge from its lettering, this important fragment must be dated as far back as the seventh century B.C.[6] Fully eight hundred years later, in the decade 190—200 A.D., one Lakrateides son of Eutychides the Azenian is thrice recorded as *Boutýpos* priest and *Kosmetés* or 'Marshal' of the Athenian *épheboi*[7]. The tenacity with which Athens clung to its old-world rite—a rite already antiquated in the time of Aristophanes[8]—is indeed remarkable. Doubtless the *Boutýpos* was an impressive

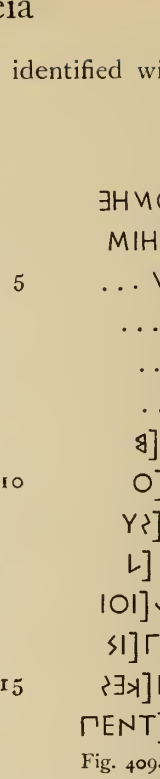


Fig. 409.

[1] Hesych. Βουτύπος· ὁ βοῦν καταβάλλων, L. Bachmann *anecdota Graeca* Lipsiae 1828 i. 181, 18 Βουτύπος· βοοθύτης. ὁ τοὺς βόας βάλλων πελέκει, Souid. Βουτύπος· βουθύτης, ὁ τοὺς βόας βάλλων πέλυκι. *Infra* p. 587 n. 1.

[2] J. Toepffer, indeed, *op. cit.* p. 159 attempted to distinguish the Βουτύπος from the Βουφόνος, regarding the former as a subordinate helper of the latter. But Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 520 f. satisfactorily established the equation Βουτύπος = Βουφόνος, which is accepted alike by H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 197 n. 2, C. Robert in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1899 clxi. 526, and L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 162.

[3] *Supra* p. 577 n. 2.

[4] E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1874 i. 136 no. 74 with facsimile (=my fig. 409). Hicks notes that the contents appear to be a list of official requisites or perquisites.

[5] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 9, 8 ff., *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 531, 8 ff. = *ib.* iv. 1 no. 531, 8 ff., *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 839, 8 ff. κα|ὶ τοῖ [β][ο]τύπ|οι : χ[σύ][λ]α ::: Δ|ιπολ[ίοι][σι] τρῖς χ|οίνι[κες] | [πέντ]ε : μ[—].

[6] It is a βουστροφηδὸν inscription, with ⊕, ⌊, and + beside X.

[7] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 52, 1 f., iii. 1 no. 1163, 2 f., iii. 1 no. 1164, 2 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 2291 a, 1 f. [κοσμη]|τεύοντος ἱερέως [βου]τύπου Λακρατείδου Εὐ[τυχίδου Ἀζηνιέως], *ib.* no. 2128, 2 f. ὁ κοσμητὴς τῶν ἐφήβων ἱερεὺς βουτύπος | Λακρατείδης Εὐτυχίδου Ἀζηνιεύς, *ib.* no. 2129, 2 f. κοσμητεύοντος ἱερέως [βουτ]ύπο[υ Λα]κρατείδου | τοῦ Εὐ[τυχί]δο[υ] Ἀζ[η]ν[ιέ]ως.

[8] Aristoph. *nub.* 984 f.

figure. Armed with his axe[1] and rising on his toes to deliver a crushing blow[2], he furnished the Alexandrine poet with more than one effective simile[3]. Nevertheless the cause of his longevity is to be sought, not in his stirring of the artistic imagination, but in his appeal to deep-seated religious instincts, than which nothing on earth is more permanent.

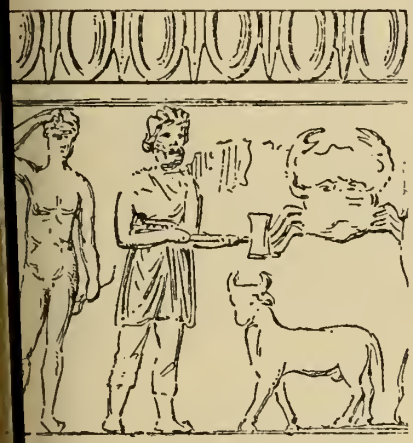


Fig. 410.

Fig. 411.

[1] Souid. *s.v.* Βουτύπος (*supra* p. 586 n. 1), *et. mag.* p. 210, 18 ff. Βούτυπος· ἱερεύς τις ὃς τοὺς βοῦς ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις τῷ πελέκει τύπτων ἔθυε· Βούτυπος οἷα πόδα τανύων, Ἀπολλώνιος (*infra* n. 2).

[2] Ap. Rhod. 2. 90 ff. ἔνθα ὅ' ἔπειτ' Ἄμυκος μὲν ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοισιν ἀερθείς, | Βουτύπος οἷα, πόδεσσι τανύσσατο, καὶ δὲ βαρεῖαν | χεῖρ' ἐπί οἱ πελέμιξεν with schol. *ad loc.* 91 Βουτύπος δέ ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς θυομένους βοῦς τῷ πελέκει τύπτων κατὰ τοῦ αὐχένος. οὗτος δὲ ἐπ' ἄκροις τοῖς ὄνυξιν ἵσταται μέλλων κρούειν (cod. Paris. Βουτύπος δὲ λέγεται ὁ τοὺς θυομένους βοῦς ἀναιρῶν. αἴρεται δὲ κἀκεῖνος μέλλων πλήξειν τὸν βοῦν). Hence F. Sylburg restored πόδεσσι τανύσατο in *et. mag.* p. 210, 19.

Archaïsing hieratic reliefs frequently represent deities, heroes, priestesses, etc. on tip-toe (*e.g. supra* ii pl. xii the Chigi base). This peculiarity is explained by Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 261 f. as 'eine sehr mangelhafte und durchaus manierirte Nachbildung des eigenthümlich gebundenen Rhythmus der Bewegungen echt alterthümlicher Kunstwerke.' Mr C. D. Bicknell tells me (20 December 1934) that he too views the tip-toe attitude as a stilted and stagey attempt to reproduce the old-time stiffness, which struck a later, looser age as mere affectation. E. Schmidt *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 pp. 23, 29 speaks of 'Zehengang' as a processional gait characteristic of a late period, and *ib.* p. 35 suspects that a step devised for dancing (cp. *supra* i. 150 figs. 116, 117) became fashionable for quieter persons also (cp. *supra* i. 767, 769 figs. 556—563). Probably a variety of causes contributed to produce the mannerism, in the vogue of which the popular figure of the Βουτύπος may have played its part.

[3] Ap. Rhod. 2. 90 ff. (*supra* n. 2), 4. 468 f. τὸν δ' ὄγε, Βουτύπος ὥστε μέγαν κερεαλκέα ταῦρον, | πλῆξεν ὀπιπεύσας with schol. *ad loc.* 468 τὸν δὲ Ἄψυρτον ὁ Ἰάσων ἔπληξεν, ὡς τις βοῦς καταβάλλων. Cp. Or. *met.* 12. 248 ff.

Even when paganism succumbed to Christianity room was still found for the *Boutýpos*. On the ancient calendar-frieze of the Panagia *Gorgoepékoos*[1], the metropolitan church at Athens, he stands facing us to this very day (figs. 410, 411)[2]. The Bouphonia is here represented by a priest wearing a short *chitón*, *endromídes*, and a wreath, who is about to strike with his double axe a diminutive

[1] In the eighth century of our era the Christianised Parthenon had in the conch of its apse a famous mosaic of the Virgin, which had taken the place of Pheidias' chryselephantine Athena and was known by the titles of that goddess—Γοργώ and Ἐπήκοος. The Virgin was in fact Athena herself to all intents and purposes: indeed, on late leaden seals she is often described as ΜΡ ΘΥ Η ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ ΓΟΡΓΟΕΠΗΚΟΟC or ΜΡ ΘΥ Η ΑΘΗΝΙΩΤΙCCA (K. Michel and A. Struck 'Die mittelbyzantinischen Kirchen Athens' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 318 after Neroutsos 'Ἀθῆναι Χριστιανικαί' in the Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἑταιρίας 1889 iii. 24, 39, 41). The church of the Panagia *Gorgoepékoos* (St Eleutherios), probably erected by Eirene, empress of Constantinople, *c.* 800 A.D. on the site of a ruined temple of Sarapis (Paus. i. 18. 4) and Isis, or of a temple of Eileithyia (*ib.* i. 18. 5) transformed into a church of St Eleutherios (Michel—Struck *loc. cit.* p. 320), thus directly perpetuates the name and fame of Athena. *Atheniótissa* appears *c.* 1175 A.D. on a lead seal of Michael (Akominatos?), Metropolitan of Athens, in the Photiades collection (S. Lambros Αἱ Ἀθῆναι περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ ιβ' αἰῶνος Athens 1878 p. 36 pl. 1, 2, G. Schlumberger *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantine* Paris 1884 p. 173 f. fig. (=my fig. 412)).

Fig. 412.

See further A. Mommsen *Athenae Christianae* Lipsiae 1868 p. 115 with nn. *ad loc.*, p. 118 n.*, F. Gregorovius *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter* Stuttgart 1889 i. 50 f., 68, 164 with n. 2. *Supra* p. 189 n. 1.

[2] The frieze has been well published and discussed several times during the last forty years: see G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 pp. 57—64 ('Der Tierkreis im attischen Bilderkalender') with figs. 8 and 9 (from photographs of the cast at Vienna), J. N. Svoronos 'Der athenische Volkskalender' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 21—78 pls. 2—6 (from drawings by Gilliéron, whose pl. 5 nos. 35—37=my fig. 410), and L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 pp. 248—254 ('Der Kalenderfries von Hag. Eleutherios') with pls. 34—40 (from fresh photographs of the original: pl. 39 nos. 27—29=my fig. 411).

Other publications include those by C. Boetticher in *Philologus* 1865 xxii. 412 ff. figs. 30, 31, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 755 ff. nos. 1909, 1910, C. É. Ruelle in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 823 f. fig. 1030, E. Pottier *ib.* ii. 270 f. fig. 2453, F. Cumont *ib.* v. 1054 f., Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 58 f. Mon. Fig. pls. 21 i—iii, 22, iv—vi, C. Robert in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1899 clxi. 544 ff., Reinach *Rép. Relief* i. 7 nos. 1—3 and 8 nos. 1—3.

bull. The costume of the celebrant recalls that of the official who slew a humped bull in an analogous rite at Stratonikeia[1]. And the sign of the Crab, above the bull, denotes the hottest time of year[2].

Whether the *Boutýpos* should be identified with the priest of Zeus *Polieús*, is a moot point[3]. On the one hand, according to Porphyrios the first man that ever slew an ox was Diomos, a priest of Zeus *Polieús*, sacrificing at the Dipolieia[4]. On the other hand, *Boutýpos* is beyond question a synonym of *Bouphónos*[5], and Pausanias describes the *Bouphónos* as 'one of the priests[6].' Is this description suitable to so exalted a personage as the priest of Zeus *Polieús*, who in the second century B.C. sat in the forefront of the Athenian theatre next to the priest of Dionysos himself[7]? On the whole I conclude that, whatever may have been the case in the Hellenistic age, originally and in good Hellenic days the *Boutýpos* or *Bouphónos* was one and the same with the priest of Zeus *Polieús*.

Still more puzzling is a gloss of Hesychios, which states that the performer of the *Bouphónia* was known as *Boútes*, the 'Ox-herd[8].' If, as it seems reasonable to suppose, this *Boútes* is to be identified with the *Boutýpos* or *Bouphónos*, then—inasmuch as the Boutypoi were a family of the clan Kerykes[9]—he cannot be connected with the hero Boutes[10], from whom the clan Eteoboutadai traced their descent. If, conversely, we start by assuming that this *Boútes* was a member of the Eteoboutadai, we must regard him as a priest, or priest's attendant, distinct from the *Boutýpos* or *Bouphónos*; and in that case it will not be easy to find a Bouphonic function that he can appropriately discharge[11]. The first horn of the dilemma is, I think, the less precarious. A priest armed with a double axe or

[1] *Supra* p. 568 fig. 385.

[2] Arat. *phaen.* 149 ἔνθα μὲν ἠελίοιο θερείταται εἰσι κέλευθοι with schol. *ad loc.* and Hipparch. *in Arat. et Eudox. phaen.* 2. 1. 18.

[3] J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 159 identifies the priest of Zeus Πολιεύς with the Βουφόνος, but regards the Βουτύπος as an underling. H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 197 n. 2 identifies the Βουτύπος with the Βουφόνος, but distinguishes the Βουφόνος from the priest of Zeus Πολιεύς. L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 161 f. sides with von Prott: 'Der βουτύπος ist nicht mit dem Priester des Zeus Polieus identisch, sondern ein Gehilfe von diesem. Er kann aber auch die Bezeichnung Priester führen...Dass βουτύπος und βουφόνος miteinander identisch sind, geht aus ihrer gleichen Funktion deutlich hervor.'

[4] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10 (*supra* p. 577 n. 1, *infra* p. 593 ff.). Deubner *op. cit.* p. 162 is reduced to saying: 'An Stelle des βουτύπος erscheint hier inkorrekter Weise der Zeuspriester selbst, Diomos mit Namen, als der Töter des Ochsen.'

[5] *Supra* p. 585 f. [6] Paus. 1. 24. 4 καλοῦσι δέ τινα τῶν ἱερέων βουφόνον.

[7] *Supra* p. 574. [8] Hesych. *s.v.* Βούτης (cited *supra* p. 576 n. 1). [9] *Supra* p. 585.

[10] R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 837 f., K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1080 ff.

[11] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 522 n. 1.

boupléx[1] might perhaps, for shortness' sake, be called *Boútes*. But, again, Hesychios, or our manuscript of his work, may be blundering[2].

(β) Myths of the Dipolieia: Sopatros.

To account for the singular ritual of the Dipolieia various tales were told. They are attached to three names—those of Sopatros, Diomos, and Thaulon.

According to Theophrastos[3], time was when men offered to the gods the fruits of the earth and abstained from sacrificing, or even eating, animals. But once, during a common sacrifice at Athens, a certain Sopatros[4]—an alien occupying a farm in Attike—had set out barley-meal and cakes for the gods on a table-altar, when one of his oxen came in from the field and partly ate, partly trampled on his oblation. Sopatros in anger caught up an axe, which was being whetted near by, and struck the ox a fatal blow. On his anger abating he realised what an impious deed he had done, buried the ox, and fled as a voluntary exile to Crete[5]. At home a drought ensued, and the land yielded no crops[6]. Thereupon men consulted the Delphic oracle. They were told that the exile in Crete would put an end to their evil plight and that, when they had taken vengeance on the slayer and raised up the dead in the very sacrifice[7] in which he had been killed, it would be better for them to taste of the dead and not refrain[8] from so doing. Search was made therefore, and the guilty party was discovered[9]. Thinking

[1] A. Mau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1058.

[2] O. Jahn in the *Nuov. Mem. d. Inst.* 1865 ii. 4 n. 3 'Una terza denominazione presso Esichio, Βούτης..., sembra riposare sur un equivoco,' W. W. Hyde in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1917 xxxviii. 158 n. 0 'The Βουτάδαι can have had nothing to do with the Βουφόνια or Βουτύποι, as Hesychius affirms,' L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 162 'Wenn Hesych die gleiche Person *βούτης* nennt, so kann nur eine Verwechslung oder Nachlässigkeit vorliegen.'

[3] Theophr. *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 2. 29 (cited *supra* p. 577 n. 1).

[4] Porph. *loc. cit.* Διόμον ἢ Σώπατρόν τινα. O. Jahn in the *Nuov. Mem. d. Inst.* 1865 ii. 10 n. 2 detects here 'la mano d' un copista, che si ricordava d' aver letta innanzi altrettanto di Diomo.' J. Bernays *Theophrastos' Schrift über Frömmigkeit* Berlin 1866 p. 122 pointed out that Διόμον ἢ was an interpolation on the part of Porphyrios himself, meant to harmonize *de abst.* 2. 29 with *de abst.* 2. 10. Cp. J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 154, P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 207 n. 3, L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 164 f.

[5] *Id. ib.* p. 164 n. 3 compares Leukippos, son of Xanthios, who having unintentionally killed his father retired to Crete (Parthen. *narr. am.* 5. 5 (ἱστορεῖ Ἑρμησιάναξ Λεοντίῳ)), 'dem klassischen Lande der Mordsühne' (see *e.g. supra* ii. 934 n. 0).

[6] *Supra* p. 426.

[7] A. Nauck (*supra* p. 577 n. 1) of course accepts the convincing emendation of Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1093, who from the meaningless ἀναστησάντων ἐν ᾧπερ †ἀπέθανον σιάλω δν (or ὃν)† ἔσεσθαι restored ἀναστησάντων ἐν ᾧπερ ἀπέθανε θυσίᾳ λῷον ἔσεσθαι.

[8] So P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 499 n. 1.

[9] H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 189 n. 2 retains the manuscript reading τοῦ

that he might be rid of his offence with its attendant curse, if all acted in common, Sopatros told those who had come to fetch him that an ox must be cut up by the city. And, when they could not say who should strike the beast, he undertook to do it himself, provided they would make him a citizen and so take their share in the slaughter. They agreed, and, on returning to Athens, arranged the ceremony, which has been performed there ever since.

This story is undeniably constructed with ancient materials. In particular, the treatment of the ox as sacrosanct and the alleged necessity for common action in the slaying of it are features that look backwards to a very remote past[1]. Nevertheless the story as

Σωπάτρου μετὰ τῆς πράξεως ἀνευρεθέντος. But the Greek is so unusual as to be almost certainly corrupt. A. Nauck, after J. J. Reiske, prints τοῦ [Σωπάτρου] μεταιτίου τῆς πράξεως ἀνευρεθέντος. L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 164 n. 5 desiderates μετὰ τοῦ ὀργάνου τῆς πράξεως. I suspect the word πράξεως and suggest τοῦ Σωπάτρου μετὰ τοῦ πελέκεως (or τῆς ἀξίνης) ἀνευρεθέντος.

[1] Aristoxenos of Tarentum *frag.* 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 273 Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 20 ὅ γε μὴν Ἀριστόξενος πάντα μὲν τἄλλα συγχωρεῖν αὐτὸν (*sc.* τὸν Πυθαγόραν) ἐσθίειν ἔμψυχα, μόνων δ' [αὐτὸν] ἀπέχεσθαι ἀροτῆρος βοὸς καὶ κριοῦ, Arat. *phaen.* 129 ff. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κάκεῖνοι ἐτέθνασαν, οἱ δ' ἐγένοντο, | χαλκείη γενεή, προτέρων ὀλοώτεροι ἄνδρες, | οἳ πρῶτοι κακόεργον ἐχαλκεύσαντο μάχαιραν | εἰνοδίην, πρῶτοι δὲ βοῶν ἐπάσαντ' ἀροτήρων, | καὶ τότε μισήσασα Δίκη κείνων γένος ἀνδρῶν | ἔπταθ' ὑπουρανίη with schol. *ad loc.* (Maass p. 360, 14 ff.) ((οἱ)) ἀρχαῖοι ἐφυλάττοντο τοὺς ἐργάτας βοῦς καθιερεύειν ... ἀσεβὲς γὰρ ἐδόκει τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ ((σφ))αγῆναι ἀρότην. πρῶτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐγεύσαντο τῶν τοιούτων βοῶν, ἐπεί ποτε βουθυσίας ἀγομένης πόπανα κατέφαγεν (*sic*), Varr. *rer. rust.* 2. 5. 3—4 hic (*sc.* bos) socius hominum in rustico opere et Cereris minister, ab hoc antiqui manus ita abstineri voluerunt, ut capite sanxerint, siquis occidisset, Verg. *georg.* 2. 536 ff. ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis, et ante | impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvencis, | aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat, Colum. *de re rust.* 6. praef. 7 (expanded from Varro *loc. cit.*) quod item Athenis Cereris et Triptolemi fertur minister...quod deinde laboriosissimus adhuc hominis socius in agricultura: cuius tanta fuit apud antiquos veneratio, ut tam capitale esset bovem necasse quam civem.

Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 6. n. 1 (cp. his *Pausanias* ii. 304) suggests that 'Varro's statement may be merely an inference drawn from the ritual of the *bouphonia* and the legend told to explain it.' So, no doubt, may be the allusion of Aratos, to judge from the schol. *ad loc.* But the tradition concerning the Pythagorean taboo is of a different order and certainly implies the sanctity of the ploughing ox and the ram. Further evidence of that sanctity may be found in Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 180 socium enim laboris agrique culturae habemus hoc animal tantae apud priores curae ut sit inter exempla damnatus a populo Romano die dicta, qui concubino procaci rure omassum edisse se negante occiderat bovem, actusque in exsilium tamquam colono suo interempto, if not also in Porph. *de abst.* 2. 11 παρὰ γοῦν Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ Φοίνιξι θᾶττον ἄν τις ἀνθρωπείων κρεῶν γεύσαιτο ἢ θηλείας βοός. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι χρήσιμον τὸ ζῷον ὂν τοῦτο ἐσπάνιζεν παρ' αὐτοῖς. διὸ ταύρων μὲν καὶ ἐγεύσαντο καὶ ἀπήρξαντο, τῶν δὲ θηλειῶν φειδόμενοι τῆς γονῆς ἕνεκα, ἐν μύσει τὸ ἅψασθαι ἐνομοθέτησαν. W. W. Hyde in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1917 xxxviii. 163 n. 2 remarks: 'The old idea has survived in some parts of Greece into modern times; see G. Mariti, Travels through Cyprus, Syria and Palestine (1791—2) 1, 5.' [M. l'Abbé Mariti *Voyages dans l'isle de Chypre, la Syrie et la Palestine, avec l'histoire générale du Levant* traduits de l'italien Neuwied 1791 i. 39 'Les bœufs sont petits & maigres. Les Grecs n'en mangent jamais; ils ont pour maxime, que l'animal qui

a whole is unsatisfactory. The circumstances of the original ox-slaying do not tally with those of the ritual that they ought to explain. Sopatros slew his ox in a fit of passion, on his own responsibility, and apparently without witnesses. The occasion, too, is described in the vaguest of terms, no mention being made of Zeus *Polieús* from start to finish. Besides, the burial of the ox in the story has no counterpart in the ritual. Again, why did Sopatros, who *ex hypothesi* was an alien, flee into voluntary exile, thereby behaving as though he had slain a member of his own tribe or city[1]? Finally, is it likely that a sacrilegious metic would be trusted to arrange the ritual of Zeus *Polieús*, the very god whose service he had himself profaned? No doubt strangers as such could claim divine protection[2], and perhaps special virtues were ascribed to foreigners fetched from Crete[3]. Also, the principle that the doer of a deed is best able to undo the same will assuredly explain much[4]. Still, these considerations can hardly be stretched to cover the present case; for Athenian law expressly ordained that the alien, even if he were made into a citizen by a formal vote of the people, should not hold any office as priest, though the embargo was removed from his children[5]. These objections are serious and suffice to justify the opinion expressed by J. Toepffer[6], P. Stengel[7], and L. Deubner[8], *viz.* that the tale of Sopatros as told by Theophrastos was a moralising version, which aimed at showing that in the good

laboure la terre, que le serviteur de l'homme & le compagnon de ses nobles travaux, ne doit point servir à sa nourriture.']

As to Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 128 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 461 Müller) ap. Stob. *flor.* 44. 41 (ed. Gaisford ii. 196 f.) ἐὰν δέ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς (*sc.* the Phrygians) γεωργικὸν βοῦν ἀποκτείνῃ ἢ σκεῦος τῶν περὶ γεωργίαν κλέψῃ, θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσι = Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 34 Φρύγες δὲ ἐὰν παρ' αὐτοῖς τις ἀροτῆρα ἀποκτείνῃ βοῦν, ἡ ζημία θάνατος αὐτῷ, P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 211 n. 1 says 'Aber das ist doch wohl zu verstehn: einem andern den Ochsen tötet.'

[1] See H. E. Seebohm *On the Structure of Greek Tribal Society* London 1895 p. 41 ff. ('The Liability for Bloodshed').

[2] *Supra* ii. 1101.

[3] One thinks of Thaletas invited to Sparta, of Epimenides invited to Athens, and of Phemonoe's advice to the Delphians (Paus. 10. 6. 7): see K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1829 iii. 164, 257.

[4] H. Hubert in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1508, K. F. Smith in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 274[b], W. Heiligendorff in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930—1933 i. 565, etc. The principle is of world-wide application, but has not, so far as I know, been made the theme of a separate article or monograph.

[5] Dem. *c. Eubul.* 48 (= I. B. Télfy Συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νόμων Pestini et Lipsiae 1868 p. 97 no. 392), [Dem.] *adv. Neaer.* 92.

[6] J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 157.

[7] P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 491 ff., *id. Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 208 f.

[8] L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 169.

old days men and gods alike were content with vegetables and abstained from animal food. Further, I think we may infer that the philosopher, or his unknown authority, anxious to explain a bizarre custom of immemorial age, and aware perhaps that axe and bull played an important part in ancient Cretan Zeus-cults[1], hazarded the conjecture that the Bouphonia had been introduced into Athens from Crete[2].

(γ) Myths of the Dipolieia: Diomos.

A second aetiological tale is given by Porphyrios in the following form[3]. The first man to slay an ox was Diomos, a priest of Zeus *Polieús*. The Diipolia was being held, and the fruits of the earth had been prepared in accordance with ancient custom, when the said ox drew near and tasted the sacred barley-meal. Diomos then[4] took all that were present as partners in his deed, and killed the ox.

This recital is one of four, which profess to explain how the pig, the sheep, the goat, and the ox came to be sacrificed[5]. Klymene struck a pig unintentionally and killed it: her husband, wishing to avoid the consequences of this unlawful act, consulted the oracle at Pytho and obtained the sanction of the god[6]. Episkopos, a descendant of the Theopropoi, was minded to offer up the

[1] *Supra* i. 648 ff., ii. 516 ff., 528 f., 535 ff.

[2] H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 193 ff. urged that the Sopatros-tale of Porph. *de abst.* 2. 29 f. should be connected with some Ionian cult, probably that of the εὐσεβῶν βωμός in Delos, which had been actually mentioned *ib.* 2. 28 θεωρῆσαι δὲ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Δῆλον ἔτι νῦν σῳζομένου βωμοῦ, πρὸς ὃν οὐθενὸς προσαγομένου παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ θυομένου ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ζῴου εὐσεβῶν κέκληται βωμός. Von Prott (p. 200 n. 2) recalled the fact that the Delians had a festival Σωπάτρεια (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 144 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 588, 54 φιάλας ||||| ἃς ἔφασαν παραδοθῆναι ὑπὸ Διαμιῶν Τληπολέμου καὶ Νικάρχου <ο> Εὐεργεσίων, Φιλεταιρείων, Σωπατρείων, Ηαταικείων, Δ(κὴ) ⊢HHHH). This combination is, however, more ingenious than probable, involving as it does the assumption that the worthy Porphyrios was either a fool or a knave (*supra* p. 578 n. 2). J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 1000 thinks rather that the Attic Sopatros gave rise to the Delian, or else that the two were accidental homonyms.

[3] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10 (cited *supra* p. 577 n. 1).

[4] P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 490 and in his *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 206 f. assumes a *lacuna* before this sentence (to explain the conjunction συνέργους γὰρ κ.τ.λ.). But he is refuted by H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 192 n. 2, cp. L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 162 n. 6.

[5] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 9 f.

[6] Κλυμένη was perhaps an appellative of Persephone (so H. Dibbelt *Quaestiones Coae Mythologae* Gryphiswaldiae 1891 pp. 36—42 ('De Clymene et Clymeno') and W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1227. For Κλύμενος = Hades see *supra* ii. 1113 n. 0 (2)), whose connexion with the pig is well-established (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 16 ff. *Supra* i. 784, ii. 1140 n. 5).

firstlings of his flock, and was permitted to do so with all due caution by the oracle, which said:

> It is not right, son of the Theopropoi,
> For thee to slay the sheep, a faithful breed;
> But that which bows the head of its own accord
> Towards the lustral water sacrifice,
> Episkopos,—'twill be a righteous deed[1].

A goat was killed first in the Attic deme Ikaria, because it cropped a vine[2]. The story of Diomos must have been added to this series by some *quasi*-philosophical writer; for it exhibits the same moralising tendency that we have noticed in the story of Sopatros.

Again, J. Toepffer[3] has drawn attention to the fact that the tale of Diomos and the ox bears a suspicious resemblance to another *aition*, in which Diomos figures with better right. He was the favourite of Herakles and eponym of the Attic deme Diomeia, where a famous festival of the like name was held in Herakles' honour[4]. According to the lexicographers, Diomos was once sacrificing on a hearth to Herakles, when a white dog came and caught up the thigh-pieces and carried them off to a certain place. Diomos in alarm consulted an oracle. The god bade him build an altar to Herakles on the spot where the dog had deposited the flesh. This was done, and the place called *Kynósarges*, the place 'of the White Dog,' in memory of the event[5]. Toepffer concludes that the name Diomos has made its way into the Bouphonia-tale from that of the Kynosarges.

This conclusion, though challenged by subsequent investigators[6],

[1] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 9 οὔ σε θέμις κτείνειν ὀΐων γένος ἐστὶ βέβαιον, | ἔγγονε Θειοπρόπων. ὃ δ' ἑκούσιον ἂν κατανεύσῃ | †χέρνιβ' ἐπιθύειν τὸ δ'†, Ἐπίσκοπε, φημὶ δικαίως. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 263 accepts G. Wolff's cj. *χέρνιβ' ἔπι, θύειν τόδ'* in preference t A. Nauck's *χερνίπτειν θύειν τέ σ'*.

[2] *Supra* i. 689 n. 1, cp. i. 678, 709 (pl. xl, 2). Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10 *ἐν* Ἰκάρῳ *τῇ* Ἀττικῆς. Nauck adopts Meursius' cj. Ἰκαρίῳ, but the correction should be itself corrected into Ἰκαρίᾳ.

[3] J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 155 f.

[4] P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 831.

[5] Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.* Κυνόσαργες. That the sacrifice was to Herakles, is state by Steph. Byz. and Hesych. *s.v.* Κυνόσαργες. Phot. *loc. cit.* says Δίομος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἔθυε *τῇ* Ἑστίᾳ, but cp. Souid. *loc. cit.* Δίδυμος (which Meursius corrected to Δίομος) ὁ Ἀθηναῖ *ἔθυεν ἐν τῇ ἑστίᾳ* (cod. V. omits *ἐν*).

[6] E. Maass in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1889 p. 826 regards Δίομος as a clipped for of Διομήδης, comparing *Λύκομος (whence Λυκομίδαι) = Λυκομήδης, Ἄλκιμος = Ἀλκιμέδ (*id.* 'Mythische Kurznamen' in *Hermes* 1888 xxiii. 613, H. Usener *Götternamen* Bon 1896 p. 55 f.), Τήλεμος, Εὔρυμος, etc. F. Bechtel—A. Fick *Die Griechischen Persone namen*[2] Göttingen 1894 p. 99 record Διο-μέδων, Διο-μένης, Διο-μήδης and the 'Kosename Διομᾶς (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3827 *bb*, 1 from Kotiaeion).

Maass *loc. cit.* p. 828 f. supposes that Diomos was priest of Zeus Πολιεύς befo

seems to me to be essentially sound[1]. Indeed, I am disposed to go a step further in the same direction. Bearing in mind that the Bouphonia-tale shows traces, on the one hand of vegetarian doctrine, on the other of Kynosarges tradition, I would infer that it emanated originally from Antisthenes or some other teacher of the Cynic school[2]. The inference becomes stronger still, when we look into the parallel case of sheep-sacrifice connected with the Theopropoi[3]. For Menedemos of Eretria, a member of that noble clan[4], was scorned by his fellow-citizens as a Cynic[5] and, like the Cynics, was a free-thinker in matters of religion[6].

Thaulon, and that the Diomeies gave up the cult of Zeus to the Thaulonidai at a comparatively late date, when they themselves took over the cult of Herakles. But this hypothesis involves more than one improbable assumption, notably that the cult of Herakles at Diomeia was of recent importation, and that a long-standing and popular cult such as that of Zeus Πολιεύς could be transferred from clan to clan. See further L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 162.

H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 191 ff. (followed by G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 832) denies the resemblance between the two aetiological tales told of Diomos. In his view Diomos is the rightful priest of Zeus Πολιεύς and the original hero of the Bouphonia-story, which marks the change from a bloodless to a bloody sacrifice at the Dipolieia. The name Δίομος, a derivative of Ζεύς, Διός, suits the connexion between the priest and his god. The derivation here propounded was already recognised by Byzantine scholars: Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* i. 83, 1 ff. (Ὁμήρου ἐπιμερισμοί, on which see L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 180) ἀνὴρ ἀνέρος ἀνδρός, ἀνδρομός, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παραγωγῇ κτητικῇ ἀνδρόμεος, ὡς παρὰ τὴν Διὸς γενικὴν Διόμος (*sic*) ὁ ἥρως ὁ πατὴρ Ἡρακλέους, ἀφ' οὗ Διόμεια ἑορτή· κ.τ.λ., *et. mag.* p. 102, 44 ff. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄνδρομος, ὡς Διὸς Δίομος, κυρίως ὁ πατὴρ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παραγωγῇ κτητικῇ ἀνδρόμεος, *ib.* p. 277, 24 ff. Δίομος· ὄνομα κύριον ἥρωος Ἀθηναίου· ἀφ' οὗ Διομειὰς ἑορτή. παρὰ τὴν Διὸς γενικὴν Δίομος, ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀνδρόμεος (A. Meineke *Analecta Alexandrina* Berolini 1843 p. 177 f. cj. παῖς, in the sense of παιδικά, for πατήρ). Further Usener *op. cit.* p. 213 n. 110 remarks that there was a cult of Zeus Διομεύς (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 444, 21 ἐκ τοῦ Διομεὺς Ζεὺς Διομέως τὰ Διόμεια).

Diomeia the deme lay, not to the east (A. Milchhöfer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 830 f.), but to the south of Athens (W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] München 1931 p. 169 f. with fig. 14 map).

[1] When, however, Toepffer proposes to substitute Θαύλων for Δίομος in the text of Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10 (*supra* p. 577 n. 1), I can no longer follow him: see E. Maass *loc. cit.* p. 828.

[2] Antisthenes not only taught in the gymnasium of Kynosarges (Diog. Laert. 6. 13) and took Herakles for his 'patron-saint' (E. Zeller *Socrates and the Socratic Schools*[3] trans. O. J. Reichel London 1885 p. 307), but also—like other Cynics—lived ordinarily on a simple vegetarian diet (*id. ib.*[3] p. 318 n. 3) and treated the popular religion with considerable freedom (*id. ib.*[3] p. 328 ff.). Such an one may well have been the author of our tale.

[3] *Supra* p. 593 f.

[4] Diog. Laert. 2. 125 Κλεισθένους τοῦ τῶν Θεοπροπιδῶν καλουμένων υἱὸς κ.τ.λ. See further U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Ind. schol. Gott. a. 1884* p. 15 and K. von Fritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 788 ff.

[5] Diog. Laert. 2. 140 τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα κατεφρονεῖτο, κύων καὶ λῆρος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἐκαλεῖτο· κ.τ.λ.

[6] E. Zeller *op. cit.*[3] p. 284.

(δ) Myths of the Dipolieia: Thaulon.

We come now to the third version of the Bouphonia-legend, that associated with the name of Thaulon. Our earliest source is Androtion, the author of a fourth-century *Atthís* or 'History of Attike' much quoted in antiquity[1]. He states that once on the occasion of the Diipoleia an ox ate the cake prepared for sacrifice and that thereupon a certain Thaulon, just as he was, killed the beast with his axe[2]. Souidas, drawing from the same source, says that Thaulon killed it with his own axe[3].

Sundry other details we owe to Agallis[4], a learned lady of Korkyra, who is known to have expounded Homer in the third century B.C.[5] *À propos* of the shield made by Hephaistos for Achilles she argued that Hephaistos, being the father of Erichthonios, represented on the said shield a whole series of scenes drawn from the early history of Attike. Following out this whimsical notion, she maintained that the two cities portrayed on the shield were Athens and Eleusis. The ploughing and harvesting took place in the neighbourhood of Eleusis; and the king, who sceptre in hand watched the reapers and binders at their work, was Triptolemos. We are bidden to note that some copies of the text insert an extra line describing

> The crops of Eleusinian Demeter,
> Giver of bright gifts[6].

[1] He is probably to be identified with the Athenian orator of the same name (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2173 ff.).

[2] Androt. *frag.* 13 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 372 Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 985 [[*τὰ δὲ Βουφόνια παλαιὰ ἑορτή, ἣν φασιν ἄγεσθαι μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια, ὅτε καὶ βοῦν θύουσιν εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ πρώτου φονευθέντος βοὸς ἐν ἀκροπόλει, ἀψαμένου τοῦ πελάνου ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν Διιπολίων.*]] *ἑορτὴ ἔτι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιτελουμένη τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ.* cod. V. (*ἄλλως*) *ἑορτὴ Ἀθηναίων πάνυ ἀρχαία. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς Διιπολείοις φασὶ* (*φησὶ* codd. R.V.) *βοῦν τὸ πόπανον καταφαγεῖν τὸ παρεσκευασμένον εἰς τὴν θυσίαν, καὶ τούτου χάριν βοῦν θύουσιν ἐν τοῖς Διιπολείοις, διὰ τὸν βοῦν τὸν φαγόντα τὸ πόπανον καὶ τυθέντα.* [[*Θαύλωνα δέ τινα, ὡς εἶχε, τῷ πελέκει ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν βοῦν, καθὰ καὶ Ἀνδροτίων μέμνηται διὰ τῆς τετάρτης.*]] = Souid. *s.vv.* Βουφόνια *bis*, Βουφόνια, and Θαύλων, Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 20 ff.

[3] Souid. *s.v.* Θαύλων, Θαύλωνος. *ὃς τῷ ἰδίῳ πελέκει ἀπέκτεινε τὸν βοῦν τὸν φαγόντα τὸ πόπανον, ὅπερ ἦν παρεσκευασμένον εἰς τὴν θυσίαν ἐν τοῖς Διιπολίοις.* On the wording see P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 208 n. 2.

[4] Ἀγαλλὶς ἡ Κερκυραία (Athen. 14 D, schol. T. *Il.* 18. 483). Posterity dealt hardly with the name of this poor lady, transforming her into a man, a fool, a pimpernel Ἀγαλλίας ὁ Κερκυραῖος schol. A. *Il.* 18. 491, Ἀγαλλίας τις, Κερκυραῖος ἀνήρ Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1156, 39 f., Δαλὶς ἡ Κερκυραία schol. V. *Il.* 18. 483, Ἀναγαλλὶς ἡ Κερκυραία Souid. *s.vv.* Ἀναγαλλίς, ὄρχησις παντόμιμος, σφαῖρα (ii. 996, 18 n. Bernhardy). Attention was drawn to schol. *Il.* 18. 483 by J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 155.

[5] G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 718. *Supra* i. 224.

[6] *Il.* 18. 551[a] (Ludwich) *καρπὸν Ἐλευσινίης Δημήτερος ἁγλαοδώρου.* G. M. Bolling *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* Oxford 1925 p. 182 was perhaps

And lastly, when the poet goes on to tell how

> Heralds apart beneath an oak made ready
> A feast and sacrificed a mighty ox[1],

Agallis has once more a local interpretation: 'Here first, they say, Thaulon sacrificed an ox after his exile[2].' Agallis, then, was aware that Thaulon had been in exile—a point in which his tale recalls that of Sopatros[3]. Further, the whole context shows that she connected Thaulon with Eleusis and the harvest of the Eleusinian plain. And, since her allusion to him comes in by way of comment on the action of the Homeric *kérykes* or 'heralds,' it is highly probable that she regarded him as a member of the great Eleusinian clan *Kérykes*.

Indeed, thanks to Agallis, it seems possible to define Thaulon's relation to the *Kérykes* even more closely. We have already seen that three families belonging to this clan—the *Boutýpoi*, the *Kentriádai*, and the *Daitroí*—performed the rites of the Athenian Dipolieia. If Thaulon, as Agallis states, was the first man to sacrifice an ox, he must have been, as A. Mommsen[4] surmised, the ancestor of the *Boutýpoi*. In short, the *Boutýpoi* are to be identified with the *Thaulonídai*, a noble clan resident at Athens[5]. This identification, in which L. Deubner[6] concurs, is supported by a curious and apparently mutilated gloss of Hesychios[7]: '*Boútypon*, a base at Athens <on which stood the *Boutýpos*> appointed by the clan Thaulonidai.'

over-hasty in saying 'The only interest of the interpolation is its obvious Attic origin. Its purpose is to supply for *ἥμων* [of line 551] an object.'

[1] *Il.* 18. 558 f. *κήρυκες δ' ἀπάνευθεν ὑπὸ δρυὶ δαῖτα πένοντο, | βοῦν δ' ἱερεύσαντες μέγαν ἄμφεπον.*

[2] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1156, 59 *διότι πρῶτον ἐκεῖ, φασίν, ἔθυσε βοῦν Θάλων (sic) φυγαδευθείς*, scholl. T. V. *Il.* 18. 483 *ἐκεῖσε γὰρ πρῶτος ἔθυσε βοῦν Θαύλων φυγαδευθείς*. Wilamowitz would emend the reading of schol. T. into *φυγαδευθεὶς <δι' αὐτό>*. But that insertion lessens the resemblance of Thaulon to Sopatros.

[3] *Supra* p. 590 f. [4] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 521 f.

[5] Hesych. *Θαυλωνίδαι· γένος ἰθαγενῶν Ἀθήνησι.*

[6] L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 161 'Jedenfalls sind die Thauloniden als kultische *βουτύποι* gesichert; aus ihnen erwuchs mit Notwendigkeit der Eponymos Thaulon als der *βουτύπος* der ätiologischen Legende.'

[7] Hesych. *Βούτυπον· πυθμὴν Ἀθήνησιν ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐκ τοῦ Θαυλωνίδων γένους καθιστάμενος* (cod.), for which J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 156 proposed *Βούτυπον· πυθμὴν Ἀθήνησι ἐκαλεῖτο, <οὗ ἔθυε ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ> ἐκ τοῦ Θαυλωνιδῶν γένους καθιστάμενος.* H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 198 improved upon this by reading *<οὗ τὸν βοῦν ἔκτεινε ὁ Βουτύπος ὁ>*. But he wrongly supposed that *πυθμήν* was a pit into which the body of the stricken ox was flung. Adopting von Prott's insertion, I should rather take *πυθμήν* to have been a base like that in use at Stratonikeia (*supra* p. 568 fig. 385). L. Deubner *op. cit.* p. 161 prefers the suggestion of M. Schmidt that the words *Ἀθήνησιν –καθιστάμενος* are properly the end of the next gloss, which should read *βουτύπος· ὁ βοῦν*

It would seem, then, that the Dipolieia was properly a clan-festival belonging to and jealously guarded by the Kerykes of Eleusis. Tradition told of a war between Eumolpos king of Eleusis and Erechtheus king of Athens, in which the former had been defeated by the latter: peace was made on condition that the Eleusinians should perform the mysteries by themselves, but should in all other respects be subject to the Athenians[1]. In historical times Eleusis, though treated as one of the Attic demes, continued to be called a *pólis*[2]. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the cult of Zeus *Polieús* was brought by the Kerykes from Eleusis to Athens[3]. Nor shall we be disconcerted if on the Athenian Akropolis itself we find traces of an analogous but yet different cult—a cult essentially connected with the foremost clan of Athens, not Eleusis[4].

(ε) Purpose of the Dipolieia.

Before taking leave of the Dipolieia we have yet to ask what meaning the festival had for its original celebrants. It would be tedious and, I think, needless here to discuss the whole welter of opinions held by critics ancient and modern with regard to this much-debated business[5]. But, for convenience' sake, I add in a footnote[6] a conspectus of recent views concerning its most im-

καταβάλλων <'Αθήνησιν ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐκ τοῦ Θαυλωνιδῶν γένους καθιστάμενος>. So far well and good. But when Deubner goes on to contend that the remainder of the first gloss βουτύπον· πυθμήν is complete in itself, πυθμήν being the root-end of a tree used as a cudgel to fell the ox, I am filled with mild surprise. Has he forgotten the πέλεκυς, a far more effective implement?

[1] Hdt. 1. 30, Thouk. 2. 15, Paus. 1. 38. 3. See further C. Picard 'Les luttes primitives d'Athènes et d' Éleusis' in the *Revue historique* 1931 clxvi. 1—76.

[2] Strab. 395.

[3] Hesych. Κεντριάδαι· τῶν περὶ τὰ μυστήρια and the schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 985 τὰ δὲ Βουφόνια παλαιὰ ἑορτή, ἣν φασιν ἄγεσθαι μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια (*supra* p. 596 n. 2) both possibly point towards Eleusis, though the latter involves a direct misstatement since the Bouphonia took place in Skirophorion, the Eleusinian Mysteries three months *later* in Boedromion (*supra* i. 691 fig. 511). But see *infra* p. 602 n. 9.

One wonders whether any buphonic traits still linger in the folk-beliefs of the district. When E. D. Clarke in 1801 played Verres and attempted to carry off the marble κιστοφόρος known as St Demetra, an ox butted the statue and ran bellowing into the Eleusinian plain, nor would the villagers be appeased till the priest of Eleusis in full canonicals struck the first blow with a pickaxe (*supra* i. 173 n. 1). Coincidence, or survival?

[4] *Infra* p. 606 ff.

[5] Such discussion may be found *e.g.* in P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 209 ff., W. W. Hyde 'The Prosecution of Lifeless Things and Animals in Greek Law' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1917 xxxviii. 159 ff., L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 170 ff.

[6] (1) W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3] London 1927 p. 304 ff. treated the Bouphonia as a typical case of totemic ritual. 'In the totem stage of society each kinship or stock of savages believes itself to be physically akin to some

natural kind of animate or inanimate things, most generally to some kind of animal. Every animal of this kind is looked upon as a brother, is treated with the same respect as a human clansman, and is believed to aid his human relations by a variety of friendly services' (*ib.* p. 124)...'precisely this kind of respect and reverence is paid to domestic animals among many pastoral peoples in various parts of the globe. They are regarded on the one hand as the friends and kinsmen of men, and on the other hand as sacred beings of a nature akin to the gods; their slaughter is permitted only under exceptional circumstances, and in such cases is never used to provide a private meal, but necessarily forms the occasion of a public feast, if not of a public sacrifice' (*ib.* p. 296). Robertson Smith was followed by Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 88 ff., S. Reinach in the *Revûe scientifique* 13 octobre 1900 (=*id. Cultes, mythes, et religions* Paris 1905 i. 18 f.), and Harrison *Themis*[2] p. 141 ff. But 'it is not yet certain that the Aryans ever had totemism' (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 4, cp. *id. Totemism and Exogamy* iv. 12 ff.), and Robertson Smith's theory of sacrifice has been severely handled (W. Schmidt *The Origin and Growth of Religion* trans. H. J. Rose London 1931 p. 108 f.).

(2) H. von Prott 'Buphonien' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 187 ff. held that the ox slain at the Bouphonia was an animal surrogate for a man. 'Ich sehe nur eine Möglichkeit: der Stier ist an die Stelle eines Menschen getreten.... In der heissen, den Unterirdischen geweihten Jahreszeit nach der Ernte ist in alter Zeit dem Stadtschirmer Athens ein Mensch erschlagen[1] ([1] Wahrscheinlich vom Zeuspriester, wie die Diomoslegende ja auch keinem *βουτύπος* kennt) und in eine Grube geworfen worden. Der Priester muss mit Blutschuld beladen fliehen, die That wird im Prytaneion untersucht.... Als für das Menschenopfer wie in so vielen Fällen das Thieropfer eintritt, dauert die alte Sitte in Athen fort, der Stier wird als Mensch behandelt' (*ib.* p. 202). B. Laum *Das Eisengeld der Spartaner* Braunsberg 1924 p. 47 goes further in the same direction, maintaining that originally a mystic garbed as a *ταῦρος* was killed and eaten. Such views receive some support from the Tenedian cult of Dionysos 'Ανθρωπορραίστης (*supra* i. 659 f.), the Chian and Tenedian cult of Dionysos 'Ωμάδιος (*supra* i. 656), the Ephesian cult of Poseidon served by human *ταῦροι* (*supra* i. 442), etc. and hardly merit the curt dismissal of L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 171 'Protts Deutung...schwebt ganz in der Luft und ist fast allgemein abgelehnt worden.'

(3) W. Mannhardt *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 p. 68 ff., arguing that the date of the festival (Skirophorion 14: *supra* p. 576) corresponded with the close of threshing in Attike, took the ox killed at the Bouphonia to be the 'Vegetationsdämon' in animal form. His interpretation has been widely accepted, *e.g.* by Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 27 ('Wenn nun das Stieropfer an Zeus Sosipolis [*supra* i. 717 n. 2] mit Recht durch das koische Opfer an Zeus Polieus [*supra* p. 564 ff.] mit dem Stieropfer der Buphonien in Verbindung gebracht worden ist, kann man sich doch zuletzt gegenüber den widerstreitenden Meinungen über dieses Fest entscheiden; denn wenn der Stier des Zeus Sosipolis ein Korngeist ist, muss der des Zeus Polieus es auch sein') and Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 6 ff. ('The ox sacrificed at the *bouphonia* appears to have embodied the corn-spirit.' 'The mode of selecting the victim suggests that the ox which tasted the corn was viewed as the corn-deity taking possession of his own'...'The time of the Athenian sacrifice, which fell about the close of the threshing, suggests that the wheat and barley laid upon the altar were a harvest offering; and the sacramental character of the subsequent repast—all partaking of the flesh of the divine animal—would make it parallel to the harvest-suppers of modern Europe, in which...the flesh of the animal who stands for the corn-spirit is eaten by the harvesters. Again, the tradition that the sacrifice was instituted in order to put an end to drought and famine is in favour of taking it as a harvest festival. The resurrection of the corn-spirit, enacted by setting up the stuffed ox and yoking it to the plough, may be compared with the resurrection of the tree-spirit in the person of his representative, the Wild Man[1] ([1] See *The Dying God*, p. 208). Still more clearly, perhaps, does the identification of the corn-spirit with an ox come out in the sacrificial ritual which the Greeks of Magnesia on the Maeander observed in honour of Zeus Sosipolis, a god whose title...marks him as the equivalent of Zeus

Polieus'). H. von Prott, however, in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 200 rejects Mannhardt's hypothesis as 'unhaltbar, weil das Fest gar nicht in die Ernte- oder Dreschzeit fällt', cp. P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 210 n. 2; and L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 171 will have none of it ('Auch hier fehlen alle zwingenden Analogien: namentlich erscheint das Töten des Vegetationsdämons nie als eine bedenkliche Angelegenheit. Die Parallele des Sosipolisfestes in Magnesia kann nichts beweisen. Denn einmal ist es keineswegs gesichert, dass es sich hier wirklich um das Töten und Verzehren eines Vegetationsdämons handelt, zum zweiten aber lässt sich wegen der wesentlichen Verschiedenheit der beiden Feste keine Brücke vom einen zum anderen schlagen, auch nicht auf dem Wege über das Zeusfest in Kos').

(4) P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 212 f. held that the change from an old-established bloodless cult of Zeus Πολιεύς to the ritual of animal-sacrifice was an innovation demanding at least a make-believe punishment. He laid weight on Hesych. *Διὸς θᾶκοι καὶ πεσσοί· τινὲς γράφουσι ψῆφοι. φασὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων διαψηφίσει, ὅτε ἠμφισβήτει Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν Διὸς δεηθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὴν ψῆφον ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι ἀντὶ τούτου τὸ τοῦ Πολιέως ἱερεῖον πρῶτον θύεσθαι ἐπὶ βωμοῦ* (=Favorin. *lex.* p. 515, 56 ff.), cp. Souid. *s.v. Διὸς ψῆφος· οὕτως καλεῖται, ἐν ᾧ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐκρίθησαν. Κρατῖνος Ἀρχιλόχοις· ἔνθα Διὸς μεγάλου θᾶκοι πεσσοί τε καλοῦνται. ὁ γὰρ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ ἐκρίθησαν, Διὸς ψῆφος καλεῖται. τάττεται δὲ ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἀθίκτων* (*supra* i. 147). *Id. Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*[3] München 1920 p. 249 adheres to his opinion ('Der Sinn der eigentümlichen, schon im 5. Jahrhundert als sonderbar empfundenen Zeremonie, ist wohl, dass es einer besondern Entschuldigung, einer fortgesetzten wenigstens scheinbaren Bestrafung dafür bedürfe, dass man einen Kult, der nach alter Überlieferung unblutige Opfer verlangte, in einen blutigen umgewandelt hatte').

(5) K. F. Hermann *Lehrbuch der gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Griechen*[2] Heidelberg 1858 p. 420 f. falls back on the Varronian idea (*supra* p. 591 n. 1) that the ox was sacrosanct as *socius hominum* and thinks that the Bouphonia 'die Heiligkeit des Ackerstieres als des wesentlichsten Gehülfen zum Landbaue symbolisch zu veranschaulichen bestimmt waren.' Similarly G. F. Schoemann *Griechische Alterthümer*[4] Berlin 1902 ii. 250: 'Das Schlachten des Pflugstiers, des Gehülfen des Menschen bei der Bearbeitung des Feldes, war vor Alters verboten, und dass man auch nachher dazu nicht ohne Gewissensscrupel geschritten, sprechen einige alterthümliche hier und da übliche Opfergebräuche aus.' Etc. But the most persuasive exponent of this somewhat sentimental view is U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Euripides Herakles* Berlin 1889 i. 60: 'der mensch, der sich zu der hohen culturstufe des ackersmanns erhoben hat, empfindet eine innere scheu, den stier, seinen arbeitsgenossen, zu schlachten und zu essen, den er doch als jäger und hirte ohne anstand getötet hatte, und er kann und will doch den genuss des rindfleisches nicht entbehren. wir mögen nur daran denken, dass wir unsere näherstehenden gefährten, ross und hund, auch nicht essen mögen, und auch ein rind, das uns als individuum wert geworden ist, schwerlich für unsern tisch schlachten lassen möchten. aus diesem widerstreit der empfindungen entsteht der ritus der Buphonien, die symbolische ceremonie, entsteht die geschichte vom ersten rinderschlächter Thaulon, auf den die befleckung des mordes abgewälzt wird.' Cp. *id. Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1931 i. 296. The same explanation contents Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 12 f. and even L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 172.

(6) F. Schwenn *Gebet und Opfer* Heidelberg 1927 p. 99 ff. takes his stand on the firmer ground of anthropology. Primitive man commonly dreads a great strong beast that he has killed, because he thinks it may still harm him after death. Accordingly he makes elaborate attempts to appease it and in some cases even flees into hiding and is mourned as if he were himself dead (J. Spieth *Die Religion der Eweer in Süd-Togo* Leipzig 1911 p. 139 ff. [Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 228 ff., 244]). 'Wenn die Eweerpriester den Schuldigen scheinbar suchen, um an ihm für das Tier, für "unseren Vater," die Strafe zu vollziehen, so verurteilen die Athener das Beil, das den Stier getötet hat, und werfen es ins Meer; der Täter selbst aber muss in Afrika wie in Athen

pressive feature, the bizarre ritual of the Bouphonia. I shall approach the problem from a somewhat different angle, endeavouring to keep in mind the probabilities and improbabilities of the various contentions.

The statues of Zeus *Polieús*, if I am not mistaken, represented him as a storm-god, at first with uplifted bolt and impetuous advance, later with lowered weapon and in milder mood[1]. Close by was the remarkable group of Ge beseeching Zeus to rain upon her, 'either,' says Pausanias, 'because the Athenians themselves needed rain, or because there was a drought all over Greece[2].'

vor dem Zorn des Tieres fliehen. Die Grundgedanken sind beidemal dieselben' (Schwenn *op. cit.* p. 108). The parallel is certainly striking, and Schwenn goes on to explain that the setting up of its stuffed hide was an admirable means of propitiating the dead beast (*op. cit.* p. 109). He supposes that the tasting of the corn originally aimed at strengthening of the creature's magic powers (p. 110 f.), that the communal feast enabled the participants to absorb those powers into themselves (p. 109), and that the whole procedure was later attached, appropriately enough, to the cult of the sky-god Zeus Πολιεύς (p. 111). Schwenn, in fact, has put together a hypothesis which explains much. At the same time we should do well to note the judicious comment of Deubner *op. cit.* p. 171: 'Er musste freilich zugeben, dass diese historische Stufe im Ritus des Zeusfestes, das mit dem Ackerbau zu tun hat, nicht mehr sichtbar sei, und nahm daher an, das der Buphonienochse ursprünglich ein Jagdtier gewesen sein müsse [Schwenn p. 109]. Auf diesen schwachen Punkt der Beweisführung hat denn auch Nilsson mit Recht hingewiesen und die Erklärung Schwenns abgelehnt[9] ([9] Deutsche Lit.-Zeit. 1928, 1748 f.).' I doubt whether this 'weak point' is really fatal to Schwenn's hypothesis. The same difficulty besets the earliest phase of the 'Minoan' bull-fights, which may likewise have originated in the hunting stage of the community (*supra* i. 497).

[1] *Supra* p. 570 ff.

[2] Paus. i. 24. 3 f. (*supra* ii. 21 n. 4). Not much is known concerning this group. C. Lenormant in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1832 iv. 60—68, *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 44, *a*, *b*, attempted to connect it with the statuette of a kneeling woman in Parian marble brought by Blouet from Mykonos and now in the Louvre (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 682 no. 2). H. Heydemann in *Hermes* 1870 iv. 380 ff. (followed by Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 414 ff.) assumed that there was a half-length statue of Ge emerging from the ground in front of the rock-cut inscription Γῆς Καρ|ποφόρου | κατὰ μα(ι)ν|τείαν (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 166 'Hadriani fere aetati titulum adscribemus,' Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 754. Facsimile in Harrison *op. cit.* p. 415 fig. 31. *Supra* ii. 21 n. 4, iii. 242). R. Förster in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1874 xxxii. 165 cp. the type of Gaia recumbent with hand uplifted in supplication on sarcophagi representing the rape of Kore (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter—Kora pp. 590, 607 ff. Atlas pl. 17). E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1581 says: 'Mir scheint allein ein Relief, Gaia vor Zeus der Erde entsteigend, möglich.' Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* pp. 468—471 reverts to Heydemann's view of a half-length figure of the goddess rising out of the rocky ground. He cp. the impression of a seal on a little pyramid of terra cotta, which came from Athens to Berlin (Antiquarium, T. C. inv. 6787) and may belong to *s.* iv or iii B.C. It shows (fig. 185 = my fig. 413) the upper part of an undraped female form bending backwards and looking up to heaven with raised hands and dishevelled hair: her body rises from a car covered with cut grass, corn, or the like and drawn by an old-fashioned wheel. Furtwängler supposes that this singular vehicle was used for country processions and supplications in time of drought, being a more advanced analogue of the bronze car at Krannon (*supra* ii. 831 ff. figs. 788—792).

Fig. 413.

O. Jahn[1], C. Robert[2], and G. F. Schoemann[3] infer from the proximity of this monument that by means of the Dipolieia men sought to propitiate Zeus as the god who sent rain and dew with their attendant fertility.

But more certain indications may be drawn from the date of the festival. It was celebrated during the very hottest days of the year[4] at a season when, according to modern meteorological observations, the dewfall is at its minimum[5]. In this respect it resembled the *Arrhephoria* or 'Dew-bearing,' which appears to have been a ceremony intended to fertilise Mother Earth[6]. The same intention undoubtedly accounts for the Skirophoria[7], which took place on the twelfth of Skirophorion[8], two days before the Dipolieia[9], and on the calendar-frieze of the Panagia *Gorgoepékoos* (*supra* figs. 410, 411) is represented by a young man holding a couple of corn-ears[10]. To judge from these data, it would seem that the Dipolieia probably aimed at enabling the Sky-father to impregnate the Earth-mother aright by ensuring an adequate dewfall and rainfall at a critical time of year.

That we are on the right track in adopting this explanation will appear from a further consideration of the *personnel* and ritual of the feast. Those that took an active part in it belonged, as we have seen[11], to the Kerykes of Eleusis. The Kerykes of Eleusis claimed that Keryx the founder of their clan was a son of Hermes by

[1] O. Jahn in the *Nuov. Mem. d. Inst.* 1865 ii. 7 f.

[2] C. Robert in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1899 clxi. 526.

[3] G. F. Schoemann *Griechische Alterthümer*[4] Berlin 1902 ii. 528.

[4] *Supra* p. 588. [5] *Supra* p. 241 n. 3. [6] *Supra* p. 165 ff.

[7] Was the use of the Διὸς κώδιον at the Skirophoria (*supra* i. 423 n. 1) comparable with the Palestinian use of fleeces spread to catch dew (*supra* p. 500 n. 1)? The question is easier to ask than to answer.

[8] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 504 ff., É. Cahen in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1361 f., F. Pfister in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 530 ff., L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 40 ff.

[9] The belief of A. Mommsen *Griechische Heortologie* Leipzig 1864 p. 445, *id. Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 509 and O. Band *De Diipoliorum sacro Atheniensium* Halae Saxonum 1873 p. 14 that the Arrhephoria too was held shortly before the Dipolieia must not be based on Souid. *s.v.* Βουφόνια *bis* ·ἑορτὴ παλαιά, ἣν φασιν ἄγεσθαι μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια (=schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 985). For it is improbable that τὰ μυστήρια alludes to the Arrhephoria. Almost equally improbable is the cj. of J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 153 that we should emend μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια into μετὰ μυστηρίων. There is more to be said for the suggestion of H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 187 n. 1 that Souidas' source is confusing the Dipolieia with the Diasia. See, however, *supra* p. 598 n. 3.

[10] *Supra* p. 588 n. 2, especially L. Deubner *op. cit.* p. 252 f. 'Der Skirophorion im Schema des ἀποσκοπεύων. In der linken Hand scheint er zwei Ähren zu halten. Zwischen Hand und Körper sind nämlich zwei schmale Stege sichtbar. Rechts von der Hand ist eine Spitze angedeutet.'

[11] *Supra* p. 585.

Aglauros, daughter of Kekrops[1]. Androtion, however, the fourth-century historian who linked the Dipolieia with Thaulon[2], made Keryx the son of Hermes by Pandrose[3]; and so did the grammarian Polydeukes in the time of Commodus, except that he gave the mother's name its usual form Pandrosos[4]. Whether Keryx was the son of Aglauros or of Pandrosos makes little difference, for we have already found that *Áglauros*, 'the Sparkling One,' and *Pándrosos*, 'the All-bedewed,' were but successive names of the Earth-mother fertilised by the dew[5]. Such being their lineage, the *Boutýpoi*, *Kentriádai*, and *Daitroí* were better qualified than any other Athenians to obtain from heaven 'the nurturing dews of Kronos' son[6].' Indeed, Thaulon the forefather of the *Thaulonídai* or *Boutýpoi*[7], bears a name which stands in obvious relation to that of Zeus *Thaúlios*[8], and seems, as we have conjectured[9], to denote 'the Dew-man' and nothing more sinister.

The ritual of these moisture-makers was complex. The beginning and the end of it appear to have been magical rather than religious ceremonies.

Virgins called *Hydrophóroi* brought water, ostensibly for the sharpening of axe and knife[10]. But this may have been an afterthought or later interpretation. The only other *Hydrophória* that took place at Athens had a very different significance. Souidas[11] describes it as 'A mourning festival, which, according to Apollonios, was celebrated over those that perished in the deluge.' The funereal aspect of this *Hydrophória*[12] suggests comparison with the sepulchral *loutrophóroi*[13], which we traced back to the vogue of a primitive rain-charm[14]. If the *Hydrophória* too was a rain-charm, associated

[1] Paus. 1. 38. 3. [2] *Supra* p. 596.

[3] Androt. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 351, iv. 645 Müller) in frag. Lexici rhet. p. 671, 16 ad calcem Photii p. 20 ed. M. Meier Κήρυκες,...ὡς Ἀνδροτίων ἐν πρώτῃ Ἀτθίδος, Κέκροπος γενέσθαι τρεῖς θυγατέρας, Ἄγραυλον, Ἄρσην καὶ Πανδρόσην, ἀφ' ἧς ἐγένετο Κῆρυξ, Ἑρμῇ συγγενομένης. Meier would omit ὡς and restore Ἔρσην καὶ Πάνδροσον.

[4] Poll. 8. 103. [5] *Supra* pp. 237, 241 ff. [6] *Supra* p. 265 n. 1.

[7] *Supra* p. 597. [8] *Supra* p. 277 ff. [9] *Supra* p. 283.

[10] *Supra* p. 583.

[11] Souid. *s.v.* Ὑδροφόρια· ἑορτὴ πένθιμος Ἀθήνησιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ κατακλυσμῷ ἀπολομένοις, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος (Apollon. Ascal. in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 313 Müller) = Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ὑδροφόρια. The gloss is abbreviated in the *et. mag.* p. 774, 56 f. *s.v.* Ὑδροφορία (= Favorin. *lex.* p. 1790, 57 f.), and still more so by Hesych. *s.v.* Ὑδροφορία (cod.).

[12] Similarly Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 172 f. concludes that the Ὑδροφόρια of the Aeginetans (schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 81), which he justly identifies with the Ἀμφιφορίτης (*et. mag.* p. 95, 1 ff.) or Ἀμφορίτης ἀγών (Kallim. *frag.* 80 Schneider *ap.* schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 156) instituted by the Argonauts (Ap. Rhod. 4. 1763 ff., Apollod. 1. 9. 26) and with the Δελφίνια (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 8. 88), is to be connected with a cult of the dead.

[13] *Supra* p. 372 ff. [14] *Supra* p. 427.

in the popular mind with Deukalion's downpour, we can better understand certain circumstances attending Sulla's capture of Athens in 86 B.C. He entered the city on the Kalends of March, at a time when, as Plutarch[1] says, the Athenians 'do many things to recall the disastrous deluge of rain and the destruction that it caused, believing that the flood happened just about that time of year.' It has been conjectured with much probability that the rites here referred to were those of the *Hydrophória*[2]. Shortly after Sulla's entry, when Aristion on the Akropolis capitulated through thirst, 'heaven at once gave a portent. On the very day, and at the very hour, when Curio was bringing him down, the clouds gathered in a clear sky and there descended such a quantity of rain that it filled the Akropolis with water[3].' Now, if we may argue from the *Hydrophória* to the *Hydrophóroi*, it seems at least likely that the opening rite of the Dipolieia was the fetching of water by way of a rain-charm. The water so fetched was poured over an axe and a knife. A civilised age of course jumped to the conclusion that the water was required simply for the sharpening of the tools. But I shall venture to read a deeper meaning into the ceremony. May we not fairly surmise that the axe—a double axe, as the frieze of the Panagia *Gorgoepékoös* shows[4]—was the weapon of the storm-god Zeus, was in fact an Attic counterpart of the *lábrys*[5]? Perhaps, after all, the Sopatros-legend, which spoke of the Bouphonia as introduced from Crete[6], was not so wide of the mark as some have supposed[7]. To wet such an axe with water would be a method of

[1] Plout. *v. Sull.* 14. [2] G. Bernhardy on Souid. *s.v.* Ὑδροφόρια.

To the Ὑδροφόρια may be added the Χύτροι of Anthesterion 13, when a pot of mingled seeds was boiled over the fire and offered to Dionysos and to Hermes Χθόνιος on behalf of the dead (Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 391 n. 4, 397 f., Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 36 ff., L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 pp. 93 f., 112 ff., 118, 121. *Supra* i. 684, ii. 1139), and also the annual ceremony of unspecified date (Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 424 n. 5), when wheaten meal kneaded with honey was cast into a cleft in the precinct of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (*supra* p. 170 n. o) near the grave of Deukalion (*supra* ii. 1118).

[3] Plout. *v. Sull.* 14. [4] *Supra* p. 587 figs. 410, 411. [5] *Supra* ii. 559 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 590 ff.

[7] B. Tamaro in the *Annuario della r. Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente* 1921—1922 iv—v. 1 ff. regards the Bouphonia as a rite originating in the Mycenaean age. F. Schwenn *Gebet und Opfer* Heidelberg 1927 p. 119 says: 'Zeus Sosipolis [in Magnesia] war ursprünglich ein minoischer Himmelsherr und hat erst später den Namen seines hellenischen Bruders angenommen. Damit können wir dann, neben anderen Stierprozessionen und Stiertötungen, z. B. dem oben erwähnten βοῦς τοῦ Ἥρωος in Delphi, auch die Buphonienzeremonien in Athen in die minoische Epoche zurückführen.' *Id. ib.* p. 131: 'Der Buphonienstier in Athen diente zunächst nur dem Schutz der Ackerbestellung, aber da zum Gedeihen der Saaten auch der Segen des Himmels notwendig war, wurde die Stiertötung schon in vorgriechischer Zeit mit dem Dienst des Himmelsgottes verbunden—wurde sie zum Opfer für den Herren des

obtaining a rain-storm quite in accordance with the recognised rules of magic[1].

An Attic counterpart of the Cretan *lábrys* would be of course an object of special sanctity—a 'holy axe' as Pindar[2] called it. An example of the sort, found near Athens a few years ago and now in my possession, is decorated with all the resources of Hallstatt art[3]. Accordingly, at the Bouphonia the utmost pains were taken to transfer the guilt of bloodshed from the axe to its accomplice the knife, while all present agreed to ignore the escape of the axe-bearing priest. Even the knife, when condemned, was not, like any ordinary inanimate object that had caused death, flung beyond the frontier[4], but was sunk at sea[5]—presumably one more rain-charm to complete the performance.

(ζ) Zeus as an ox; Zeus *Ólbios*.

It remains to consider the central act of this yearly drama—the real death and simulated resurrection of an ox among worshippers who partake of his flesh.

The ox is throughout treated as divine. Nothing short of this will fully account for the ritual rule that the *boûs* must be a voluntary victim as it were consenting to his own death, for the feeling of

Himmels.' L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii. 138 is convinced: 'Dabei ist an einer Reihe von Einzelkulten beobachtet worden, wie in ihnen der Stier ursprünglich noch Eigengestalt war, dann aber dem Vater Himmel zuwuchs. Einen Eckpunkt bilden die attischen Buphonien, die mit ihren Wurzeln in vorgriechische Zeit zurückreichen; in ihnen unterliegt der "Mord" an dem Stierdämon einer besonderen Sühne, wobei das Doppelbeil eine Rolle hat.' Another convert is B. Schweitzer in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1928 cxc. 17: 'So sind...die Buphonien...ein vorgriechisches Bauernfest.'

L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 remains dissatisfied: 'Bei der Beurteilung der Zeremonie des Zeusfestes ist nicht zu übersehen, dass dieses keineswegs in das graueste Altertum hinaufreichen kann.... Es sollte doch klar sein, dass Zeus Polieus auf der Burg von Athen unbedingt jünger sein muss als Athena und erst später zu dieser hinzugetreten sein kann; und auch dann erhielt er nur einen Altar. Ich glaube nicht, dass man mit seinem Kult über die archaische Zeit hinaufgehen kann.' But Deubner ignores the possibility (which I hold to be the truth) that the cult of Zeus Πολιεύς came to Athens in archaic times from Eleusis, where with its peculiar *personnel* and ritual it had survived the passage from Mycenaean to post-Mycenaean conditions.

[1] See *e.g.* Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 247 ff. ('The Magical Control of Rain').

[2] *Supra* p. 200, *infra* § 9 (h) ii (η).

[3] Published *infra* Addenda on ii. 635 ff. ('The decoration of the double axe'). Since the decoration of this specimen consists in *pointillé* designs of a four-spoked wheel, a bridled and branded horse, a waterfowl, and a man—symbols all suggestive of a solar interpretation (*supra* i. 333 ff.)—,it is probable that we have here a sacred axe, and remotely possible that it once belonged to a *Bouphónos*, who wielded it at some forgotten Bouphonia when the sun was at its hottest (*supra* p. 588).

[4] Poll. 8. 120.

[5] *Supra* p. 584.

utter guilt that drove the actual *Bouphónos* into immediate exile, and for the solemn communion of those who together devoured the sacred flesh and so—at Athens as in Crete[1]—absorbed into their own bodies the very substance and virtues of the divine beast. When we remember that in Mesopotamia, in Asia Minor, and all round the shores of the Levant the sky-god with his bellowing thunder and his fertilising rain has been from time immemorial conceived as a bull[2], we cannot but conclude that the ox of the Dipolieia was one more example of this universal concept[3], in a word was the embodiment of Zeus *Polieús* himself—slain that he might live again in younger and more vigorous form, stuffed with hay and yoked to a plough that he might work as of yore for the benefit of his *pólis*.

A plough on the Akropolis-rock seems *déplacée*. Yet Plutarch[4] in his *Advice to Bride and Groom* goes some way towards explaining it:

'The Athenians,' he says, 'observe three sacred ploughings: the first at Skiron, in memory of the most ancient of sowings; the second in Raria; and the third near the base of the Akropolis, the so-called *Bouzýgios*.'

Bouzýges, 'Yoker of Oxen,' was an old-time Athenian, the first who ever ploughed with such a pair[5]. In token of his achievement the plough that he used was dedicated on the Akropolis[6]. And he himself may be seen using it on a red-figured bell-*kratér*, said to

[1] *Supra* i. 650, 662 ff., ii. 345, 354, 539. [2] *Supra* i. 633 ff.

[3] Thus far I find myself in agreement with B. Schweitzer *Herakles* Tübingen 1922 p. 45 ('Der Stier war das geweihte Tier sowohl des vorderasiatischen Himmelsgottes wie des kretischen Zeus gewesen, sie selbst waren sicherlich einst in der Gestalt des Himmelsstieres gedacht worden, wie der Europamythos zeigt. Es ist vor allem das Stieropfer, das durch die Doppelaxt dargebracht wird. In dieser besonderen Bedeutung kann sie *βουπλήξ* heissen... Der *πέλεκυς*...spielt eine merkwürdige, auch von P. Stengel noch nicht befriedigend erklärte Rolle in den düsteren *δρώμενα*...der attischen Buphonien'). But the further contentions of B. Laum *Heiliges Geld* Tübingen 1924 p. 123 ('Aus der sakralen Funktion erklärt sich also die Verehrung des Doppelbeiles. Zunächst ist es das Beil, mit dem der Priester das Opfertier niederschlägt; dann wird es Symbol der Stiergottheit und ist als solches Kultgegenstand und Weihegabe.' Etc.) seem to me to outrun discretion.

[4] Plout. *coniug. praecept.* 42 *Ἀθηναῖοι τρεῖς ἀρότους ἱεροὺς ἄγουσι, πρῶτον ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ, τοῦ παλαιοτάτου τῶν σπόρων ὑπόμνημα, δεύτερον ἐν τῇ Ῥαρίᾳ, τρίτον ὑπὸ πόλιν* (so Froben in the ed. Basel 1542 for *πέλιν*) *τὸν καλούμενον Βουζύγιον. τούτων δὲ πάντων ἱερώτατός* (Madvig cj. *ἱερώτερός*) *ἐστιν ὁ γαμήλιος σπόρος καὶ ἄροτος ἐπὶ παίδων τεκνώσει. κ.τ.λ.*

[5] H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 839, J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1095 ff. *Supra* i. 469 n. 3.

[6] Schol. Aischin. *de fals. leg.* 78 *τοῦ Βουζύγου· τοῦ ὄντος ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Βουζυγῶν. ἦν γὰρ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο γένος τιμώμενον παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐξ οὗ ἐγένετο ἡ ἱέρεια τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. Βουζύγης δὲ ἐκλήθη †νεύμιτης†* (H. Sauppe cj. *Ἐπιμενίδης*, cp. *infra* p. 610) *Ἀθηναίων τῶν πάλαι, ὅστις πρῶτος ζεῦγος βοῶν ἔζευξεν. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἄροτρον αὐτοῦ ἀνέκειτο ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει πρὸς μνήμην.*

a

b

c

d

Kratér from Vari, now at Baltimore:
(*a*—*d*) Bouzyges ploughing in the presence of Athena and an elderly male spectator.

See page 606 ff.

have been found in pieces near *Vari* and now in the collection of Professor D. M. Robinson at Baltimore (pl. xlv)[1]. This interesting vase, which has been attributed to 'The Painter of the Naples Hephaistos Krater[2]' and may be dated *c.* 430 B.C., shows Bouzyges successfully driving his yoke of oxen in the presence of two spectators. One of these, wearing *stephánе* and Doric *péplos*, is characterised as Athena by the spear in her right hand and the olive-tree at her side. But she holds in her left hand six[3] ears of corn and turns to encourage the ploughman. So does a bald-headed white-bearded man, who stands in the background, wearing a *himátion* and leaning on his staff. He has been called Kekrops[4] or Boutes[5]; but neither appellation is probable and we must be content to leave him anonymous. It is of more importance to note that the whole vase-painting was designed for an Eleusinian, not an Athenian, myth. Compare it with the Berlin *skýphos* illustrated *supra* i. 224 fig. 165 and you will realise that Athena and Bouzyges are simply adaptations from Demeter with her corn-ears and Triptolemos with his plough. Or set it beside the Palermo *kratér* *supra* i. 218 pl. xviii and you perceive that Athena and the elderly male spectator have been substituted for Demeter and Keleos, or possibly for Persephone and Hippothon. In short, the Baltimore *kratér* drops more than one broad hint that behind the Athenian ploughman at the base of the Akropolis lurks a half-obliterated figure, his Eleusinian predecessor on the Rarian Plain. Athena holding corn-ears at a plough-scene is quite unconvincing unless we see that she has stept into the shoes of Demeter and that the type appropriate to the earlier discovery of the thrice-ploughed

[1] D. M. Robinson 'Bouzyges and the First Plough on a Krater by the Painter of the Naples Hephaistos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 152—160 with figs. 1 (obverse) and 2 (reverse). I am indebted to Professor Robinson for the large-scale photographs, lent to me by Mr C. T. Seltman, from which my pl. xlv was made. Height of vase 0·41^{m}. Height of main scenes 0·175^{m}.

[2] J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 pp. 415 f., 478.

[3] D. M. Robinson *loc. cit.* p. 155 says: 'In her left hand she holds the promised harvest consisting of eight (*sic*) ears of corn, the stems of which, once in white paint, have vanished.'

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 156. A graffito, of which the first two words are scratched on the reverse, the third on the obverse of the vase, reads ΔΙΟΚΛΕ[ς] ΗΑΛ[ΑΙΕ]Ν[ς]‖ ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΑΣ. Cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Αλαὶ Αἰξωνίδες· ...ὁ δ' Αἰξωνεὺς (*sc.* δῆμος) *τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς.*

[5] D. M. Robinson *loc. cit.* p. 156 n. 1: 'Professor Elderkin makes the interesting suggestion that the old man is Butes whose name would make him logically present in the scene. He thinks further that the paintings of the Butadae in the Erechtheum [Paus. 1. 26. 5] may have inspired the scene.'

field[1] had been borrowed to depict the later discovery of the yoked oxen. The transference from Demeter to Athena as ploughman's patroness[2] was perhaps eased by a knowledge of such cults as that of Athena *Boarmía* in Boiotia[3] and that of Athena *Boúdeia* in Thessaly[4]. The former appellative is said to have meant 'She who fits the Oxen' to yoke and plough; the latter, 'She who binds the Oxen' to plough and yoke.

I pass on to observe that Bouzyges was the eponymous ancestor of a noble Athenian clan, the Bouzygai[5], who dwelt on the

[1] *Supra* i. 224 f.

[2] Cp. the curious tale told by interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 402: in Attica regione quaedam puella Myrmix nomine fuit, Minervae ob castimoniam et sollertiam dilecta, quae postea hoc modo (H. A. Lion prints *loco*) Minervae in se odium concitavit. namque cum vidisset Minerva Cererem segetes invenisse, volens ipsa ostendere Atticis quo expeditius segetes parerent, aratrum dicitur invenisse. quod cum manu ageret, et Myrmix ei adhaereret, ausa est occulte aratri stivam subripere, et apud homines se iactare, infructuosum esse Cereris munus, nisi suo uterentur invento, quo terra aratro resoluta expeditius ederet fructus. quod cum proditum aegre tulisset Minerva, Myrmicem illam virginem in formicam convertit eamque, ut proditricem, adversam frumentis, quae semper insequitur et subripit, esse praecepit. quae res cum Iovi miserationem movisset, excogitavit quemadmodum formicae honorem daret. nam cum Aeacum, filium suum ex Aegina susceptum, Thessalis imponeret regem et agros ipsos videret hominibus indigere, formicas colligi in unum iussit easque in homines commutavit: unde Myrmidones appellati sunt. See further J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 1106.

[3] Lyk. *Al.* 518 ff. (Idas and Lynkeus) *τοὺς Ἄρηος ἐφίλατο, | καὶ δὶ' Ἐνυώ, καὶ τριγέννητος θεὰ | Βοαρμία Λογγᾶτις Ὁμολωὶς Βία* with schol. *ad loc.* *Βοαρμία δὲ καὶ Λογγᾶτις παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς καλεῖται καὶ τιμᾶται* and Tzetz. *ad loc.* *Βοαρμία παρὰ τὸ ἁρμόσαι καὶ ζεῦξαι εἰς ζυγὸν καὶ ἄροτρον βοῦς.* This explanation is accepted by K. O. Müller *Orchomenos und die Minyer*[2] Breslau 1844 p. 181 n. 1, Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 243, Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 301, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 222 n. 1, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 575. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1205 n. 8 is, as usual, helpful: 'der N. bedeutet gewiss nicht "den Kampflärm abwehrend" [= *Βοϝᾱ-ϝαρμία] [MEISTER], sondern 'Rinder anschirrend'; s. SOLMSEN, Rh. M. LIII 1898 145 [f.]...Athena selbst gilt als Erfinderin des Pfluges, Arstd. I S. 20 DDF.; Intp. Serv. V*A* 4 402.'

[4] Lyk. *Al.* 359 f. (Kassandra) *ἡ πολλὰ δὴ Βούδειαν Ἀΐθυιαν Κόρην | ἀρωγὸν αὐδάξασα τάρροθον γάμων* with Tzetz. *ad loc.* *οὕτω τιμᾶται Βούδεια ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ* (=Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Βούδεια*, who is cited also by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1076, 28 *Βούδειαν λέγων Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ*)... *Βούδεια γὰρ ἡ φρόνησις, ὅτι τοὺς βόας ἀρότρῳ καὶ ζυγοῖς ὑποδέει καὶ τέμνει τὰς αὔλακας.* This etymology has found favour, not only with K. O. Müller *op. cit.*[2] p. 181, Gerhard *op. cit.* i. 226, 231, 243, Welcker *op. cit.* ii. 301, Preller—Robert *op. cit.* i. 222 n. 1, O. Jessen *op. cit.* iii. 988, Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 1205 n. 8, etc., but with expert philologists such as P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 419, who holds that similar place-names are derived from the name of the goddess ('Endete der Name der Göttin selbst auf *-ια*, so konnte er unverändert als Ortsname dienen: *Βούδεια* in Thessalien nach der Athena *Βούδεια* der "Rinder anschirrenden", daneben *Βούδειον* (Il. II 572).' Cp. F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 78 n. 2 (4)). It is, however, equally possible and—to my thinking—decidedly more probable that the goddess drew her appellative from an old place-name of unknown meaning, the appellative being later re-interpreted as 'Oxen-binding.'

[5] J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 pp. 136—149, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1094—1096.

Akropolis[1] and were entrusted with the discharge of several sacred duties. It is said that the priestess of Athena was drawn from their number[2]. More certainly, they provided the priest of Zeus *Téleios*[3], who as a marriage-god yoked man and wife together[4]. They also furnished the priest of Zeus *at the Palladion*[5]. In Roman times both these functionaries had seats reserved for them in the theatre. And on one occasion the latter, at the bidding of the Pythian Apollon, had a new image of Pallas made at his own expense and dedicated to the gods and to the city[6]. Why the cult at the Palladion should have been in the hands of the Bouzygai appears from a story told by Polyainos[7]:

'Demophon received the Palladion in trust from Diomedes and took care of it. When Agamemnon asked it back, Demophon gave the genuine image to an Athenian named Bouzyges to take to Athens, but made another of the same size and shape and kept it in his tent. When Agamemnon attacked him with a strong force, Demophon for a long time put up a great fight and so created the impression that he was defending the genuine image. But when many men had been wounded, the followers of Demophon gave way, and Agamemnon seized the false Palladion and, falling into the trap, went off with it.'

We gather from other writers that Demophon was the first person tried by the court at the Palladion, which dealt with cases of involuntary homicide, though several versions of his crime are extant[8]. The noteworthy point is that the name Demophon again directs our attention to Eleusis, where he was Demeter's nurseling even before Triptolemos[9]. We are not, therefore, surprised to find

[1] Aristeid. *or.* 2. 13 (i. 20 Dindorf) καὶ Βουζύγης τις ὑπῆλθέ με τῶν ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως, κ.τ.λ.

[2] Schol. Aischin. *de fals. leg.* 78 (quoted *supra* p. 606 n. 6). Does this in reality refer to the priestess of that Athena who was worshipped ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ (*Inscr. Gr.* ed. Hin. i no. 324, 78 [Ἀθ]εναίας ἐπὶ Παλλαδίοι, 95 Ἀθεναίας ἐπὶ Παλλαδίοι)?

[3] *Supra* ii. 1163 n. 2 fig. 971.

[4] Cp. Hesych. *s. vv.* Ζυγία· ἡ Ἥρα..., Ζύγιος· Ζεύς.... *Supra* i. 458 n. 8 and ii. 60 o, 695 n. o, 723 n. o, 954 n. o.

[5] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 273 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 860. 34 = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 467 ff. no. 271 Βουζύγου | ἱερέως Διὸς ἐν | Παλλαδίῳ on a seat in the theatre, in lettering later than Hadrian.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 71 [ὁ δεῖνα – – – ἱερ]εὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίου καὶ Βουζύγης, Πολ[υαί]νου(?) Μαραθωνίου, | χρήσαντος τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅτι χρὴ ἕτερον ἄγ[ε]ν τῆς Παλλάδος κατα|σκευάσασθαι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ποήσας τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει | ἀνέθηκεν. A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 491 had proposed to read Μαραθώνιο[ς], but W. Dittenberger replies: 'ne ita quidem omnis difficultas removetur, cum admodum rarum sit nomen patris hoc demum loco positum.'

[7] Polyain. 1. 5. Cp. Dionysios of Samos *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 9 f. Müller) = *frag.* 3 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 178 f. Jacoby) *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 47. 6 p. 36, 15 ff. Dahlin.

[8] Paus. i. 28. 8 f. with Sir J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*

[9] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 52, 652 f. *Supra* i. 211.

that ultimately the Bouzygai were responsible for keeping the sacred oxen that ploughed at Eleusis[1]. Probably J. Toepffer[2] is right in his contention that, when the Eleusinian state ceased to be an isolated priestly power, all three ploughings passed into the control of the Attic Bouzygai. O. Gruppe[3] too attributes these changes to political movements in progress at the end of *s.* vii and during the first half of *s.* vi B.C.—the temporary predominance of Megara and the permanent union of Eleusis with Athens. Indeed it is likely enough that the original home of the Bouzygai was not Athens, but Eleusis. The Eleusinians, says Pausanias[4], 'assert that the Rarian Plain was the first to be sown and the first to bear crops, and therefore it is their custom to take the sacrificial barley and to make the cakes for the sacrifices out of its produce.'

Not only Eleusis, but Crete also is involved in the legend of Bouzyges. A tradition which goes back to Aristotle[5] boldly declared that Bouzyges was none other than Epimenides, the famous Cretan prophet who is known to have visited Athens *c.* 500 B.C.[6] That is a very remarkable identification, which—so far as I can see—must have been propounded by somebody bent on tracing an analogy between the sacred ox of Athens and the sacred bull of Crete. We have already[7] insisted on the resemblance of the communal feast at the Bouphonia to the communal feast in Crete. And we can hardly help wondering whether there had ever been at Eleusis, as there certainly was in Crete, an earlier phase of bovine

[1] Aristeid. *or.* 46. 129 f. (ii. 174 f. Dindorf) cites Eupol. Δῆμοι *frag.* 7 ῥήτωρ γάρ ἐστι νῦν τις, ὅν γ' ἔστιν λέγειν; | ὁ Βουζύγης ἄριστος ἀλιτήριος (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 460 f. Meineke), and schol. A. *ad loc.* (iii. 473 Dindorf) comments ὁ Περικλῆς ἐστιν ἄριστος ὁ Βουζύγης ὁ ἀλιτήριος. Βουζύγην μὲν οὖν αὐτόν φησι κατὰ τὸν τοῦτον (*leg.* τοῦτον τὸν) τρόπον· ὅτι τοὺς τρέφοντας ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τοὺς ἱεροὺς βόας ἀροτριῶντας Βουζύγας ἐκάλουν. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐξῆν παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ μόνοις τοῖς ἱερεῦσι. πατρόθεν οὖν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων εἵλκε τὸ γένος ὁ Περικλῆς· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Βουζύγην αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν. κ.τ.λ., while schol. B. D. Oxon. (*ib.*) has Βουζύγαι καλοῦνται οἱ τὰς ἱερὰς βοῦς τὰς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἀροτριώσας τρέφοντες. ἐκ τούτων δὲ ὁ Περικλῆς κατήγετο. τὸ γένος δὲ τοῦτο ἦν ἱερόν. κ.τ.λ.

[2] J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 138.

[3] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 52.

[4] Paus. 1. 38. 6 τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ῥάριον σπαρῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσι καὶ πρῶτον αὐξῆσαι καρπούς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐλαῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαί σφισι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πέμματα ἐς τὰς θυσίας καθέστηκεν.

[5] Aristot. *frag.* 386 Rose[2] *ap.* interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 19 'uncique puer monstrator aratri'...vel Epimenides, qui postea Buzyges dictus est secundum Aristotelem, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Βουζύγης· ἥρως Ἀττικός, ὁ (ἢ cod.) πρῶτος βοῦς ὑπὸ ἄροτρον ζεύξας· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἐπιμενίδης, schol. T. V. *Il.* 18. 483 καὶ ἄροτρον δὲ πρῶτος Ἐπιμενίδης (ἐκεῖ Μαίνιδος codd.) ὁ καὶ Βουζύγης ἔζευξεν.

[6] Plat. *legg.* 642 D—E, on which see J. Toepffer *op. cit.* p. 141 and O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 177.

[7] *Supra* p. 606.

omophagy[1], not to mention a yet more primitive stage of sheer cannibalism in which the local king or some human substitute was killed and eaten[2], the ox being—as H. von Prott[3] and B. Laum[4] imagined—a later surrogate for the man. Definite evidence of such a grim past is lacking[5], but the legends concerning the cult of Zeus

[1] *Supra* i. 659 ff. ('The Cretan Zeus and Bovine Omophagy').

[2] *Supra* i. 651 ff. ('The Cretan Zeus and Human Omophagy').

[3] *Supra* p. 599 n. 0 (2). [4] *Ib.*

[5] At first sight it seems tempting to detect a faded trace of it in the story of Demophon, the infant child of Keleos and Metaneira, whom Demeter 'hid by night like a brand in the blazing fire' (*h. Dem.* 239) and would have made immortal had not his mother by an untimely shriek broken the spell (*supra* i. 211). This appears to have been an aetiological myth used to explain an actual custom (J. Toepffer *op. cit.* p. 108 n. 3, Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 274, G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 149). At Eleusis a boy or girl, chosen by lot to expiate the sins of the people and propitiate the gods, was known as ὁ (ἡ) ἀφ' ἑστίας (Porph. *de abst.* 4. 5 οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως θύοντες τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ θεραπεύοντες ἀπεμειλίττοντο τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἁμαρτίας. ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ὁ ἀφ' ἑστίας λεγόμενος παῖς, <δς> ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν μυουμένων ἀπομειλίσσεται τὸ θεῖον, ἀκριβῶς ὁρῶν τὰ προστεταγμένα, τοῦτο κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς πόλεις οἱ ἱερεῖς δύνανται ἀντὶ πάντων θύοντες καὶ τὸ θεῖον προσαγόμενοι διὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας εἰς τὴν σφῶν κηδεμονίαν, Bekker *anecd.* i. 204, 19 f. ἀφ' ἑστίας μυηθῆναι· ὁ ἐκ τῶν προκρίτων Ἀθηναίων κλήρῳ λαχὼν παῖς δημοσίᾳ μυηθείς) and is mentioned as such in a number of extant inscriptions, mostly found at Eleusis itself or in the near neighbourhood (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1355, 1 ff. (=iv. 2 no. 1355, 1 ff. at *Mandra* north of Eleusis) ἡ βουλὴ | ἀφ' ἑστίας | μυηθεῖσαν with olive wreath round the last three words, no. 1388, 1 ff. [ἡ βουλ]ὴ [ὁ] δῆμος | μυ[ηθεῖσ]αν | ἀφ' ἑστ[ία]s with wreath round the last three words, no. 1389, 1 ff. Λυσίαν Ἀρτέμωνος Παιανιέα | Θεότιμος Θεοτίμου ἐγ Μυρινούττης | καὶ Θεοδότη Δωσιθέου ἐγ Μυρινούττης θυγάτηρ | καὶ Ὀνησακὼ Προτίμου ἐγ Μυρινούττης θυγάτηρ | ἀφ' ἑστίας μυηθέντα | Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ ἀνέθηκαν, *ib.* iii. 1 no. 809, 4 f. τὸν [ἀφ' ἑσ]τία(s) μυη|θ(έ)ντ[α Ἀθ]ήναιον, κ.τ.λ., no. 828, 1 ff. Κλαύδιος καὶ Κλαυδία | Γ(άιον) Κλαύδιον Σειλι|ανὸν Πολύκριτον, | τὸν υἱόν, μυηθέντα | ἀφ' ἑστίας ταῖν θε|αῖν ἀνέθηκαν | ἐπὶ ἱερείας Κλαυδίας | Τειμοθέας τῆς Τειμο|θέου Γαργηττίου θυ[γατρός], no. 829, 1 ff. (on the Rarian Plain) [τὸ]ν ἀφ' ἑσ[τίας] | Λαξενίων (?) | Μαραθ(ω)νί(ω?)ν | τὸν κράτι-στο[ν] | [μύσ]την ο(ἰ) φίλο[ι] or the like, no. 830, 1 ff. (on the Rarian Plain) [τὸν ἀφ' ἑ]στ(ί)as μύστην | Μ(ᾶρκον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Μιλτ(ι)άδ[ην] | Μαραθ(ώ)νιο[ν] | [ὁ πα]τὴρ Ἀγαθοκλ[ῆς] | τὸν [υἱόν], no. 831, 1 f. [.....]έα, μυη|[θέντα] ἀφ' ἑστία[s], no. 908, 1 ff. κατὰ τὸ ἐπε|ρώτημα τῶν σε|μνοτάτων Ἀ|ρεοπαγειτῶν | τὴν ἀφ' ἑστίας | Αὐρ. Μάγναν | τὴν καὶ Ἑρμιό|νην οἱ γονεῖς | Αὐρ. Ἐπαφρό|δειτος Ἀσκλη|πιάδου Πιτθεὺς | καὶ Αὐρ. Μάγνα | ἐκ Πιτθέων, no. 910, 1 ff. (at Athens in the church of the Panagia) Κλεομένης Μαντίου Μαραθώνι|ος καὶ Φιλητὼ Λευκίου Πειραιέως θυ(γάτηρ) | τὴν ἑαυτῶν θυγατέρα Φιλητώ, μυη|-[θεῖσ]αν ἀφ' [ἑστίας,] Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ, no. 911, 1 ff. [ἡ] βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πά[γου καὶ ὁ] | [δ]ῆμος Νεικοστράτην Μεννέο[υ] | [Β]ερνεικίδου θυγατέρα, μυηθεῖσαν | [ἀ]φ' ἑστίας Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ ἀνέθηκε, | κ.τ.λ., no. 912, 1 ff. (at Athens) ἡ βουλὴ | [Ὀ]κνίαν (?) Πολυχάρμου | [Ἀ]ζηνιέως θυγατέρα, | [μ]υηθεῖσαν ἀφ' ἑστίας, no. 913, 1 ff. (in the temple at Rhamnous) ἡ βουλ[ὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου] | καὶ ἡ β[ουλὴ τῶν ἑξακοσί]|ων καὶ ὁ [δῆμος..... Σε]|κοῦνδαν, [θυγατέρα...Θε]|μίσωνο[s, μυηθεῖσαν ἀ]|[φ'] ἑστί[as], no. 915, 1 ff. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | ἡ ἀπὸ δαδούχων | καὶ γένους ἀπὸ Πε|ρικλέους καὶ Κόνω|νος, κατὰ δὲ Μακεδό|νες (*sic*) ἀπὸ Ἀλεξ-άν|δ(ρ)ου, Ὀν(ω)ρατιανὴ | Πολυχαρμὶς τὴν | ἀφ' ἑστίας Ἰουνίαν | Θεμιστόκλειαν, | τὴν θυγατέρα, no. 916, 6 ff. (on the Akropolis at Athens) ἡ βουλὴ | καὶ ὁ δῆμος | ἀφ' ἑστίας | [μυηθεῖσ]α[ν] with wreath round all four lines, which honour *ib.* 2 f. Τερτίαν Λευκίου..... | [θ]υγατέρα). The custom thus attested has hitherto been regarded as a ceremony of purification and initiation (*supra* i. 211 n. 3). If we could be sure that it was originally comparable with the Carthaginian sacrifice of children to Kronos by fire (*supra* i. 722) or the alleged Jewish sacrifice of children to Moloch by fire (*supra* i. 723 n. 1, S. A. Cook

Ómbrios in Elis[1], that of Zeus *Lýkaios* in Arkadia[2], and that of Zeus *Eilapinastés* or *Splanchnotómos* in Kypros[3] look ominously like it.

A further point of doubtful significance may here be set down. Pausanias[4], describing the statues on the Akropolis, says:

'There is Athena rising from the head of Zeus. There is also a bull dedicated by the council of the Areiopagos for some reason or other: one might make many guesses on the subject, if one cared to do so.'

This 'bull on the Akropolis' was of bronze and passed into a proverb for a thing to be admired[5]. It has, as Pausanias anticipated, given rise to a whole crop of more or less plausible explanations, none of which however can pretend to certainty[6]. More *ad rem* is a possible, indeed probable, vase-painting of the bull itself. The facts are as follows. E. Gerhard in 1858 published a black-figured *hydría* of *c.* 500 B.C., which he had found in possession of the

The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology London 1930 p. 29 n. 2), the phrase ὁ ἀφ' ἑστίας μνηθείς would take on a very sinister meaning. But that is obviously an unjustifiable assumption.

Nor can human sacrifice be invoked to account for the Βαλλητύς or 'Stone-throwing,' by which the Athenians commemorated Demophon (Hesych. Βαλλητύς· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν, ἐπὶ Δημοφῶντι τῷ Κελεοῦ ἀγομένη, cp. Athen. 406 D τίς δ' αὕτη ἡ λιθίνη βαλλητύς; Ἐλευσῖνι γὰρ τῇ ἐμῇ οἶδά τινα πανήγυριν ἀγομένην καὶ καλουμένην Βαλλητύν· περὶ ἧς οὐκ ἄν τι εἴποιμι μὴ παρ' ἑκάστου μισθὸν λαβών),—a 'Scheinkampf' (cp. *h. Dem.* 265 ff.) resembling the Λιθοβόλια of Damia and Auxesia at Troizen (Paus. 2. 32. 2 with Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 266 f.) or the stone-throwing on the Nonae Caprotinae at Rome (Plout. *v. Rom.* 29, *v. Cam.* 33). See further O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2830 f., Scherling *ib.* xiii. 769 f., Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 413 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 901 n. 3.

[1] *Supra* p. 525 f. [2] *Supra* i. 70 ff. [3] *Infra* p. 652 f. n. o.

[4] Paus. 1. 24. 2 Ἀθηνᾶ τέ ἐστιν ἀνιοῦσα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διός. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦρος ἀνάθημα τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ ἀνέθηκεν ἡ βουλή· πολλὰ δ' ἄν τις ἐθέλων εἰκάζοι.

[5] Heniochos *Polyeuct. frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 560 f. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 369 f Ἡνίοχος Πολυεύκτῳ· 'ὁ βοῦς <ὁ (*ins.* Porson)>χαλκοῦς ἦν ἂν ἐφθὸς δεκάπαλαι,' κ.τ.λ. Hesych. βοῦς ἐν πόλει· χαλκοῦς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνατεθείς, Diogeneian. 3. 67 βοῦς ἐν πόλει· ἐπὶ τῶν θαυμαζομένων, Apostol. 5. 15 βοῦς ἐν πόλει· ἐπὶ τῶν θαυμαζομένων. Λυσίας γὰρ ἐν ἀκροπόλει βοῦν ἔθηκεν (=Arsen. *viol.* p. 146 reading ἀνέθηκεν)—a curious addition which Hitzig—Blümner in their commentary on Paus. *loc. cit.* successfully explain away ('Di Prov. Bodl. et Vatic. bieten den Zusatz Λυσανίας γὰρ ἀνέθηκε βοῦν, der Cod. Coislin. abe Λυσανίας δὲ εἶπε βοῦς, wofür Meineke (Exerc. philol. 1 29) conjicirte Λυσανίας δ' ἐποίε βοῦν, besser Bergk (Ztschr. f. d. A. W. 1845, 980): Παυσανίας δὲ εἶπε· βοῦς, wobei freilich nicht der Perieget, sondern der Grammatiker Pausanias, der Vf. eines attischen Lexikon gemeint wäre'). The proverb is Latinised by Lucilius *frag.* 286 Baehrens 'ne! quam u arce bovem descripsi magnifice!' inquit.

In Plat. com. *fab. incert.* frag. 24 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 688 with v. 50) *ap.* Hesych. κριὸ ἀσελγόκερως· ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει κριὸς ἀνακείμενος μέγας χαλκοῦς. ἀσελγόκερων δὲ αὐτὸ εἶπε Πλάτων ὁ κωμικὸς διὰ τὸ μέγαν εἶναι, καὶ συναριθμεῖ αὐτῷ τόν τε δούριον ἵππον..... Meineke plausibly fills the blank by inserting <καὶ τὸν χαλκοῦν βοῦν>, a conjecture tha has been well received.

[6] See Hitzig—Blümner on Paus. *loc. cit.*

Fig. 414.

dealers Basseggio and Depoletti at Rome. This noteworthy painting (fig. 414)[1] shows Athena *Poliás*[2] seated on the left with helmet, spear, *phiále*, and attendant snake. In front of her[3] is a blazing altar with Ionic volutes and a *próthysis* or wide base. Between them stands a priestess, barefoot like her goddess and holding an olive-branch. She looks toward Athena, but raises her hand to salute a stately bull, the forepart of which is seen standing apparently on the stylobate of a flat-roofed Doric structure[4]. Gerhard after mooting various possibilities was disposed to identify this bull with the votive gift of the Areiopagos[5], which—he thought—might have some connexion with the city-goddess and perhaps also with the Zeus of the Bouphonia. Gerhard's interpretation was taken up and carried further by over-zealous followers. Miss J. E. Harrison[6], in discussing the Dipolieia, ventured the view 'that the sacred ox, about whom so much ado was made, may have had a sort of shrine on the Acropolis, or that he may have lived in a shrine belonging to Zeus Polieus.' She went on to suggest 'that the votive gift of the Areopagus may have been connected with this Polieus hieron, and that the much-disputed naos mentioned by Pausanias may have been a small shrine set up in connection with the Bouphonia.' Thirty-seven years later Miss Harrison[7] had dropped Zeus overboard. 'Now it is,' she says, 'of course impossible

[1] Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 6 ff. pl. 242, 1 (=my fig. 414) and 2, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 122, 5 and 6. The present whereabouts of the vase, to me at least, is unknown. But there is not the smallest reason to doubt its antiquity.

[2] *Supra* p. 573 n. 4.

[3] Gerhard *op. cit.* iv. 123 rightly connects the altar with the 'Götterbild.'

[4] *Id. ib.* notes that the building looks more like a hall than a temple.

[5] *Supra* p. 612. T. Bergk in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1845 iii. 979 ff. held that the Bronze Bull of the Akropolis was of colossal dimensions. Gerhard *op. cit.* iv. 123 f. says that O. Jahn, like himself, was inclined to view the bull on the *hydría* as 'ein Standbild.' T. Panofka too in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1852 iv. Arch. Anz. p. 158 decided that the bull in question must be meant for 'ein ehernes Weihgeschenk' and compared it with the small bull standing on a pedestal to be seen on tetradrachms of Selinous struck *c.* 466—415 B.C. (*Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 217 pl. 15, 20 f. See now *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 140 f. fig., p. 142 fig., *Weber Cat. Coins* i. 321 f. nos. 1534, 1535 pl. 58, no. 1536 pl. 59, and above all the splendid series in the Lloyd collection (*Syllogi nummorum Graecorum* vol. ii) with the important re-interpretation of A. H. Lloyd in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1935 xv. 86 ff. pl. 4, 14, 16, 18, 20—24, pl. 5, 25, 27 (the river-god Selinos, sacrificing at the altar of Apollon, protects Himera (the cock) against Akragas (the bull of Phalaris)). Panofka thought that the Athenian bull, like the Selinuntine, might have been a votive offering to avert plague, grouped with the seated figure of Athena Τγλεια. Failing that, he suggested a 'Standbild des Stier-Dionysos oder des Achelous.'

[6] Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 428 f. fig. 37.

[7] *Ead. Themis*[2] p. 145 fig. 25.

to be certain that we have here the ox of the Bouphonia. What *is* certain is that we have a holy ox, holy on his own account with a sanctuary of his own, and that this holy ox is associated with not Zeus, but Athena. Whatever Olympian was dominant at the moment would take over the intrinsically holy beast.' F. Schwenn, who held that the Bouphonia was later attached to the cult of Zeus *Polieús*[1], likewise regards the bull as the essential centre of the rite and assumes that a bronze effigy of it was set up to perpetuate the blessings believed to stream from it[2].

Without attempting further to investigate the prehistory of the Bouphonia—a task for which the evidence available is hardly sufficient—we may at least admit that Greeks of the classical and post-classical periods commonly recognised the bull as an animal form of Zeus[3]. They were familiar from their youth up with the story of him and Europe. The Hellenic age loved to portray the god metamorphosed into a bull and bearing his venturesome rider across the sea[4], in the west from left to right[5], in the east from

[1] *Supra* p. 600 n. o (6).

[2] F. Schwenn *Gebet und Opfer* Heidelberg 1927 p. 111.

[3] Witness the myths of Antiope (*supra* i. 535 n. 1, 736, 740), Deo or Demeter (*supra* i. 393), Europe (*supra* i. 464, 544, ii. 929 n. o, 1131 n. 1), Io (*supra* i. 438 f., 458 f.), Pasiphae (*supra* i. 544, 739 f.), Typhoeus (*supra* ii. 449 n. o (2)).

[4] *Supra* i. 526 n. 1 (bibliography).

[5] So during *s.* vi and the early decades of *s.* v B.C. in the art of Sicily and central Greece. Typical examples are the following:

(1) An archaic metope from temple 'F or S' at Selinous, which was at first dated as far back as the end of *s.* vii or the beginning of *s.* vi (A. Salinas 'Nuove metope arcaiche Selinuntine' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1889 i. 958 ff. pl. 1, T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 670, J. Escher in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1296 f.), but is now more reasonably placed *c.* 560 (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 488 ff. fig. 248, D. S. Robertson *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 p. 325) or even *c.* 540 B.C. (W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* rev. by W. B. Dinsmoor London 1927 p. 193). The bull combines profile body with full-face head, horn ear and knee breaking the framework to convey a sense of motion. His back is unduly depressed to secure approximate isocephaly. His tail is too long, but serves to lend interest to the flat monotonous flank. The whole effect is awkward, since Europe's far hand grasps the near horn of her mount: if he turns his head, she will be pulled off his back. Two dolphins below the group betoken the sea (Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 288, b=my fig. 415). The metope is carved in 'tufo bianco di Menfi' (Salinas *loc. cit.*).

(2) A late black-figured *lékythos* from Kyme in Campania, now at Naples (G. Fiorelli *Notizia dei Vasi dipinti rinvenuti a Cuma nel 1856* Napoli 1857 col. pl. 9, 2, G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1857 v. 140 pl. 10, 13 (=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 488, 13 with text p. 487), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 424 (5), Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 878 Raccolta Cumana no. 218, J. E. Harrison—D. S. MacColl *Greek Vase Paintings* London 1894 p. 14 pl. 4, 2 (=my fig. 416)), has given rise to several misconceptions. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 135, on account of 'die Rebzweige' by which she is surrounded, took the bull-rider to be a Maenad, not Europe at all. But

Fig. 415.

Fig. 416.

right to left[1]. The Hellenistic age, tiring a little of this hackneyed

id. ib. 1866 p. 106 no. 3 remarks that the said 'Rebzweige' are laden with white fruit, not grape-bunches, and concludes, on account of the fish in the water and the rocks on either side of it, that after all Europe must be meant. G. Minervini *loc. cit.*, followed by O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* Wien 1870 p. 21, supposed that the rocks in question were merely high-flung waves and quoted *Il.* 13. 29 γηθοσύνῃ δὲ θάλασσα διίστατο of a similar scene. Overbeck *loc. cit.* hedges. Returning to sanity, we note the impression of speed given by the five dolphins hurrying in the opposite direction to the bull, the daring though unsuccessful attempt to show the bull's legs underwater, Europe's hand thrown up in astonishment at sight of the further shore even at the risk of letting go that horn—altogether a brilliant little picture. The apple-tree need be no more than a conventional background, though Stephani *loc. cit.* 1866 p. 119 may be right in regarding it as a substitute for a flower held in the hand: Europe was certainly a tree-and-flower goddess (*supra* i. 525 ff.).

(3) A late black-figured *oinochóe* with trefoil mouth, now in the possession of Mr C. T. Seltman and as yet unpublished, shows on a red panel Europe, draped, riding to right (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 242 no. B 486). Her left hand grasps the bull's horn; her right hand is empty. Behind her is seen the apple-tree with white fruit. Beneath her the sea is rendered by a wash of thinned glaze with white curved lines to indicate the waves—an early example of naturalism in colour (cp. *supra* i. 335 figs. 267, 268, where the undulations are in thinned glaze without white contours).

(4) A red-figured *amphora* at Petrograd (*supra* i. 531 fig. 405), attributed by Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 288 no. 98 to Douris, by J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 108 no. 3 to 'Der Maler der münchener Amphora 2303.'

(5) The famous Europe-*kýlix* at Munich (*supra* i. 526 n. 1 with col. pl. xxxii), on which alone the bull was inscribed ΙΕVΣ, details were gilded, and the sea was simply ignored—the result being a simultaneous appeal to our interest in mythology, our appreciation of splendour, and our imaginative powers. As often as the *kýlix* was filled at feast or festival, the god and his glittering consort would be visible, an appropriate group, in the midst of a wine-dark sea.

(6) The red-figured fish-plates at Petrograd (*supra* i. 547 with fig. 414) supply the anticlimax. The galloping bull and the floating Europe, with her train of fish, dolphins, and sea-powers, would all be literally submerged in the brine that formed a popular sauce (γάρος).

[1] (1) By far the earliest example of this arrangement is found on a 'Caeretan' *hydría* in the Louvre (*supra* i. 471 fig. 327), produced by a brilliant Ionic artist in some Asia Minor town *c.* 550 B.C. (Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 180 f., M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 pp. 126, 163 fig. 256 (detail of trees, hare, etc.)).

(2) Next in order of seniority is the group that appears *c.* 500 B.C. on the oldest *statér* of Phaistos. Of this crude and dumpy coin only one specimen has been published

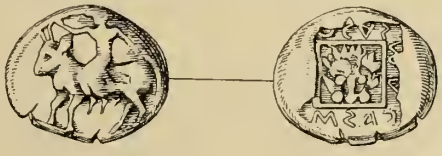


Fig. 417.

(W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1884 iv. 45 no. 1 pl. 3, 6, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 61 pl. 14, 14, J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 254 pl. 22, 34, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 979 f. no. 1620 pl. 255, 1, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 472). I therefore figure a second, now in my collection (fig. 417),

type, sought to vary the traditional pose[1], imported fresh elements

which shows some features of the obverse more clearly. The reverse has an incuse square containing a lion's scalp surrounded by the inscription Α|ΑΔΟ|[ΤΛΟΡΤ]|ΜΡΑ (*Φαιστίων τὸ φαῖμα*). Analogous types occur on the oldest coins of Gortyna; but on these the bull more often moves towards the right. Sundry specimens on which the movement is towards the left seem to be of slightly later date (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 37 pl. 9, 4, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 158 no. 4, p. 159 no. 8 pl. 12, 24, no. 9 pl. 12, 25. Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 3. 979 ff. no. 1621 pl. 255, 2, no. 1622 pl. 255, 3 assigns these coins to Phaistos: on their reverse the legend surrounding the lion's scalp has either been replaced by a border of dots or disappeared altogether). For further light on the relations between the series of Gortyna and Phaistos we await the forthcoming study of the subject by Mr E. J. P. Raven.

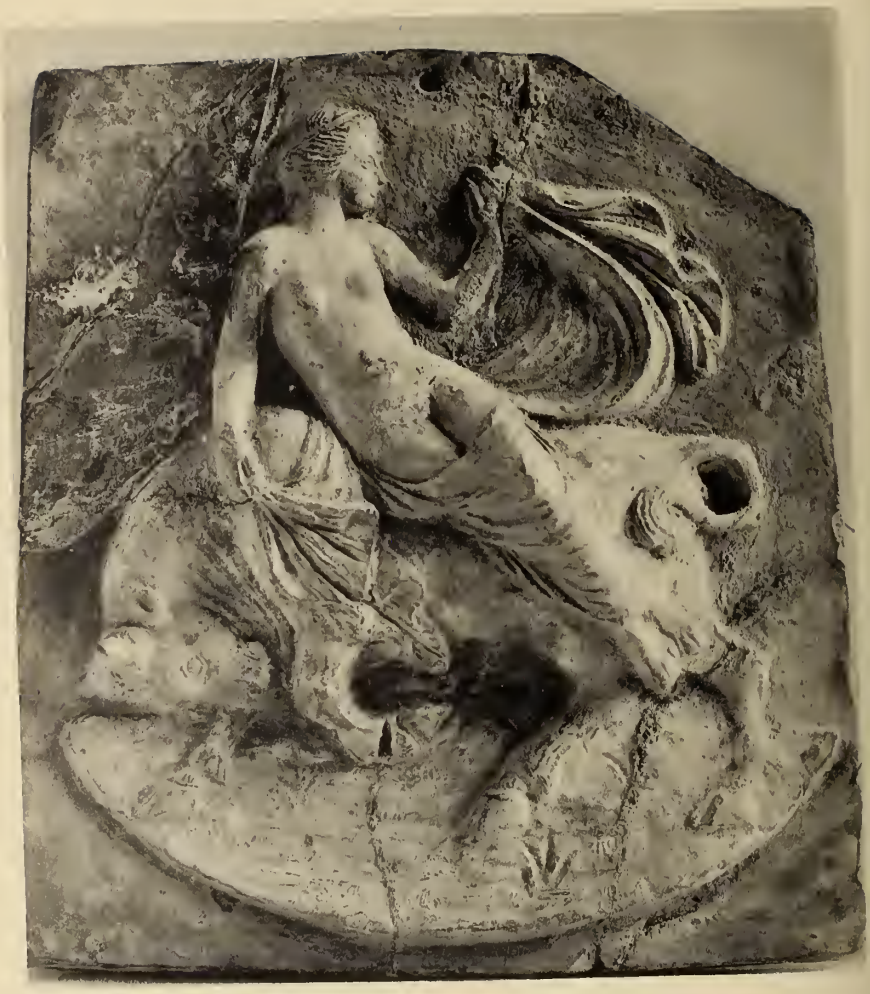
(3) The terra-cotta plaque here published (pl. xlvi, 1) is said to have formed part of a frieze from a tomb at Hadra, the eastern suburb of Alexandreia, which passed into the collection of Florence Lady Ward and thence into mine. Excavations carried on at a great depth in 1898—1901 led to the discovery of two cemeteries, 'that of Hadra on the east of the city containing Hellenic graves, and that of Gabbari on the west, which is late Hellenistic and Roman' (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 351 f. See further E. Breccia *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* Bergamo 1922, and for details *id.* 'Fouilles de Hadra' in the *Municipalité d'Alexandrie. Rapport sur la marche du service du musée* 1912 pp. 15—33 pls. 10—22, *id.* 'Nuova esplorazione nella necropoli di Hadra' in the *Bulletin de la société archéologique d'Alexandrie* 1914 xv. 56—58, A. H. Tubby—H. E. R. James 'An account of excavations at Chatby, Ibrahimieh, and Hadra' *ib.* 1918 xvi. 79—90 pl. 3). Height $5\frac{1}{16}$ ins., width $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. There is one hole for attachment. The relief is throughout covered with a delicate white slip, on which Europe's mantle is touched in with light blue pigment. The design shows a magnificent bull turned towards the left and pawing the ground, on which flowers are springing. Couched on his back in an easy attitude is Europe, looking towards the right. Her feet are crossed, and her body is half-draped in a light wrap which she holds as a sail with either hand. The forms of the bull, the spacing of Europe's breasts, the rendering of the flowery meadow, are all characteristic of the fourth century B.C. and suggest a fine original dating from the period of Ptolemy i Soter or, at latest, Ptolemy ii Philadelphos.

Mr A. D. Trendall, however, draws my attention to a bronze mirror (pl. xlvi, 2) now in the possession of Mr Bisset in Rome. This mirror, which measures ·15^{m} by ·16^{m} (or ·19^{m}, if the handle be included) is said to have been found at Athens, where it was bought from a dealer in February or March 1935. The design of its relief is obviously identical with that of the terra-cotta plaque.

How is this identity to be explained? Is the plaque a forgery, or the mirror, or both? Or should we point to the fact that a bronze mirror-case of *c.* 300—250 B.C. at Paris (M. Collignon in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1885 ix. 322 ff. pl. 7), no. 1355 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is similarly duplicated, or at least closely paralleled, by a terra-cotta mould found in the Peiraieus and now at Berlin (Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 544 f. no. 1355 fig.)?

(4) The type recurs, with some exaggeration, on bronze coins of Gortyna attributed to the third (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 42 pl. 11, 5, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 171 f. pl. 15, 20, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 497 pl. 240, 15, *supra* i. 529 fig. 400, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 467) and second century B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 45 pl. 11, 11 (cp. *supra* i. 472 fig. 328), J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 173 f. pl. 15, 26, 27, 28, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 498 pl. 240, 16).

[1] Europe floating (*supra* i. 547 fig. 414), recumbent with front to spectator (*supra* n, o (3) pl. xlvi, 1, 2), recumbent with back to spectator (*infra* p. 626 figs. 425, 426), standing (*supra* i. 530 n. 2 fig. 402), stooping (*infra* p. 619 n. 2 (1) pl. xlvii, cp. p. 620 n. o (2) figs. 419, 420), sitting (*infra* p. 622 n. o fig. 422), etc.



I

(1) Terra-cotta plaque from a tomb at Hadra (?)
(2) Bronze mirror from Athens (?), now in Rom

2

College, Cambridge: Europe on the Bull.
e Bull.

See page 618 *n.* o (3).

of interest into the scene[1], or changed the time of action by showing the bull still on *terra firma* while the meadow broke into flowers at his feet[2]. Europe, fully draped to begin with[3], then semi-draped[4], and finally in Roman art frankly naked[5], was from first to last

[1] Basket (*supra* i. 530 n. 2 fig. 402, i. 531 fig. 405), Asterion (*supra* i. 531 fig. 405, i. 547 fig. 414), Erotes (*supra* i. 547 fig. 414, *infra* n. 2 (1) pl. xlvii, p. 627 n. 0 (3) pl. xlviii), sea-powers (*supra* i. 547 fig. 414, *infra* p. 627 n. 0 (3) pl. xlviii), etc.

A good example of the sort is a 'Lucanian' *amphora* in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 95 no. F 184), which has for its main design Europe on the bull riding towards the left. The sea is indicated by a dolphin (mostly repainted), a fish, a lobster, and a cuttle, seen above a rocky bottom on which are sea-urchins and seaweed. Behind

Fig. 418.

Europe flies Eros with a *tainía*, and on the shore she has quitted stands a bearded male figure with bay-wreath, embroidered *himátion*, and staff—presumably Phoinix or Agenor (J. V. Millingen *Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs tirées de diverses collections* Rome 1813 p. 44 f. pl. 25 (=my fig. 418), Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 105 f. pl. 25, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 60 ff. pl. 27, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 438 f. (no. 19) Atlas pl. 6, 11, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 863 fig. 2847). The suggestion of Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 439 that the bearded figure is Zeus strikes me as a little tactless. Zeus should at least be advancing towards his bride's arrival (cp. *supra* i. 531 fig. 405, i. 547) rather than speeding her departure.

[2] A small group of South-Italian vases combines this representation of Zeus as a bull with that of Zeus *in propria persona*:

(1) An Apulian *amphora*, found in 1851 in a rich rock-cut grave at Canosa (E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1857 xv. 56 ff. pl. 104, 2 shows the tomb) and now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 495 ff. no. 3218), has the upper zone of its body decorated with two scenes in which Zeus plays a part: (*A*) Europe and four of her companions are playing at ball in a flowery meadow, watched by an old *paidagogós*, when the great bull, yellow above and white below, appears in their midst and kneels at the feet of Europe. One Eros on his back urges him forward, another holding a *tainía* hovers above her. A dove brings

up a wreath as omen of successful love. And four stars indicate the sky, which is the true home of the metamorphosed god (G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1853 ii. 46 ff., 57 ff., O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* Wien 1870 p. 1 ff. pl. 1, a (=my pl. xlvii), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 434 ff. (no. 16)). Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 435 n. (a) illustrates the colour of the bull from Didymos *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1430, 63 f. καὶ ταῦρος ἀργιμήτης ἤγουν λευκός φασι παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ, ὁ διακομίσας τὴν Εὐρώπην, Hesych. ἀργιμήτας ταῦρος· ταχύμητις ἢ λευκὸς παραγώγως· λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ διακομίσαντος τὴν Εὐρώπην, Loukian. *dial. mar.* 15. 2 ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ ταύρῳ εἰκάσας ἑαυτὸν συνέπαιζεν αὐταῖς κάλλιστος φαινόμενος· λευκός τε γὰρ ἦν ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὰ κέρατα εὐκαμπὴς καὶ τὸ βλέμμα ἥμερος· κ.τ.λ., Ov. *met.* 2. 852 quippe color nivis est, 861 flores ad candida porrigit ora, 865 nunc latus in fulvis niveum deponit harenis, Sil. It. 14. 568 f. ardet et Europe, nivei sub imagine tauri | vecta Iove, *Anth. Lat.* cod. Salmas. 14. 3 (i. 1. 49 Riese) Europam nivei solatur amore iuvenci, and—for the admixture of yellow—from Mosch. 2. 84 f. τοῦ δ' ἤτοι τὸ μὲν ἄλλο δέμας ξανθόχροον ἔσκεν, | κύκλος δ' ἀργύφεος μέσσῳ μάρμαιρε

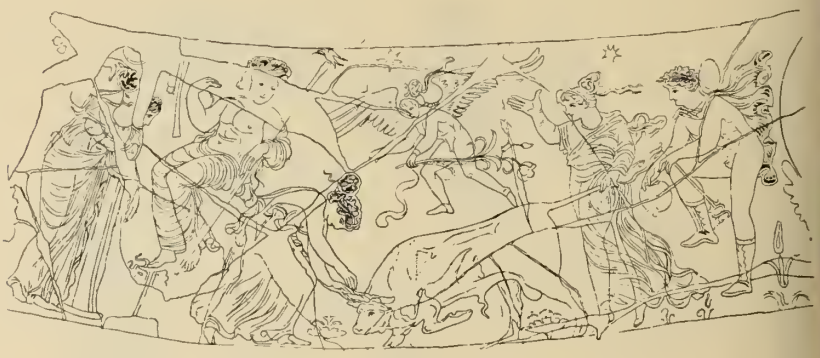


Fig. 419.

μετώπῳ. (*B*) Zeus, half-draped in a *himátion*, with a bay-wreath on his head and shoes on his feet, is seated on a rock, holding an eagle-sceptre in his left hand, a *phiále* in his right. This he extends towards Eros, who stands in a four-horse car. The horses are led by Hermes, with *caduceus* and palm-branch. He is preceded by a small horned Pan, who shoulders his *lagobólon* with the right hand and holds his *sýrinx* with the left, turning his head to glance at Hermes. Before both, leaning on a rock over which his *chlamýs* is thrown, stands a young man with horns, wearing a broad band round his head: he holds a *lagobólon* in his right hand, a *phiále* in his outstretched left (*quis?* Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 499 n. 8 suggests '*Diopan* im Gegensatz zum kleinen *Aigipan*?' and quotes in support O. Benndorf in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 111 ff. Better, perhaps, Pan as opposed to Aigipan, cp. *supra* i. 375 fig. 287). Below, flowers and grasses. Above, four stars. The significance of the scene is doubtful. But the recurrence of these four stars justifies us, I think, in linking the reverse (*B*) with the obverse (*A*). L. Stephani was perhaps on the right tack when in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 121 he wrote: 'in einem dritten Gemälde derselben Vase sieht man Zeus, umgeben von anderen Gottheiten, auf seinem Throne sitzen und daneben ein Viergespann, auf welchem er sich wahrscheinlich nach Kreta begeben wird.'

(2) An Apulian *amphora* in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican has the upper zone of its body decorated with an analogous design (A. F. Gori *Museum Etruscum* Florentiae 1737 i pls. 162 (whole vase), 163 (obverse), 164 (reverse), ii. 316 ff., J. B. Passerius *Picturae Etruscorum in Vasculis* Romae 1767 i. 5 ff. pls. 4—6 (coloured but inadequate), O. Jahn *op. cit.* p. 4, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 436 f. (no. 17) Atlas pl. 6, 15

An *amphora* from Canosa,

rope playing with the Bull.

See page 619 *n.* 2 (1) (*A*).

Fig. 420.

a vegetation power[1] and as such associated with flowers and fruit. The fertilising god must needs have a fertile bride.

The Greek type of Europe with her flowers seated on the back of the bull Zeus seems to have originated in the Hittite type of Chipa with her flowery kirtle standing on the bull of Tešub[2], and

(from a tracing of the original) = my fig. 419, Alinari's photo no. 35731 = my fig. 420). Europe stoops to attach a cord to the horns of the submissive bull (cp. Ov. *met.* 2. 867 f., *Anth. Lat.* cod. Salmas. 14. 17 f. (i. 1. 49 Riese), while one of her playmates holds him by the tail. The bull is painted white. Eros with a *tainía* and a flower in his left hand extends his right with a wreath towards Europe. The rest of the figures are divine, and correspond with those on the reverse of the preceding vase. On the left Aphrodite, uplifting a mirror, leans over a pillar to watch the scene. On the right Hermes, with *pétasos*, *chlamýs*, *caduceus*, and wreath, awaits the issue in his favourite attitude of the supported foot (*supra* ii. 479 n. 6, *infra* p. 706). Finally, seated at a higher level and half-draped in a fine *himátion*, with a wreath in his hair, is the bridegroom looking towards his bride. The sceptre in his hand marks him as Zeus. Jahn *loc. cit.* speaks of it as crowned with an eagle. Overbeck too calls it an 'Adlerscepter' and figures it as such, though in the modern photograph the bird is hard to trace. Jahn further describes Zeus as 'unbärtig.' Overbeck says 'in seltener Erscheinung jugendlich' and compares Zeus as a beardless lover on an Io-*amphora* of the Coghill collection (Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 55 ff. pl. 26, Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 466 f. (no. 1) Atlas pl. 7, 7, *infra* p. 638 n. 0 fig. 435); but Overbeck's own tracing shows that the god's face is modern and Gori *op. cit.* pl. 163 gives it a beard!

(3) A South-Italian *kratér* (*hydría*?), likewise in the Museo Gregoriano, simplifies the scene (O. Jahn *op. cit.* p. 5, Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 437 (no. 18) Atlas pl. 6, 13 (from a tracing of the original) = my fig. 421). Europe hurries forward to caress the white bull, which stands erect before her on the flowery plain. Her old nurse (?) turns away with a gesture of astonishment. Above Europe is seen a *tainía*. Above the bull's head, a long-winged Eros with mirror and dulcimer. On a higher level, left and right, sit two deities facing each other—Zeus with *phiále* and long sceptre, Aphrodite with mirror and toilet-box.

An Apulian *kratér* in the Louvre represents a slightly earlier moment in the action and gives no hint of Zeus in human shape (Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 434 (no. 15) Atlas pl. 6, 12 (from a tracing of the original) = my fig. 422). The treatment is interesting and was perhaps inspired by some such painting as that described in Ach. Tat. 1. 1 *ἑκόμα πολλοῖς ἄνθεσιν ὁ λειμών· δένδρων αὐτοῖς ἀνεμέμικτο φάλαγξ καὶ φυτῶν· συνεχῆ τὰ δένδρα, συνηρεφῆ τὰ πέταλα· συνῆπτον οἱ πτόρθοι τὰ φύλλα, καὶ ἐγίνετο τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ὄροφος ἡ τῶν φύλλων συμπλοκή. ἔγραψεν ὁ τεχνίτης ὑπὸ τὰ πέταλα καὶ τὴν σκιάν·...ὕδωρ δὲ κατὰ μέσον ἔρρει τοῦ λειμῶνος τῆς γραφῆς, τὸ μὲν ἀναβλύζον κάτωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἄνθεσι καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς περιχεόμενον.* Here too in the midst of the meadow is a spring welling from a hollow rock, on which sits Europe beneath two overarching trees. On the left a swathed woman bears a large pitcher. On the right a great bull, coloured white and red, lowers his head before Europe, who looks longingly at him and toys with her veil. Higher up Aphrodite is seated, with Eros standing beside her. And above the horizon are seen a male and a female (? two females) conversing together.

[3] So most frequently, *e.g. supra* i. 471 fig. 327, 526 pl. xxxii, 531 fig. 405, 547 fig. 414, iii. 615 n. 5 (1) fig. 415, 615 n. 5 (2) fig. 416, 619 n. 1 fig. 418, 619 n. 2 (1) pl. xlvii, 620 n. 0 (2) figs. 419, 420, 622 n. 0 (3) fig. 421, 622 n. 0 fig. 422.

[4] *E.g. supra* i. 539 fig. 411, iii. 618 n. 0 (3) pl. xlvi, 1 and 2.

[5] *E.g. infra* p. 627 n. 0 (3) pl. xlviii.

[1] *Supra* i. 524 ff.

[2] *Supra* i. 526 n. 2, 606, 644 figs. 503 and 504.

with sundry modifications[1] to have lasted on well into Roman

Fig. 421.

Fig. 422.

[1] A possible Europe—we can hardly rate the evidence higher—hails from the *thólos*-omb at *Dendra*, near Midea on the Argive Plain, excavated by A. W. Persson in 1926 nd dated by him and A. J. B. Wace *c.* 1400—1350 B.C. (A. W. Persson *The Royal Tombs t Dendra near Midea* Lund 1931 pp. 67, 143). Among its rich contents were eight netope-like plaques of glass paste, six light blue, two violet in colour, but all bearing a esign in relief described as follows by their discoverer: 'An animal with head borne

times[1]—a total duration of nearly two thousand years. The theme

high moves swiftly towards the right; on its back sits a woman (there is a fastening hole on each side of her waist) with both legs at one side, the knees very much bent... The representation naturally recalls those dating from a later period, showing Europa on the bull, especially that on the archaic metope from Selinus, with a beading on the upper edge [*supra* p. 616 fig. 415]—our plaques have one also on the lower edge. On the small glass plaques from Midea we have the first illustration of the Europa legend, an illustration of the Mycenaean period' (Persson *op. cit.* pp. 36, 65 fig. 43, pl. 25, 1 (part of which = my fig. 423: scale $\frac{2}{1}$) and pl. 26, 2). Persson's view was adopted by M. P. Nilsson *The Mycenaean*

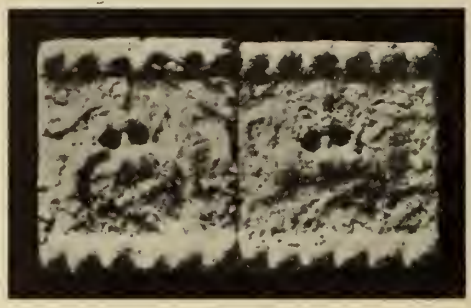


Fig. 423.

Origin of Greek Mythology Cambridge 1932 p. 33. But U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1931 p. 112 ('Bronzerelief'!) and A. Roes in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 25 call for caution. If the plaques in question really represent Europe, this is by far the earliest trace of her myth on Greek soil, and the bull—as we should have anticipated (*supra* p. 615)—moves from left to right. But Europe, though the likeliest, is not the only possible bull-rider. What of Artemis Ταυροπόλος (*supra* i. 417 n. 7, 538 fig. 409, ii. 729 n. 0, 955 n. 0, 1214 (?))? Or, for that matter, what of Chipa herself?

[1] Roman wall-paintings and floor-mosaics of Europe are listed by Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 36 ff. nos. 122—130, p. 454, Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 22 f. nos. 79—82, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 11 no. 4, p. 12 nos. 1—3, p. 13 nos. 1—6, p. 14 nos. 1—6. One painting and a couple of mosaics will serve to illustrate the range and variety of these later representations:

(1) The finest of the wall-paintings was found in a house at Pompeii (*Reg.* ix. 5. 18, room *f* on the plan by A. Mau in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1879 p. 22 pl.) and is now at Naples (A. Sogliano in the *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 303 no. 1296, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 p. 69 ff. fig. 11, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 68 (= my fig. 424) Text p. 89 f., L. Curtius *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis* Leipzig 1929 p. 289 f. pl. 4 (a good reproduction in colours), O. Elia *Pitture murali e mosaici nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli* Roma 1932 p. 37 no. 47 fig. 12). Europe, half-draped in a violet *himátion* with sea-green border, is seated, not to say enthroned, on the back of a splendid brown bull, which stands steady though his eye is turned seaward and he is already thinking of the perilous transit. The heroine's right hand raises her mantle; her left is laid on the bull's head and holds a red riband (?to twine about his horns, cp. Ov. *met.* 2. 867 f.). Of Europe's playmates, in wine-red, golden yellow, and greenish blue, the first stoops to embrace the bull, the third has set down her pitcher—a detail which implies the proximity of a spring (*supra* p. 622 n. 0 fig. 422), as perhaps does the squared structure on the right. The landscape background shows a wooded mountain, cleft by a ravine in which are seen a stately fir-tree (?) and before it a tall sacred column

to indicate that this is holy ground. The whole composition, with its clear-cut contours and sharp sculpturesque qualities, belongs to Mau's Third Style of mural painting (25 B.C.—50 A.D.). But the mysterious glow, which lights up the rock-face, the column, the further

Fig. 424.

legs of the bull, and glints on the breasts of Europe, is a light-and-shade device already heralding the advent of the Fourth Style (50—79 A.D.). The work in general presupposes a good Greek original of the Hellenistic age, to which the Roman copyist has added a conventional background and accessories.

(2) A mosaic, found at Praeneste (*Palestrina*) towards the end of the seventeenth century and now preserved in a bedroom of the Palazzo Barberini at Rome, raises several

Fig. 425.

Fig. 426.

problems of interest (O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* Wien 1870 p. 7 ff. pl. 2 (=my fig. 425) from a drawing by Schulz, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 454 ff. (no. 41) Atlas pl. 7, 20, W. Helbig *Untersuchungen über die*

A Roman mosaic from Aquileia

ull, escorted by Eros and Poseidon.

See page 627 n. 0 (3).

appealed, not only to artists and craftsmen, but to poets[1] and

campanische Wandmalerei Leipzig 1873 p. 224 ff., *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1412 ff. fig., *id. Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 395 f., Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 12 no. 1). The bull (white, shaded with brown) is already in the sea, escaping towards the left, with Europe scantily draped in a *himátion* (deep orange, shaded with red) on his back. Her adventure is watched with astonishment and interest by two female figures (local Nymphs?) on the sea-shore. Above are seen five of Europe's playmates fleeing in alarm towards the right. Some of them look back as they run. And finally from behind a rock advances a grave bearded man in a *himátion* (red) with a long staff (yellow) in his hand. Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 456 would see in him Zeus, at whose sudden appearance the nearest of the maidens is collapsing in a swoon! Jahn *op. cit.* p. 8 had more sensibly taken him to be Agenor the father of Europe or Kadmos her brother. Helbig *Führer*[3] p. 395 f. notes that, apart from minor injuries and repairs, there is something wrong about the whole composition. Europe's companions are not looking at the elopement, but forwards or backwards; nor is Europe herself being carried off from their midst. All would be well, if the mosaic were bisected and rearranged with its lower half on the left, its upper half on the right (fig. 426). Accordingly he conjectures that the original design was an oblong fresco, which the Praenestine craftsman compressed into a square (0·82^{m}) to fill a given space. The lively attitudes and the fine colouring point to an artist of marked ability. We are thus led towards the conclusion that this mosaic is a modified copy of the famous painting by Antiphilos, a rival of Apelles, whose 'Kadmos and Europe' was to be seen in the Porticus Pompeia at Rome (Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 114, cp. Mart. *ep.* 2. 14. 3, 5, 15 ff., 3. 20. 12 f., 11. 1. 11). See further A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 385 n. 2.

(3) Of almost equal interest and of even greater beauty is the mosaic found in 1860 near the Cathedral at Aquileia on the estate of Count Cassis and thence removed on rollers to his Museum in the Castle of Monastero (O. Jahn *op. cit.* p. 52 ff. with pl. 10 (=my pl. xlviii) from a coloured drawing carefully executed on the spot by the painter Agujari under the direction of von Steinbüchel, Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 456 f. Atlas pl. 7, 23, O. Fasiolo *I mosaici di Aquileia* Roma 1915 pl. 1, 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 12 no. 2). The divine bull is here figured as a sea-beast, brown to grey in colour: his forefeet plunge in the brine; his hindquarters end in two fish-tails flung aloft as he frisks along. Europe, wearing a blue fillet on her blond hair, but otherwise stark naked, sits gracefully on his back, resting one hand on his head, the other on his flank. Eros, with short wings coloured blue and red, leads the way, holding a flowery halter in his right hand and a burning torch in his left. Lastly, Poseidon, a wreath of green weed on his dark brown hair, rides on a big grey dolphin and is followed by a second of smaller size as he accompanies the bridal *cortège* and calms the sea for his brother. His right arm is seen, as if swimming, through the clear water (cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 74 f.)—an effect made possible by a clever use of blue glass *tesserae*. The mosaic, badly cracked and damaged, must have seen service for many years before Attila captured Aquileia in 452 A.D. Indeed, von Steinbüchel and Jahn assigned it, reasonably enough, to the palmy days of the town under Trajan and Hadrian. Jahn poses the question whether this rider on a marine bull might not have been meant for Aphrodite or some Nereid, say Galateia, rather than for Europe (Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 57 ff.; cp. *supra* p. 133 f. figs. 52, 53), but decides rightly for the last; and even Overbeck says 'eine sichere Entscheidung ist nicht möglich.' I do not share their hesitation. The obvious intention to represent a wedding train and the general agreement with other pictures of Europe really leave no room for doubt, not to mention such confirmatory details as those recorded by Ach. Tat. 1. 1 Ἔρως εἵλκε τὸν βοῦν· Ἔρως, μικρὸν παιδίον, ἡπλώκει τὸ πτερόν,...ἐκράτει τὸ πῦρ· ἐπέστραπτο δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Δία καὶ ὑπεμειδία, ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ καταγελῶν, ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν γέγονε βοῦς.

[1] The only allusion to Europe in the Homeric poems occurs in the Διὸς ἀπάτη (*Il.* 14. 321 f. οὐδ' ὅτε Φοίνικος κούρης τηλεκλειτοῖο, | ἣ τέκε μοι Μίνων τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Ῥαδάμανθυν). This bowdlerizing (?) episode omits the actual name of the heroine and ignores the bull.

prose-writers[1] also. And I suggest that its long-lived appeal implies a deep-seated belief among the Mediterranean peoples that the sky-god could and on occasion did take shape as a bull. If so, it may well be that—as we conjectured above[2]—the ox of the Dipolieia was originally held to be the visible form or embodiment of Zeus *Polieús* himself.

Here we may pause to note a partial parallel from northern Greece. A *stéle* of Proconnesian marble, found at the village of *Kavak* between *Panderma* (Panormos near Kyzikos) and *Gunen* and acquired in 1908 by the Imperial Ottoman Museum, is shaped like a chapel with gable and *akrotéria* (fig. 427)[3]. The gable is adorned with an ox-head, round which is a garland tied between the horns. In the chapel stands Zeus *Ólbios*[4]. He wears a *chitón*

They are found first in Hes. *frag.* 209 Flach, 52 Kinkel, 30 Rzach *ap.* schol. A. B. *Il.* 12. 292 Εὐρώπην τὴν Φοίνικος Ζεὺς θεασάμενος ἔν τινι λειμῶνι μετὰ νυμφῶν ἄνθη ἀναλέγουσαν ἠράσθη καὶ κατελθὼν ἠλλαξεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ταῦρον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος κρόκον ἔπνει· οὕτως τε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀπατήσας ἐβάστασε καὶ διαπορθμεύσας εἰς Κρήτην ἐμίγη αὐτῇ· εἶθ' οὕτως συνῴκισεν αὐτὴν Ἀστερίωνι τῷ Κρητῶν βασιλεῖ· γενομένη δὲ ἔγκυος ἐκείνη τρεῖς παῖδας ἐγέννησε, Μίνωα Σαρπηδόνα καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν. ἡ ἱστορία παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Βακχυλίδῃ, cp. schol. T. *Il.* 12. 292 Ἡσίοδος δὲ Εὐρώπης καὶ Διὸς αὐτόν (*sc.* Σαρπηδόνα) φησιν, schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 28 ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος Εὐρώπης μέν φησιν αὐτόν (*sc.* Σαρπηδόνα: lacunam indicavit Schwartz) ὡς Ἑλλάνικος (*frag.* 94 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 131 f. Jacoby)): *supra* i. 546 n. 5. Eumelos of Corinth, whose *floruit* (*supra* i. 738) should have been fixed later than *c.* 740 B.C. (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 131, W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1929 i. 1. 290 f.), wrote a Εὐρωπία dealing with the tale of Europe, but the three extant fragments are not *ad rem* (*Epic. Gr. frag.* i. 192 f. Kinkel). Other Greek poets that handled the theme include Eur. Κρῆτες *frag.* 472 Nauck[2] (cited *supra* i. 648 n. 1) cp. Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 31 Dindorf καθὼς καὶ Εὐριπίδης ὁ σοφώτατος ποιητικῶς συνεγράψατο, ὅς φησι, Ζεὺς μεταβληθεὶς εἰς ταῦρον τὴν Εὐρώπην ἥρπασεν, Mosch. 2. 1—166, *Anacreont.* 52 Bergk[4], 52 Hiller, [Hom.] *Batr.* 78 f., Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 46 ff., 320 ff.

Among Latin poets treating of the same subject the following deserve notice: Hor. *od.* 3. 27. 25 ff., Ov. *met.* 2. 836 ff., *fast.* 5. 603 ff., Germ. *Arat.* 536 ff., *Anth. Lat.* cod. Salmas. 14. 1—34 (i. 1. 49 f. Riese).

[1] First in Akousilaos of Argos *frag.* 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 102 Müller) = *frag.* 29 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 55 Jacoby) *ap.* Apollod. 2. 5. 7 ἕβδομον ἐπέταξεν ἆθλον τὸν Κρῆτα ἀγαγεῖν ταῦρον. τοῦτον Ἀκουσίλαος μὲν εἶναί φησι τὸν διαπορθμεύσαντα Εὐρώπην Διί· τινὲς δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ Ποσειδῶνος ἀναδοθέντα ἐκ θαλάσσης, ὅτε καταθύσειν Ποσειδῶνι Μίνως εἶπε τὸ φανὲν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης: *supra* i. 544 n. 6. Then follow Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 9. 5 (cited *supra* i. 526 n. 4), Apollod. 3. 1. 1, Loukian. *dial. mar.* 15. 1—4, Apul. *met.* 6. 29, Ach. Tat. 1. 1. 1—1. 2. 2.

[2] *Supra* p. 606.

[3] Edhem Bey in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 521—528 pls. 5 (= my fig. 427) and 6 (lower part of *stéle* on larger scale), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 108 no. 1 (whole) and 175 no. 1 (lower part), Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 39 ff. no. 836 fig., Harrison *Themis*[2] p. 148 f. fig. 26.

[4] The inscription at the foot of the *stéle*, apparently composed in imperfect hexameters, runs: Εὐοδίων ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀλβίου | ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων πάντων καθὼς ἐκέλευ|σεν ἀνέθηκα εὐχαριστήριον Φ. Others, listed by F. W. Hasluck in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1905 xxv. 56 f. and in his *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 p. 272, all came from the same

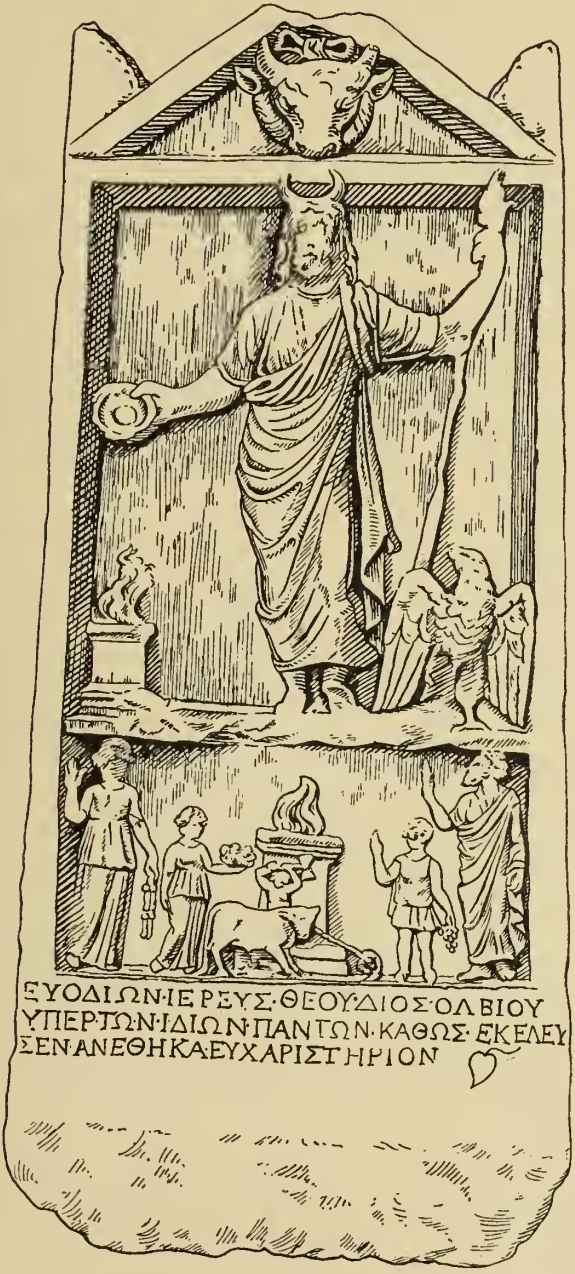

ΞΥΟΔΙΩΝΙΕΡΕΥΣ·ΘΕΟΥΔΙΟΣ·ΟΛΒΙΟΥ
ΥΠΕΡΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΠΑΝΤΩΝ·ΚΑΘΩΣ·ΕΚΕΛΕΥ
ΣΕΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ

Fig. 427.

and a *himátion*. His left hand grasps a sceptre, the lower end of which disappears behind an eagle with spread wings. His right hand holds a bossed *phiále*, from which he is pouring a libation above the flame of a small altar. But the most noteworthy feature of the design is that the head of the god with its full beard and long hair combines two bovine horns[1]. Below the figure of Zeus is a sacrificial scene. In the centre is a flaming altar. Before it, and represented on a small scale so as not to conceal the altar, a man with a double axe is about to strike a bull, whose head is bound by a cord to a ring fixed in the ground[2]. On one side stand a boy and a man. Their raised right hands held objects of an oval shape (fruit?)[3]. The boy's lowered left hand is holding a bunch of grapes. On the other side stand a girl and a woman. The girl carries in her left hand a dish of fruit and flowers[4]. The woman has fillets in her left hand, and raises her right with open palm in a gesture of invocation.

Zeus *Ólbios*, the god 'of Welfare[5],' was evidently a giver of fertility; and his bovine horns were due, not to a late confusion with other deities[6], but to an early conception of him as tauromorphic.

district, having been found near *Gunen*, presumably at *Kavak*: (1) a block, used later for a capital, inscribed [Δ]ι[ὶ Ὀ]λ[βίῳ?] | [Εἰ]σηκό(υ)ῳ? β[ω]|μὸν ὑπὲρ (ἑ)α[υ]|τοῦ καὶ βίου | [κ]αὶ τέκνω[ν] | [κ]αὶ τ[ῶν κωμητῶν?]. (2) an altar, with a *bucranium* in relief, inscribed θεῷ | [Δ]ὶ Ὀλβίῳ | – –. (3) a fragmentary *cippus* inscribed [θεῷ] Ὀλβίῳ | [?Κόιν]τος Λονγεῖ[νος] | [– –]ίου πραγματευ|[τ]ῆς [– –]. (4) a small base inscribed Ἡρακλείδης | Ἡρακλεί|δου θεῷ | Ὀλβίῳ ὑπ|[ὲρ.....]. (5) a broken *stéle*, with a relief of Zeus standing and an eagle on the ground to the right, inscribed [Α]ττάλου | – –.

[1] Harrison *Themis*[2] p. 149 n. 2: 'Miss M. Hardie [Mrs F. W. Hasluck], of Newnham College, kindly examined the original of the relief and writes to me that, so far as it can be made out, there is all the appearance of a bull-mask worn by a human head. If this were certain we should have the figure of a priest impersonating a bull-god, which would be of singular interest.' It would indeed (?cp. *supra* i. 490 ff. fig. 354, 496). But the assumption is too precarious. Edhem Bey in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 521 says merely 'la tête barbue, à long (*sic*) cheveux flottants sur le cou, est surmontée de deux cornes, recourbées comme celles d'un bovidé,' and Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 39 echoes him: 'la tête est barbue, avec de longs cheveux flottants et deux cornes de taureau.' Neither suggests a mask.

[2] So on a fragmentary relief from Tralleis (Edhem Bey in the *Rev. Arch.* 1904 ii. 361 pl. 15, 1, *id.* in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1904 xxviii. 71 ff. pl. 7, 1908 xxxii. 526 ff., Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 169 no. 2, Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 266 ff. no. 547 fig.), which showed a similar sacrifice about to take place at the foot of an old plane-tree.

[3] Edhem Bey in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 522 says 'ils ont...la main droite relevée et tenant un objet indistinct, de forme ovale, peut-être une torche.' Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 40, 'un homme debout...lève la main droite en signe d'adoration; à côté de lui, un jeune garçon...dans la même attitude,' etc.

[4] Edhem Bey *loc. cit.* 'un plat chargé de fruits et de fleurs.' Mendel *loc. cit.* 'un plateau chargé de fruits.'

[5] Cp. Apollon ὄλβιος in *Anth. Pal.* 9. 525. 16 ὄλβιον, ὀλβιοεργόν.

[6] Edhem Bey *loc. cit.* p. 525.

1

2

(1) *Amphora* at Munich:
Io as a heifer with Argos and Hermes.

See page 631 *n.* 3.

(2) *Stámnos* from Caere, now at Vienna:
Io as a steer (!) with Argos, Hermes, and Zeus.

See page 633 *n.* 0.

Aischylos in the first of his extant plays makes the chorus of Danaïdes at Argos appeal to Zeus *Ólbios* as the god who had touched Io and thereby become the forefather of their race[1]. But it was in the form of a bull, as the same play shows[2], that Zeus came into contact with Io, who from that time forward is figured[3] as a heifer[4]

[1] Aisch. *suppl.* 524 ff. Wilamowitz ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων | μακάρτατε καὶ τελέων τε|λειότατον κράτος, ὄλβιε Ζεῦ, | πιθοῦ τε καὶ γένει σῷ | ἄλευσον ἀνδρῶν ὕβριν εὖ στυγήσας· | λίμνᾳ δ' ἔμβαλε πορφυροειδεῖ | τὰν μελανόζυγ' ἄταν. | τὸ πρὸς γυναικῶν <δ'> ἐπιδών | παλαίφατον ἀμέτερον γέ|νος φιλίας προγόνου γυναικός, | νέωσον εὔφρον' αἶνον, | γενοῦ πολυμνήστορ ἔφαπτορ Ἰοῦς. | Δίας τοι γένος εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι | γᾶς ἀπὸ τᾶσδ' ἔνοικοι.

[2] *Supra* i. 438 f.

[3] Representations of Io are collected and discussed *in primis* by R. Engelmann *De Ione commentatio archaeologica* Berolini 1868 (first as cow, then under the influence of tragedy as cow-horned maiden, finally as cow once more), *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 270—280, *id.* 'Die Jo-Sage' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 37—58 figs. 1—10 and pl. 2 (pp. 51—57 groups the extant monuments as follows: (i) 'Liebeswerben des Zeus um Jo'=nos. 1—3; (ii) 'Jo von Argos bewacht'=nos. 4—8; (iii) 'Tötung des Argos'=nos. 9—27; (iv) 'Jo's Ankunft in Ägypten'=nos. 28, 29; (v) 'Einzeldarstellungen der Jo'=nos. 30—50, and p. 57 f. concludes: 'Bis zum Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts, ja man kann auf Grund der Neapler Vase (Taf. 2) noch bestimmter sagen, bis in die siebziger Jahre des 5. Jahrhunderts, wird Jo nur als Kuh dargestellt; nach der Vorführung des Prometheus dagegen erscheint Jo nur als *βούκερως παρθένος*; zwischen beide Darstellungsweisen schiebt sich...die durch das Bostoner Gefäss vertretene Mischbildung einer Kuh mit menschlicher *προτομή*. Dass schon vor Äschylus die menschliche Bildung der Jo bestanden haben kann, ist wegen der Gleichung mit der ägyptischen Isis zuzugeben. Wenn man aber bedenkt, dass der Wechsel in der Darstellungsweise der Jo chronologisch genau mit dem Dithyrambus (Kuhform), den Supplices (Kuh mit menschlicher *προτομή*) und dem Prometheus des Äschylus (*βούκερως παρθένος*) zusammenfällt, und dass weder ein monumentales, noch ein literarisches direktes Zeugnis für einen anderen Entwicklungsgang vorhanden ist, dann wird man sich doch genötigt sehen, die nachgewiesene Abänderung, die mit den Bedürfnissen der Tragödie übereinstimmt, auch als durch die Tragödie veranlasst, anzunehmen'). See also Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 465—488 ('Io,' distinguishing (i) 'das Liebesabenteuer des Zeus und der Io,' (ii) 'Io von Argos bewacht,' (iii) 'die Überlistung oder Einschläferung des Argos durch Hermes,' (iv) 'Hermes gewaltthätig gegen Argos,' (v) 'Io in Aegypten,' (vi) 'Monumente, welche keiner bestimmten Situation angehören').

[4] Thus already before the close of *s.* vi B.C. (*supra* p. 221) on the throne of Apollon at Amyklai (Paus. 3. 18. 13 Ἥρα δὲ ἀφορᾷ πρὸς Ἰὼ τὴν Ἰνάχου βοῦν οὖσαν ἤδη). An *amphora* of the 'Northampton style' at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 189 no. 573), akin to the Clazomenian variety of Ionic ware, shows the heifer Io held in check by a monstrous Argos, with an extra eye on his chest, while Hermes, with *pétasos* and winged shoes, advances stealthily to free her from the tether. Argos' dog looks round at the intruder; and in the background is a palm-tree, to which Io should be fastened (T. Panofka 'Argos Panoptes' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1837* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 43 f., 47 col. pl. 5, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1838 x. 329, *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 59, 8, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 111, 2, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii. 239 ('positivement comique') pl. 99, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 474 (no. 10) ('offenbar komisch oder parodisch') Atlas pl. 7, 19, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1890—1891 pl. 12, 1[a] and 1[b] (=my pl. xlix, 1), Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 173, 178, iii. 34 fig. 148). An Attic black-figured panel-*amphora*, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 115 f. no. B 164), depicts a later moment in the attack (*supra* ii. 379 fig. 286 from a reversed drawing by E. Vitet. R. Engelmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 52 f. fig. 7

Fig. 428.

Fig. 429.

(=my fig. 428) was the first to publish the correct design and to include a point noticed by A. S. Murray, that in front of the heifer's head stood the letters [O]I for 'Iώ). An early red-figured plate by 'the Cerberus Painter' *c.* 520—510 B.C. (M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 191), found at Chiusi and later in the Pizzati and Blaydes collections, makes Hermes administer the *coup de grâce*, while Io as a heifer bounds away on her wanderings (E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1847 v. 17 ff. pl. 2 (=my fig. 429), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 363, 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 479 (no. 17) Atlas pl. 7, 18, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 145 no. 7, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 30 no. 5). A red-figured *stámnos* from Caere, now at Vienna (Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 52 no. 338), by 'the

Fig. 430.

Argos Painter' *c.* 480 B.C. likewise has Hermes slaying Argos, here covered with eyes, but by a slip represents Io as a steer(!), and adds a seated and sceptred Zeus, completing the picture by an olive-tree on the left and a palm-tree, with a doe behind it, on the right (R. Schöne in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865 xxxvii. 147—159 pl. I—K (interprets the gesture of Zeus as a hint of his ultimate intervention, cp. Aisch. *P. v.* 848 f. *ἐνταῦθα δή σε Ζεὺς τίθησιν ἔμφρονα | ἐπαφῶν ἀταρβεῖ χειρὶ καὶ θιγὼν μόνον*, Mosch. 2. 50 ff. *ἐν δ' ἦν Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ἐπαφώμενος ἠρέμα χερσίν | πόρτιος Ἰναχίης, τὴν δ' ἐπταπόρῳ παρὰ Νείλῳ | ἐκ βοὸς εὐκεράοιο πάλιν μετάμειβε γυναῖκα*), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 314, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 28 (c), 477 f. (no. 15) Atlas pl. 7, 10, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1890—1891 pl. 11, 1 (=my pl. xlix, 2), J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 110 no. 1). A red-figured *hydría* by 'the Girgenti Painter' *c.* 475 B.C., formerly in the Pascale collection at Santa Maria di Capua and now at Bryn Mawr, has a finely painted design of Argos, with eyes all over his body (even one between the straps of his right boot and another under his left boot), leopard-skin cape, fur *pîlos*, club, and sword, pursued by Hermes (wreath, *pétasos*, *chlamýs*) in the act of drawing his sword. Io as a heifer bounds away to the left. The Doric column, the altar, and the priestess with temple-key and poppy-headed sceptre, mark the scene as taking place in the Argive Heraion. The four small bushes are its sacred grove (Apollod. 2. 1. 3 says of Argos *οὗτος ἐκ τῆς ἐλαίας ἐδέσμευεν αὐτήν, ἥτις ἐν τῷ Μυκηναίων ὑπῆρχεν ἄλσει*). Finally, Zeus and Hera balance each other on the left and right (E. Petersen in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1893 viii. 328 no. 17, J. C. Hoppin 'Argos, Io, and the Prometheus of

as a heifer with human face[1], as a maiden with heifer's ears and horns[2], as a horned maiden[3], or at least as a maiden with a heifer at her side[4].

Aeschylus' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1901 xii. 335—345 with col. pl. by F. Anderson, R. Engelmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 42 ff. fig. 2 (=my fig. 430), L. G. Eldridge in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 41 f. fig. 4, 51 ff. fig. 6, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 245 no. 39).

Graeco-Roman gems revert to the animal form of Io. A brown chalcedony from the Blacas collection, now in the British Museum, shows Hermes on the left holding the heifer by her horns and Zeus on the right standing with left hand raised and an eagle at his feet (T. Panofka *loc. cit.* pp. 18 f., 46 pl. 1, 7, G. P. Secchi in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1838 x. 315, E. Braun *ib.* 329, *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 59, 4 (=my fig. 431: scale $\frac{2}{1}$) from an impression by T. Cades, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 143 no. 1262 pl. 18). See also the gem noted *supra* i. 440 n. 4 fig. 312, of which there is a photograph in Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 132 no. 28 pl. 21.

Fig. 431.

[1] R. Engelmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 38 ff. fig. 1 (=my fig. 432) was the first to publish and discuss an important vase at Boston, on which Io appears as a heifer with human face. This red-figured *oinochóe* came from south Italy and is described as 'wahrscheinlich apulisch, in direkter Nachahmung attischer Ware aus der Mitte des V. Jahrhdts.' Engelmann adds: 'Meiner Meinung nach dürfte man mit der Zeitbestimmung noch etwas höher hinaufgehen.' The vase represents a beardless Hermes, with *chlamýs*, *pétasos*, *caduceus*, and sword, advancing against Argos, who wears *chitón*, ox-hide cape (*supra* i. 458 f.), leather cap, and brandishes a club as he turns to face his pursuer. Io moves off towards the right: her body is that of a heifer, but her head has bovine horn and ear combined with the features of a maiden, and a veil the folds of which serve to conceal the ungainly combination. Engelmann acutely remarks that the same *quasi*-oriental 'Mischbildung' is presupposed by the earliest of the extant Aeschylean tragedies (Aisch. *suppl.* 565 ff. Wilamowitz *βροτοὶ δ' οἳ γᾶς τότ' ἦσαν ἔννομοι | χλωρῷ δείματι θυμόν | πάλλοντ', ὄψιν ἀήθη | βόσκημ' ὀρῶντες δυσχερὲς μειξόμβροτον, | τὰν μὲν βοός, | τὰν δ' αὖ γυναικός· τέρας δ' ἐθάμβουν*). But S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 1739 replies: 'Aber Aischylos braucht ja nicht absolut an ein solches Mischwesen zu denken, I[o] mag auch in den Hik[etides] nur als kuhhörnig gedacht worden sein, um als ein "wunderbares Mischgeschöpf" bezeichnet zu werden.'

[2] The exact date of Aischylos' *Prometheus Bound* is not easy to fix (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 296 f.), and W. Schmid after repeated examination of the evidence (W. Schmid *Untersuchungen zum Gefesselten Prometheus* (*Tüb. Beitr.* ix) Tübingen 1929 (Aisch. *P. v.* is the work of an unknown poet writing between 458 and 445 B.C.), *id.* 'Epikritisches zum Gefesselten Prometheus' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Feb. 14, 1931 p. 218 ff.) can roundly declare: 'Der Gefesselte Prometheus ist weder von Aischylos noch zu dessen Lebzeiten verfasst' (W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1934 i. 2. 193, cp. W. Morel in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1932 ccxxxiv. 84 f.). This is not the place to argue the point. In any case S. Eitrem *loc. cit.* is right in saying: 'Die gehörnte Jungfrau wurde nämlich die beliebteste Erscheinungsform der verwandelten I[o] in der Kunst, und auch in der Literatur wird die *βούκερως παρθένος* seit Aisch. Prom. 586 [*κλύεις φθέγμα τᾶς βούκερω παρθένου;*], vgl. 673 K. [*κεραστὶς δ', ὡς ὁρᾶτ'*] häufig erwähnt.'

A good example of Io with cow's horns and cow's ear is the Jatta *kratér* already figured (*supra* i. 459 n. 5 with fig. 318), of which Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 480 (no. 19) says: 'Den Mittelpunkt bildet Io, welche als kuhgehörnte und daneben, als

einziges Beispiel, auch kuhöhrige Jungfrau dargestellt ist und durch einen langen Schilfstengel, den sie in der Rechten hält, sehr passend als Tochter des Flusses Inachos bezeichnet wird.'

Fig. 432.

Antefixes of terra cotta, semi-elliptical in shape and adorned with the head of Io in relief, have been found in some numbers at Tarentum. The British Museum has two, one certainly, the other possibly, from that town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 415 no. D 665 Tarentum 1884 (height 6⅞ ins.), p. 419 no. D 692 Towneley collection (height 7¾ ins.)). The Museum of Fine Arts at Boston has other specimens of the same sort

(*Annual Report* Boston 1901 p. 63 n.). There are several in Berlin, and many in the Tarentine Museum (A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 223 n. 1 = *id. Kleine Schriften* München 1913 ii. 216 n. 1). One of the Berlin examples, found at Tarentum, is figured by R. Engelmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 55 no. 34 fig. 8. I add one of the same type, likewise found at Tarentum in 1919, and now in my collection (fig. 433: height 7¼ ins., breadth 8 ins.). It represents Io *en face* with budding horns and bovine ears. Between her horns is seen part of a veil (Engelmann

Fig. 433.

loc. cit. says 'Zwischen den Hörnern Binde'; and Walters *loc. cit.* D 692, 'over the forehead, indications of cow's hide (?)'), and from her ears hang earrings of one drop. Lastly, round her throat is a necklace of fourteen pendants She is in fact figured as the beloved of Zeus in full bridal array. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* remarks: 'Der stilistische Charakter dieses Typus auf den Stirnziegeln...ist derjenige der Zeit gegen 400.' I agree. But I dissent from his further contention, that we have here a goddess—say Artemis *Tauropólos*—rather than the heroine Io. It must not be forgotten that Io, as priestess of Hera, was herself in some sense divine (*supra* i. 453 ff.). I am disposed therefore to think that these antefixes came from a sanctuary of Hera, whose head with transparent veil (Ταραντινίδιον), earring, and necklace appears *c.* 340—*c.* 302 B.C. on the splendid gold coinage of Tarentum (M. P. Vlasto in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 303 ff. pls. IE′, 1—9, 17 f., IS′, 1—5, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 195 f. pl. 45, 11, 12, 15).

[3] Bovine ears, an unnecessary deformation, are discarded in most representations of Io as a horned maiden, *e.g.* on a red-figured *kratér* from Ruvo in the Barone collection (*supra* ii. 379 f. fig. 287), and as time goes on even her horns tend to be minimised (*supra* i. 237 n. 3) until they are scarcely, if at all, discernible (*infra* figs. 434, 438 f.).

Fig. 434.

Nikias of Athens, the famous contemporary of Praxiteles (Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 133), is known to have painted a large picture of Io (*id. ib.* 35. 132). Pliny, describing his *technique*, says that he 'devoted special attention to women, was careful in his treatment of light and shade, and took particular pains to make his figures stand out against the background' (*id. ib.* 35. 130 f.). This *inter alia* justifies W. Helbig *Untersuchungen über*

die campanische Wandmalerei Leipzig 1873 pp. 113, 140 ff. in his conjecture, now commonly accepted, that the fresco of Io in the 'House of Livia' on the Palatine (G. Perrot in the *Rev. Arch.* 1870—1871 i. 387 ff. pl. 15 (=my fig. 434), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 483 (no. 20) Atlas pl. 7, 11, A. Mau in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 lii. 136 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* xi col. pl. 22, A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 288 n. 5, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 16 no. 3, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 753, iii. 316, fig. 708, H. Bulle 'Untersuchungen an Griechischen Theatern' in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1928* Philos.-philol. Classe xxxiii. 309—311, M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 279 fig. 448 (from photo), L. Curtius *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis* Leipzig 1929 p. 258 ff. with figs. 62 (wall), 154 (head of Io from photo), 155 (whole picture from photo)) is in its essentials a copy of Nikias' work. Io, with the faintest indication of horns on her brow, sits in dejection at the foot of a pillar, on which stands the effigy of a sceptre-bearing Hera. The background is occupied by a big rock. On the right Argos, a young man equipped with spear, sword, and spotted panther-skin (in lieu of extra eyes), leans forward in the favourite Lysippian attitude of the supported foot (*supra* p. 622 n. 0 (2), *infra* p. 706) gazing intently at Io. On the left Hermes (his name is given in Greek lettering), with *caduceus*, winged *pétasos*, and *chlamýs*, approaches to carry out the behest of Zeus. The theme was popular, for it occurs not only in this picture, which is of Mau's 'Second or Architectural Style' (*s.* i B.C.), but—with omission of Hermes and Hera—in sundry Pompeian paintings (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 38 f. nos. 131—134, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 15 nos. 4 and 6, p. 16 no. 2), of which the best are one from *Reg.* ix. 7. 14 in the 'Third Style' (*c.* 25 B.C.—*c.* 50 A.D.) (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* Text p. 67 f. fig. 16, L. Curtius *op. cit.* p. 258 ff. fig. 156) and one from the Macellum in the 'Fourth Style' (*c.* 50—79 A.D.) (Herrmann *op. cit.* pl. 53 Text p. 67 f., L. Curtius *op. cit.* p. 260 ff. fig. 157). Pictures of the sort were certainly known to Propertius (1. 3. 19 f. sed sic intentis haerebam fixus ocellis, | Argus ut ignotis cornibus Inachidos), if not also to Statius (*Theb.* 6. 276 f. Io post tergum, iam prona dolorque parentis, | spectat inocciduis stellatum visibus Argum).

Nikias' masterpiece exerted a powerful influence over the vase-painters of South Italy, who borrowed its main features and used them, inappropriately enough, to express the happy ending of Io's sad story—the moment when in far-off Egypt Zeus at long last would by his touch restore her to her senses and claim her as his bride (Aisch. *suppl.* 310, *P. v.* 848 ff. Wilamowitz). A red-figured *amphora* of 'Lucanian' style, found at Anzi, Basilicata, and later in the Coghill collection (J. Millingen *Peintures antiques des vases grecs de la collection de Sir John Coghill* Rome 1817 pl. 46, T. Panofka *loc. cit.* pp. 20 ff., 47 col. pl. 4, 1 (=my fig. 435), Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 55 ff. pl. 26, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 466 f. (no. 1) Atlas pl. 7, 7, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 19 f. pl. 3, 37, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 73 ff. pl. 7, 12, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 16, 2), shows Io after her wanderings seated on the altar of Hera, while Eros empties his perfume above her. On the right, Zeus, beardless (? originally bearded, but repainted: cp. *supra* p. 622 n. 0 (2) fig. 419) and half-draped, draws near, holding his eagle-sceptre. On the left, Hermes, with supported foot, watches the issue. Behind Hermes, an olive-tree. Behind Zeus, a Satyr (? Pan, repainted) with pan-pipes. The scene is repeated and amplified on another 'Lucanian' vase, a red-figured *hydría* from Anzi, now at Berlin (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 366 ff. pl. 115, T. Panofka *loc. cit.* pp. 22 ff., 47 col. pl. 4, 2 (=my fig. 436), Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 47 ff. pl. 25, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 467 ff. (no. 2) Atlas pl. 7, 8, Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 873 ff. no. 3164), which makes Io sit on the pedestal of the goddess (here treated as Artemis with bow and wheel-torch: cp. *supra* i. 408 f. fig. 304) holding a casket and lotos-fillet. These are the love-gifts of Zeus, who approaches coyly from the right, shouldering a long lotiform sceptre. On the left, Hermes, his foot supported as usual, rests one hand on a club and holds tablets in the other. Behind Hermes is Hera in person, now reconciled to her rival. Behind Zeus, dove on finger, stands Aphrodite, present to bless the lovers. Eros, with hoop and hoop-stick, spreads his pinions above them. Trees, plants, a tripod, and a *hydría* mark the spot as a sacred precinct, while

Fig. 435.

Fig. 436.

Artemis' fawn in the foreground shows to whom that precinct belongs. Finally, in the top right hand corner, partly concealed by a hill, is Pan with his pipes, a frequent adjunct on South-Italian vases (*e.g. supra* i. 222 pl. xix, i. 375 fig. 287, ii. 416 with fig. 322).

On comparing these two vases with the Palatine copy of Nikias' painting it becomes clear that they have taken over much from the Athenian original—(*a*) the central figure of Io herself, seated, half-draped, and with budding horns on her brow; (*b*) the statue of Hera on a pillar or pedestal, unsuitable to its new Egyptian context and therefore transformed into a more barbaric Artemis; (*c*) the helper Hermes on the left, who having now slain Argos is free to appropriate his attitude—an exchange the more pardonable because that attitude had belonged to Hermes in fifth-century art (*supra* ii. 738 fig. 668) long

Fig. 437.

before it was borrowed by Argos. On this showing we shall not agree with H. Bulle *loc. cit.* that the statue of Hera on a pillar was a stagey addition due to the Roman copyist, nor with L. Curtius *loc. cit.* that Hermes (carefully inscribed, remember, in Greek letters) was merely 'eine Zutat des Malers des zweiten Stils.' Curtius is, however, right in contending that in other Pompeian frescoes representing Io, Argos, and Hermes (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 39 f. nos. 135 and 137, Curtius *op. cit.* p. 263 f. figs. 158 and 159) the figure of Io was copied or modified from the type first devised by Nikias. Modification has gone further and fared worse in paintings of her arrival in Egypt (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 40 f. nos. 138 and 139, Curtius *op. cit.* p. 215 ff. figs. 127 and 129).

The popularity of this seated Io may be gauged from the fact that she is found as an isolated and purely decorative figure, surrounded by a fantastic floral arabesque, on a *hydría* from Basilicata now at Naples (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 487 f. (e). Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 443 no. 2922, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 279 with fig. (=my fig. 437)).

A cornelian signed by Dioskourides, the supreme glyptic artist of the Augustan age (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 8, Suet. *Aug.* 50, cp. Dion Cass. 51. 3), shows a deep-cut head of Io, again with budding horns, earrings, and necklace. This gem, admittedly the loveliest of his works, is said to have been found in 1756 on the estate of the Duca di Bracciano, from whose possession it passed into the Poniatowski collection. In 1839 that collection was sold in London, and the present owner of the gem is unknown (S. Reinach in the *Chronique des Arts* jan. 5 and 12, 1895, pp. 2 and 11, E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1478 n. 1). Publications include Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 486 (b)

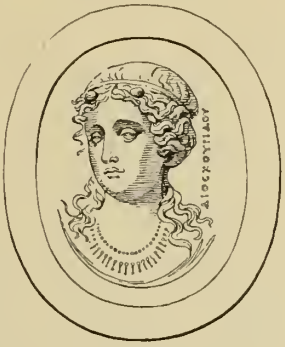


Fig. 438.

Gemmentaf. 5, 10 (inadequate), A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 222 ff. no. 6 pl. 8, 25 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* München 1913 ii. 215 ff. no. 6 pl. 26, 25), *id. Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 49, 9 and pl. 51, 17 (enlarged), ii. 234, J. H. Middleton *The Engraved Gems of Classical Times* Cambridge 1891 p. 78 f. My fig. 438 is from a fine impression of the original by T. Cades *Collezione di N° 1400 Impronti delle migliori pietre incise, sì antiche, che moderne, ricavati dalle più distinte Collezioni conosciute dell' Europa* 1ma Classe, A no. 42.

b *a* *c*

Fig. 439.

Copies of this masterpiece have, of course, been made in modern times (A. Furtwängler *locc. citt.*). But ancient copies also exist. One such is a sard from Kalchedon, formerly in the Tyszkiewicz collection and now in that of Mr E. P. Warren (J. D. Beazley *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems* Oxford 1920 p. 94 f. no. 113 pl. 6). Another, which came to me in 1926 from Mr A. P. Ready and was previously in the Evans collection, is a clouded cornelian, very deeply cut and still set in its ancient gold bezel (fig. 439 : scale $\frac{2}{1}$). Common to these two stones is the unusual depth of the *intaglio* and the series of straight cuts by which the bust is terminated below.

[4] *E.g.* (1) A painting of Io with a cow, Hermes, and Argos, from the temple of Isis at Pompeii (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 39 no. 135, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 57

By a natural play upon names Zeus *Ólbios* was taken as the patron-deity of such towns as Olba in Kilikia[1] and Olbia on the

Text p. 72 f.). (2) A variant of the same subject from the *Casa del citarista* at Pompeii (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 40 no. 137, Herrmann *op. cit.* pl. 58, 1 Text p. 73 f.). Herrmann *ib.* p. 73 n. 1 says of (1): 'Ob Io selbst an der Stirn die Kuhhörner trägt, wie Helbig im Katalog angibt, ist bei der mangelhaften Erhaltung des Bildes nicht mehr sicher zu erkennen. Wahrscheinlicher ist mir, dass sie fehlen, und dass durch die Kuh selbst neben Io die Verwandlung der Jungfrau angedeutet wurde, so dass die Kuhhörner an der Stirn ein unnützer Pleonasmus wären. Auch auf dem Bilde der Casa del citarista [(2)]...kann ich keine Kuhhörner bei Io entdecken.'

For the coins of Gaza see *supra* i. 236 n. 3 figs. 176, 177.

[1] For recent investigations on the site see J. T. Bent in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 220—222 (visit and description), E. L. Hicks *ib.* 262—270 (inscriptions), R. Heberdey—A. Wilhelm in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1896 vi. Abh. 'Reisen in Kilikien' pp. 83—91 (mainly inscriptions) with figs. 14 (temple of Zeus) and 15 ('Hallenstrasse'), E. Herzfeld in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv Arch. Anz. pp. 434—441 with fig. 1 (plan of ruins at *Uzundja Burdj*), J. Keil—A. Wilhelm in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1915 xviii Beiblatt pp. 33—41 with figs. 8 (tower), 9 (temple of Zeus), 10 (temple of Tyche), 11 (gateway), 12 (inscription), and especially J. Keil—A. Wilhelm

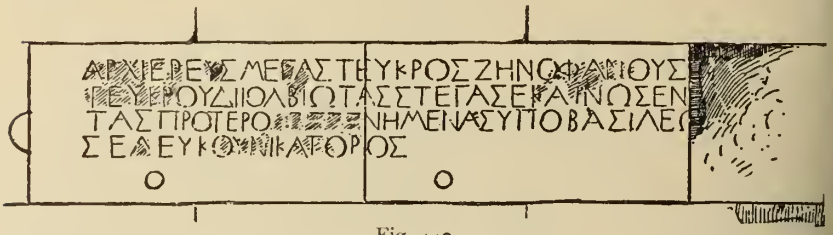


Fig. 440.

in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* 1931 iii. 44—79 ('Uzundja Burdj—Diokaisareia') and 80—89 ('Ura—Olba') with figs. 66—116, numerous facsimiles of inscriptions, and pls. 1 (map), 20 figs. 64 and 65 (tower), 21 f. (plans), 23 f. (temple of Zeus), 25 (architectural details), 26 f. ('Torbau'), 28 (gateway), 29 (temple of Tyche), 30—34 (other monuments etc. at *Uzundja Burdj*), 35 (plan of *Ura*), 36—39 (other monuments etc. at *Ura*). I append a brief summary of their conclusions with regard to the temple of Zeus.

On a limestone *plateau* in southern Kilikia, which rises to a height of 1100^{m} or more (J. T. Bent in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 222 says 3800 ft. above sea-level), there is an impressive pile of ruins known as *Uzundja Burdj*, 'Tall Tower.' It gets its name from a Hellenistic five-storeyed fortress (built *c.* 200 B.C. and restored *c.* 150—100 B.C.), which is represented apparently on a bronze coin of Olba struck in the time of Hadrian (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. p. 124 no. 21 pl. 22, 8) and still dominates the scene. It was there to protect the oblong *témenos* of Zeus Ὄλβιος, whose temple has been identified from an inscription on the back wall of its western *stoá* recording repairs to the *stoá*-roof *c.* 60—50 B.C. (fig. 440 = part of Herzfeld's sketch in *Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii. 50 fig. 71, cp. Heberdey—Wilhelm *loc. cit.* p. 85 no. 166 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no 1231 *ἀρχιερεὺς μέ[γ]ας Τεῦκρος Ζηνοφάνους [τοῦ] | Τεύκρου Διὶ Ὀλ[βί]ῳ τὰς [σ]τέγας ἐκαίνωσεν | [τὰς] πρότερο[ν γ]εγ[ε]νημένας ὑπὸ βασιλέω[ς] | Σελεύκου Νικάτορος*). The *témenos*-wall and the temple itself, to judge from the style of their architecture, were erected under Seleukos i Nikator (312—281 B.C.). The temple is remarkably well preserved (fig. 441 is from the photograph in *Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii pl. 24, which shows the temple as seen from the S.W.). Its thirty-two Corinthian columns are all standing, though only four of them retain their capitals (fig. 442 = Herzfeld's elevation and sections

in *Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii. 47 fig. 67). The rest were removed in Christian times, when the walls of the *naós* were demolished, the columns of the *perístasis* built in, and an apse added to transform the temple into a fifth-century church (fig. 443 = Herzfeld's plan in *Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii. 49 fig. 68).

The temple was the main sanctuary of Ὄλβη or Ὄλβα (*Ura*), which lay on lower ground a few miles to the east and was connected with it by means of a plastered and partly rock-cut road running between ancient tombs—one of many cases in which the local *hierón* was at some distance from its town. But little by little the *hierón* of Olba

Fig. 441.

grew to be a town in its own right, till at length—probably in the reign of Vespasian—it acquired, as we infer from an inscription found by W. Bauer on the north front of the town-gate, the name Diokaisareia (*Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii. 44 f., 71 no. 73, 1 ff. *ἐπὶ τῆς εὐτυχεστά[τ]ης βασιλείας τῶ[ν δ]εσποτῶν [τῆς οἰκουμέ]νης* Φλ(αβίου) Ἀρκαδίου *κὲ* Φλ(αβίου) Ὀν[ο]ρίου *τῶν ἐ[ωνίων]* Αὐγ(ούστων) *τὸ πᾶν ἔργον | τὸ ὑ[πὲρ τιμ]ῆς Διοκ[εσαρ]έων ἐγ θεμελίου ἐ[πι]κατεσσκευ[ά]σθ[η] | ἄρχο[ν]τος τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) [κὴ θαυ]μασιοτάτου κόμητος πρ[ώτου τάγ]μ(ατος) | κὴ δου[κὸς* Ἰσαυρίας] Φλ(αβίου) Λεοντ[ίου]. The first three words of line 3 might also be restored as *τοῦ [τίχοῦς τ]ῆς* or *τοῦ[το πύλης τ]ῆς*, but the general sense is clear).

The cult is said to have been established by Aias, son of Teukros; and the whole district was ruled in historical times by priestly dynasts, most of whom were named Teukros or Aias (Strab. 672). This is largely borne out by epigraphic evidence. An inscription, in letters of the third century B.C., built into a fortress of polygonal masonry, on which is carved the *triskelís* symbol, at a place variously called *Kanidiwan* or *Kanideli* (Kanytelis: see W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1886) three miles from the

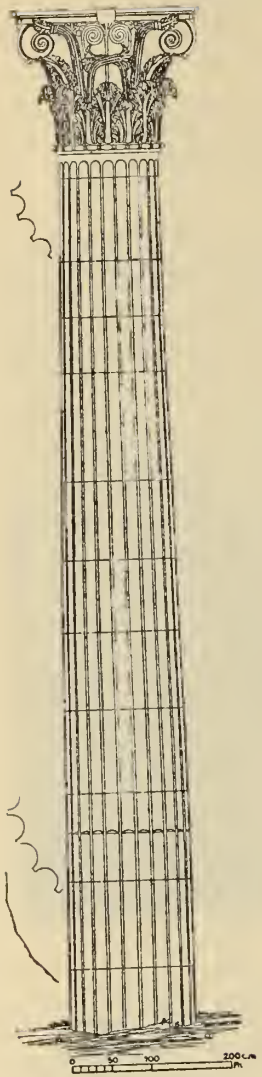


Fig. 442.

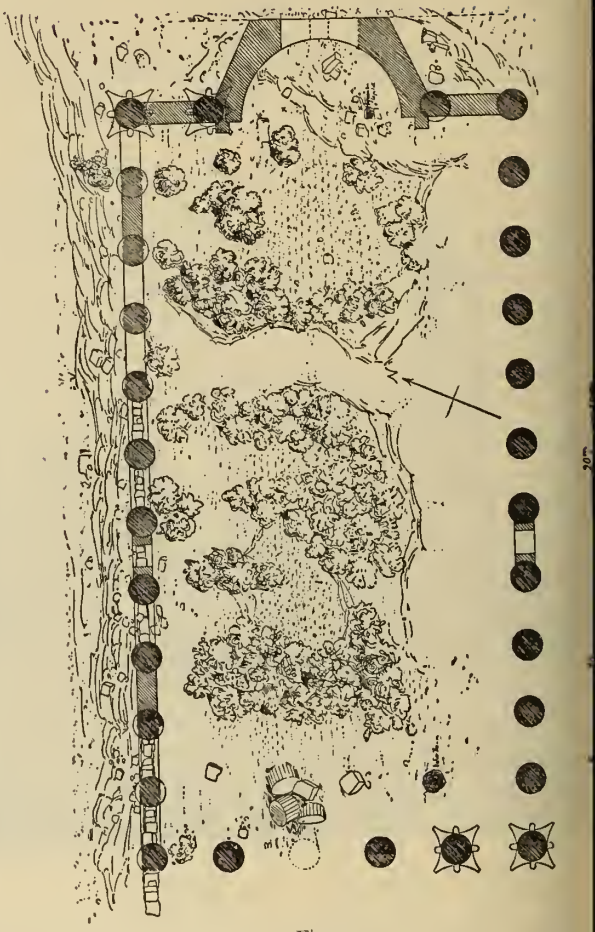


Fig. 443.

ΔΙΙΟΛΒΙΩΙ
ΙΕΡΕΥΣΤΕΥΚΡΟΣ
ΤΑΡΚΥΑΡΙΟΣ

Fig. 444.

coast at *Ayash* (Elaioussa Sebaste: W. Ruge *ib.* v. 2228 f. and J. Keil—A. Wilhelm in *Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii. 220 ff.), has been claimed as the oldest Cilician document yet discovered: E. L. Hicks in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 226 no. 1 with cut (my fig. 444) = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1230 Διὶ Ὀλβίωι | ἱερεὺς Τεῦκρος | Ταρκυάριος ('son of Tarkyaris'). Other inscriptions of the sort, collected by J. Keil—A. Wilhelm in *Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii. 67 ff. nos. 63—71, include p. 69 no. 68 pl. 34 a limestone base from the valley of tombs at *Uzundja Burdj* reading Ὀλβέων ὁ δῆμος καὶ Καννῶται Ζηνο|φάνην Τεύκρου τοῦ Ζηνοφάνου | ἀρχιερέα μέγαν Διὸς Ὀλβίου ἀρετῆς | ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων εἰς | αὐτοὺς διατελεῖ. The name Zenophanes, which occurs repeatedly in these inscriptions, was of excellent omen for a priest of Zeus (cp. Ζᾶς as priest of Zeus at the Corycian cave (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 418 n. 2) and *supra* ii. 921 n. 0).

The name Aias, son of Teukros, is further attested by the coinage of Olba. The earliest coins, referable to the end of *s.* i B.C., have a throne as their obverse, a winged thunderbolt as their reverse type (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. pp. lii, 119 pl. 21, 7). Later coins, struck from 10/11 A.D. onwards by Aias, son of Teukros, high-priest and toparch of Kennatis and Lalassis (ΑΙΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΕΥΚΡΟΥ || ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΕΝΝΑΤ· ΛΑΛΑΣΣ etc.), have *obv.* head of Aias as Hermes with cap, ear-ring, *chlamýs*, and *caduceus*, *rev. triskelés* (*ib.* pp. lii f., 119 pl. 21, 8, *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 291 pl. 327, 1 f., *supra* i. 304 fig. 234) or winged thunderbolt (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 120 pl. 21, 10) or inscription (*ib.* p. 120 pl. 21, 12); or *obv. triskelés* (*ib.* p. 119 pl. 21, 9) or thunderbolt (*ib.* p. 120 pl. 21, 11), *rev.* inscription. Similar types occur with *obv.* head of Augustus (*ib.* p. 120 f. pl. 22, 1—3, *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 291 pl. 327, 3), Tiberius (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 122 f. pl. 22, 4 f.), and M. Antonius Polemo (*ib.* p. 123 f. pl. 22, 6 f.).

Fig. 445.

Fig. 446.

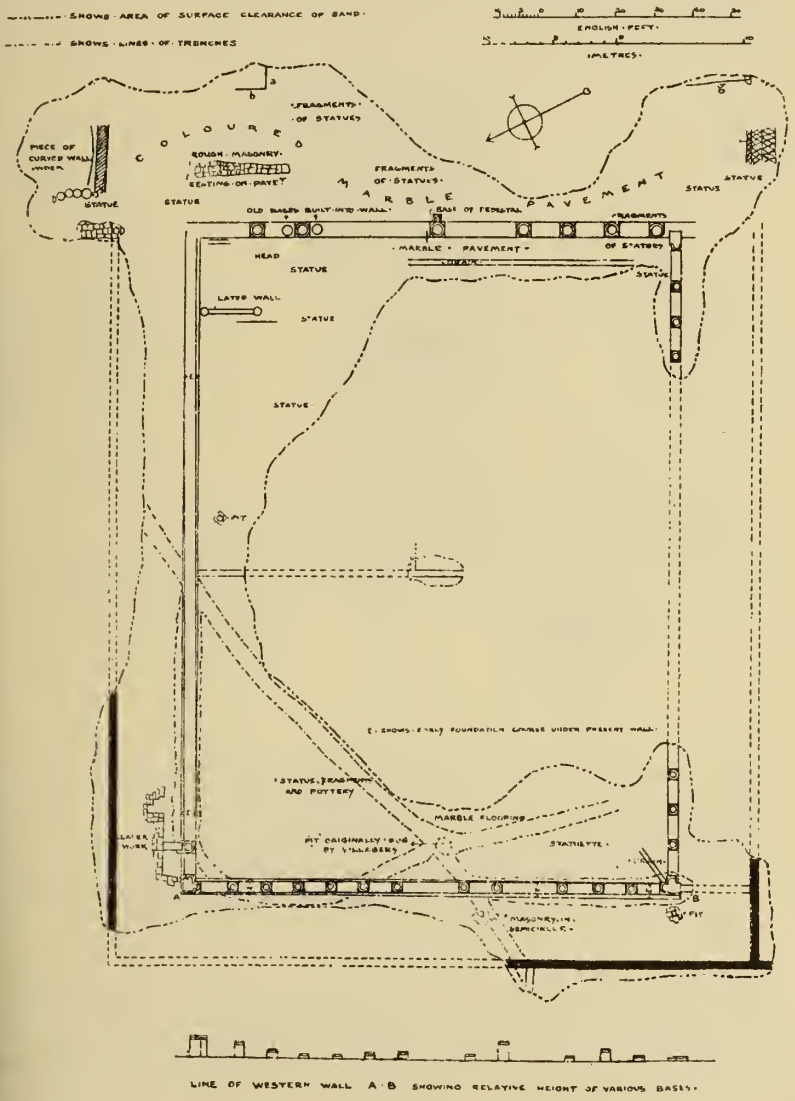
Fig. 447.

Imperial coins of Diokaisareia, apart from variations of such types as the head of Hermes with *caduceus* (*ib.* p. 71 pl. 12, 11), the thunderbolt (*ib.* p. 71 f. pl. 12, 13), and the throne (*ib.* p. 73 pl. 13, 1), make some positive additions to our knowledge of the cult. Bronze pieces issued by Septimius Severus (*ib.* p. 72 pl. 12, 14 = my fig. 445 from a cast) show *obv.* the emperor's bust wearing cuirass and *paludamentum* (countermarks: eagle and winged thunderbolt), *rev.* the hexastyle temple of Zeus Ὄλβιος, with a *bucranium* in its pediment, two Nikai (?) as *akrotéria*, a thunderbolt upright in the central intercolumniation, and on the left an altar in front of a tree (or possibly a tree in a square vase, cp. the shrub in a pot beside the temple of Hera on a coin of Samos struck by Gordianus Pius (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 382 no. 294. Fig. 446 is from a specimen in my collection) and the storax-trees of Selge (*supra* ii. 492 n. 0 figs. 378—381)). The remarkable coins of Iulia Domna showing a winged thunderbolt erect on a high-backed throne have been already illustrated (*supra* ii. 810 fig. 773 f.), and I have ventured to infer from their leonine arm-rests that Zeus had here taken over the throne of the Anatolian mother-goddess or her consort. The inference may be strengthened by the fact that other coins, struck by Philippus Senior, represent the city as a veiled and

turreted goddess seated towards the right, while Tyche—her second self—with *kálathos*, rudder, and *cornu copiae* stands before her, and a river-god swims at her feet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 74 f. pl. 13, 3 = my fig. 447 from a cast). Substantial remains of the Tychaion (E. L. Hicks in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 264 no. 50 Ὄππιος Ὀβρίμου καὶ Κυρία Λεωνίδου ἡ γυνὴ Ὀππίου τὸ Τυχαῖον τῇ πόλει), a temple dating from the second half of *s.* i A.D., are still to be seen at *Uzundja Burdj* (*Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii. 56 with pl. 29 and figs. 80, 83).

It seems likely that the temple of Zeus at Olba, founded by Aias, son of Teukros, was a filial of the earlier and more famous temple of Zeus at Salamis in Kypros, founded by Teukros himself (Tac. *ann.* 3. 62 exim Cyprii tribus <de (*ins.* Bezzenberger) > delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphiae Veneri auctor Aërias, post filius eius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae et Iovi Salaminio Teucer, Telamonis patris ira profugus, posuissent). Not much is known of the Salaminian Zeus. Ampelius, drawing from some Alexandrine source (G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1880), mentions among the wonders of the world a Cyprian colossus of the god (Ampel. 8. 20 Cypro signum Iovis Olympii aereum, facies ex auro, quem fecit Phidias †in (C. H. Tzschucke cj. *altum*) cubitis centum quinquaginta et latum cubitis sexaginta); but nobody is likely to believe him—confusion (Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 134 no. 738) and exaggeration are all too obvious. E. Assmann (ed. 1935) assumes a conflation of Ampelius' text (Cypro <signum * * * > aereum, facies ex auro, <altu > m cubitis centum quinquaginta et latum cubitis sexaginta) with a marginal list of the seven wonders (signum Iovis Olympî quem fecit Phidias). Justin in his third-century abridgement of Pompeius Trogus (whose *historiae Philippicae*, written under Augustus, were in all probability the Latin version of a Greek original by Timagenes, itself based on the Φιλιππικά of Theopompos and on other historical works by Ephoros, Timaios, Kleitarchos, Polybios, Poseidonios, Deinon, etc.: see W. S. Teuffel—L. Schwabe *History of Roman Literature* trans. G. C. W. Warr London 1891 i. 532 f., M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1899 ii. 1. 278 f.) tells how Elissa, after her husband Acerbas had been murdered by her brother Pygmalion, fled from Tyre to Cyprus and was there joined by the priest of Iupiter, who bargained that he and his descendants should hold the priesthood in perpetuity (Iust. 18. 5. 1—3 primus illis adpulsus terrae Cyprus insula fuit, ubi sacerdos Iovis cum coniuge et liberis deorum monitu comitem se Elissae sociumque praebuit, pactus sibi posterisque perpetuum honorem sacerdotii. condicio pro manifesto omine accepta). Ammianus Marcellinus, writing shortly after 383 A.D. (M. Schanz *op. cit.* München 1904 iv. 1. 90), notes the fame of Iupiter's shrines at Salamis and Venus' temple at Paphus (Amm. Marc. 14. 8. 14 Cyprum itidem insulam...inter municipia crebra urbes duae faciunt claram, Salamis et Paphus: altera Iovis delubris, altera Veneris templo insignis). A curious legend told about Epiphanios, bishop of Salamis, who died an old man in 403 A.D. (R. A. Lipsius in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* ii. 152), proves that in Christian times the temple of Zeus, though closed and of evil repute, was still standing and known as the 'Security' (or 'Strong Room'?) of the god, apparently because it contained much treasure within sealed doors. The story, which exists in a longer (Polybios *v. Epiphan.* 53 in Dindorf's ed. of Epiphanios Lipsiae 1859 i. 58 f.) and shorter form (*v. Epiphan. epit.* 53 in Dindorf's ed. v. xx), is to this effect. Once during a sore famine a certain rich man named Faustinianus sold wheat and barley to the people. Epiphanios begged him for corn to feed the hungry poor and undertook to repay him for it. Faustinianus bade him go and ask his God to supply their need. So Epiphanios went out one night, as was his wont, to pray among the tombs of the martyrs and besought God to succour the needy. Now there was an ancient temple called the Security of Zeus, and people believed that, if any man approached it, he would be promptly carried off by death. But while Epiphanios prayed God's voice was heard saying: 'Go to the temple called the Security of Zeus, and the seals of the doors shall be loosened, and entering in thou shalt find gold in abundance. Take it and buy all the wheat and barley of Faustinianus, and give food to the needy.' Thereupon Epiphanios went to the temple and, as he approached it, the seals fell, the doors flew open, and he found gold enough to buy up

all the corn that Faustinianus possessed. The longer version of this narrative says ἦν δὲ ναὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀρχαῖος, ὅστις ἐκαλεῖτο Διὸς ἀσφάλεια. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ναῷ εἴ ποτε ἤγγισέν τις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐλέγετο εὐθέως ὑπὸ θανάτου λαμβάνεσθαι and again ἄπελθε ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ καλουμένῳ Διὸς ἀσφάλεια, καὶ λυθήσονται αἱ τῶν θυρῶν σφραγῖδες, καὶ εἰσελθὼν εὑρήσεις χρυσίον


SHOWS AREA OF SURFACE CLEARANCE OF SAND
SHOWS LINES OF TRENCHES
ENGLISH FEET
METRES
FRAGMENTS OF STATUES
PIECE OF CURVED WALL UNDER
ROUGH MASONRY SEATING OR PAVE?
STATUE
COLOURED MARBLE PAVEMENT
OLD BASES BUILT INTO WALL
BASE OF PEDESTAL
MARBLE PAVEMENT
HEAD
LATER WALL
STATUE
STATUE
STATUE

that the building in question was the old heathen temple of Zeus Σαλαμίνιος (E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 1842), not the much later tomb still extant as the 'Prison of Saint Catharine' (on which see J. L. Myres in *Archaeologia* 1915 lxvi. 179—194 with fig. 1 and pl. 21 f.).

The remains of the old temple have not yet been found. But a large oblong precinct, first located in 1882 by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter (*Kypros* p. 23 ff.) and partially excavated

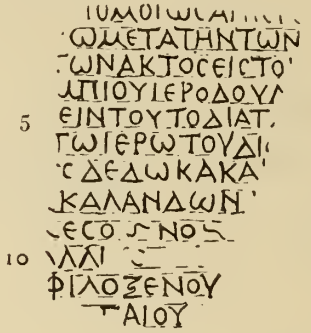


Fig. 449.

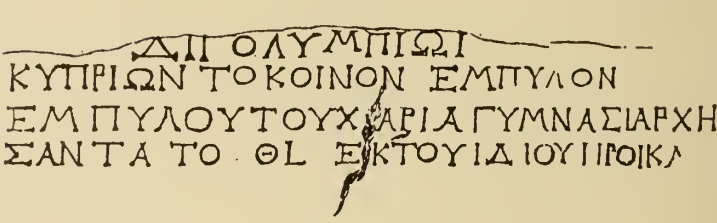


Fig. 450.

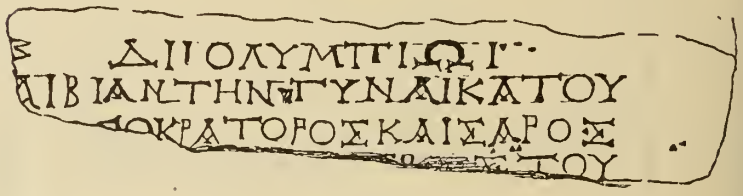


Fig. 451.

in 1890 by J. A. R. Munro and H. A. Tubbs (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 66, 106—120 with four figs. and pls. 5 (map) and 6 (plan = my fig. 448)), seems to have been sacred to Zeus. For a fragmentary plaque of white marble, built into some masonry at its south-eastern angle, records in lettering of *s.* iii or perhaps *s.* ii the dedication of a slave to the service of Zeus, no doubt with a view to his emancipation (*ib.* pp. 78, 119, 193 f. no. 48 fig., F. H. Marshall in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* London 1916 iv. 2. 138 no. 986 with fig. (= my fig. 449) – – – – – – – – ὁμοίως
α – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – | – – – – – – – ω μετὰ τὴν τῶν – – – – – – – – – – – | – – 'Αρισ](τ)ώ-
νακτος εἰς τὸ(ν) – – – – – – – – – – | – – – 'Ολυ](μ)πίου ἱεροδού(λ)[ου – – – – – – – – – – | – – – –
γράφ]ειν τοῦτο διατ(α)[– – – – – – – – – – | – – – – – ἐν] (τ)ῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Δι(ό)[ς – – – – – – – – |
– – – – – – – – ς δέδωκα κα(ὶ) – – – – – – – – – – | – – – – – – – – καλανδῶν (Ν)[οεμβρίων (?) – – – – |

------ (μ)εσο(ῦντος) ς Νο)εμβρίου) (?) ∼ -- | ----- ('A)λλι[ο]ς ---------- | ------ Φιλοξένου ---------- | -------- (Γ)αΐου ---------).
Other inscriptions referable to the same deity include a fragment of white marble found more than a mile away on 'Michael's Hill' (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs *loc. cit.* pp. 104 ff., 188 no. 35 fig., F. H. Marshall *loc. cit.* p. 138 no. 985 with fig. ---- ν(ο)---- | -- (Δ)ιὸς ἱ[ερ-- | ---ς Φιλοκ---), a large blue marble pedestal from a neighbouring field, bearing socket-holes for the feet of a bronze statue and an honorific inscription (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs *loc. cit.* pp. 105, 190 f. no. 44 fig. (=my fig. 450) Διὶ Ὀλυμπίωι | Κυπρίων τὸ κοινὸν Ἔμπυλον | Ἐμπύλου τοῦ Χαρία γυμνασιαρχήσαντα τὸ θ' L (the ninth year of the province would be 47 B.C.; the ninth year of the province as reconstituted by Augustus and transferred to the senate would be 14 B.C.) ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου προῖκα), three fragments of a white marble slab found in the *agorá* and dealing with the produce of the temple lands (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs *loc. cit.*

Fig. 452.

Fig. 453.

Fig. 454.

Fig. 455.

Fig. 456.

pp. 78, 185 no. 25 (*b*) fig., F. H. Marshall *loc. cit.* p. 136 no. 978 (*b*) with fig. ------- αφαι --------- | -- Ὀλυ]μπίου τὴν (δ)---- | ----- δὲ (λ)οιπὴν ἐ---- | ----- χοντες φιλ-------), and the re-cut pedestal, in blue marble, of a statue of Livia Augusta, likewise found in the *agorá* (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs *loc. cit.* pp. 78, 176 f. no. 5 fig. (=my fig. 451) Διὶ Ὀλυμπίωι | Λιβίαν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ | [αὐ]τοκράτορος καίσαρος | [Σ]εβ[α]στοῦ | κ.τ.λ.). The excavators comment (*loc. cit.* p. 78 f.): 'Until further evidence of a more conclusive nature can be obtained these indications may serve to give a name to the temple. But important as the site is, lying as it does at the very heart of the city's life, there is no reason as yet to identify the presumptive Zeus Olympios with the chief deity of Salamis, Zeus Salaminios', (*ib.* p. 120) 'The temple is probably still hidden under the sand, but its western wall may be that which has been spoken of hitherto as the eastern column-wall. Beneath it the eastern limestone-wall may be the remnant of an older temple. The peristyle would then be an annexe, comparable in some respects to the Atrium Vestae in the Roman Forum.'

Less uncertainty attaches to the art-type of the Salaminian Zeus, who appears on imperial coins of Kypros as an erect bearded god, clad in *chitón* and *himátion*, holding a *phiále* in his outstretched right hand and resting his left on a short sceptre, with an eagle perched on his left wrist (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus pp. cxxvi f., 73 pl. 14, 4 Augustus, 75 pl. 14, 9 Drusus Iulius Caesar, 77 ff. pl. 15, 5, 6 (=my fig. 452), 10 (=my fig. 453), and 11 Vespasian, 79 f. pl. 16, 1 and 3 Titus, 81 pl. 16, 5 Domitian, 83 pl. 16,

10 (=my fig. 454) Trajan, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 746). His effigy, on pieces struck by Drusus Iulius Caesar, usually stands side by side with the cone of the Paphian Aphrodite, thus combining in one the two most famous cult-figures of the island (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus pp. cxxi, 74 pl. 14, 6 and 7, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 313 pl. 331, 38 and pl. 332, 1. Figs. 455 and 456 are from specimens in my collection).

Salamis in Kypros was said to have been founded by Teukros son of Telamon (so first Pind. *Nem.* 4. 45 ff. *μέλος πεφιλημένον | Οἰνώνᾳ* (*sc.* Aigina) *τε καὶ Κύπρῳ, ἔνθα Τεῦκρος ἀπάρχει | ὁ Τελαμωνιάδας· ἀτὰρ | Αἴας Σαλαμῖν' ἔχει πατρῴαν* with schol. *ad loc.*, cp. Aisch. *Pers.* 894 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Soph. *Ai.* 1019 f., *id. Teûkros* frags. 576—579 Jebb with A. C. Pearson's introductory note, Eur. *Hel.* 144 ff., Isokr. 3 *Nikokles* 28, 9 *Euagoras* 18, Lyk. *Al.* 450 with Tzetz. *ad. loc.*, Hor. *od.* 1. 7. 21 ff. with Acron and Porphyrion *ad. loc.*, Verg. *Aen.* 1. 619 ff. with Serv. *ad loc.*, Strab. 682 (cited *infra*), Vell. Pat. 1. 1. 1, Tac. *ann.* 3. 62 (cited *supra*), Paus. 8. 15. 7, Dictys Cretensis 6. 4), who arrived in or about 1202 B.C. (*marm. Par.* ep. 26 p. 10 Jacoby) and presumably brought the cult of Zeus with him from his former home in Salamis the island. Since this island was in mythical times colonised by the Aiakidai of Aigina (see *e.g.* J. Töpffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 923 ff.), where the cult of Zeus bulked big (J. P. Harland *Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 pp. 81—88 ('The cult of Zeus Hellanios')), it seems certain that the Salaminian Zeus was of Achaean extraction (cp. Strab. 682 *εἶτ' Ἀχαιῶν ἀκτή, ὅπου Τεῦκρος προσωρμίσθη πρῶτον ὁ κτίσας Σαλαμῖνα τὴν ἐν Κύπρῳ, κ.τ.λ.*). More than that it would be unsafe to say. But it is at least curious to note that, in tracing backwards tbe Cilician cult of Zeus *Ólbios*, we have come within easy reach of Argos where the Danaïdes appealed to the self-same god (*supra* p. 631).

The prehistory of Aias and Teukros is a very tangled business, which cannot be unravelled here. Recently the tendency has been to regard both of these heroes as faded gods. P. Girard 'Ajax fils de Télamon' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1905 xviii. 1—75 would have us believe that Aias *τελαμώνιος* was in Mycenaean times a sacred pillar (*τελαμών*) humanised and equipped with a large shield, to be seen *e.g.* on the gold rings from Mykenai (*supra* ii. 47 fig. 18) and Knossos (*supra* ii. 48 fig. 19) or on the painted *lárnax* from *Milato* (*supra* ii. 49 with fig. 20): 'Voilà donc le *Télamonien* sorti tout armé du Pilier, portant le bouclier du démon, son ancêtre, qui devient entre ses mains l'arme énorme que l'on sait,' etc. (Girard *loc. cit.* p. 74). A. J. Reinach 'Itanos et l' "Inventio Scuti"' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1909 lx. 161—190, 309—351, 1910 lxi. 197—237 discusses at length the evolution of shield-worship and argues that the shield attached to a pillar by degrees took to itself arms and wings, the *palládion* being ultimately transformed into *Pállas*, but he expressly dissociates himself from much of Girard's article (Reinach *loc. cit.* 1909 lx. 328 n. 1). Farnell too in his *Greek Hero Cults* p. 282 is definitely adverse ('This is certainly ingenious, but much that is ingenious is not worth saying'). Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 349 ff., after shrewdly criticising the views of both Girard and Reinach, concludes: 'the evidence is not sufficient for the assumption that the shield was a cult object in the Minoan age and that it was anthropomorphized and became a war goddess. Neither is the assumption necessary in order to explain the existence of armed gods' (Nilsson *op. cit.* p. 353). J. Vürtheim *De Aiacis origine, cultu, patria* Lugduni Batavorum 1907 pp. 1—134 sums up as follows: 'Demonstrare conatus sum Aiaces, quales in carmine epico depinguntur, ab origine fuisse unum Aiacem, locrensem, non hominem, sed daemonem quendam gigantum a natura non absimilem. Coniecimus hunc daemonem, cum formam humanam induisset et notitia eius ad sinum Saronicum pervenisset, ibi factum esse Aiacem maiorem, sed apud Locrenses remansisse illum, qui, cum altero comparatus, minora ob facta minorem ob gloriam, utpote intra parvae regionis fines coercitam, ipse quoque minor haberetur.... neque reticuimus opinionem nostram Teucrum quoque tertiam figuram ex Aiace primario esse ortum et ipsa quidem in Locride, ubi iuxtaponebantur heros arcitenens et heros hastifer... Deinde indagavimus Telamonis veram naturam atque patriam, impugnavimus sententiam eorum, qui e scuti balteo hunc heroem provenisse pro re haberent explorata, argumentis haud debilibus eo ducti sumus, ut statueremus hunc Telamonem, quasi alterum Atlantem,

numen fuisse marinum circa Salaminem cultum' (H. Steuding in the *Woch. f. klass. Philol.* Okt. 9, 1908 p. 1105 applauds: O. Gruppe in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 30, 1908 p. 686 ff. is also, with some reservations, favourable). A useful sequel to this work is J. J. G. Vürtheim *Teukros und Teukrer* Rotterdam 1913 pp. 1—44 (summarised by J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 427—429). The same author here argues that the Teukroi were a historical folk, probably of Lelegian stock. Pushed southwards by tribes entering Greece from the north, they occupied both Troas and Lokris, left traces of themselves here and there on the coast of Asia Minor, and passed from Kilikia to Kypros. Their eponym Teukros, according to one tradition, came to Troy from Crete; according to another, from Attike. Again, a Teukros who wandered from Troy to Kypros was later confused with Teukros son of Telamon. Teukros' son Aias founded the cult of Zeus and a priestly dynasty at Olbe in Kilikia. *Teũkros* is the Hellenised form of *Tarku*, a god of the Leleges in Asia Minor, whose name was borne by his priests likewise. The oldest stratum of the *Iliad* was Locrian-Thessalian in origin and recognised a triad of Locrian heroes, the two Aiantes and Teukros. Homer knows nothing of Teukros' banishment to Kypros; but later writers extend his wanderings to Egypt (Eur. *Hel.* 89 ff.), Phoinike (Verg. *Aen.* 1. 619 ff. and Serv. *ad loc.*), and even Spain (Asklepiades of Myrleia *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 301 Müller) *ap.* Strab. 157; Iust. 44. 3. 2 f., Sil. It. 3. 368, 15. 192 f.; Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 5. 5 p. 167 f. Kayser). Of this and other such reconstructions F. Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 1124 remarks rather grimly: 'das meiste bleibt hier stark hypothetisch.' Cp. Oldfather *ib.* xiii. 1172. It is, however, commonly admitted that, at least in Asia Minor, *Teũkros* was the Hellenised form of *Tarku*, the name of a native (? Hittite) deity. Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[1] p. 62 f. says: 'Teucer (*Teukros*) may be a corruption of Tark, Trok, Tarku, or Troko, all of which occur in the names of Cilician priests and kings. At all events, it is worthy of notice that one, if not two, of these priestly Teucers had a father called Tarkuaris, and that in a long list of priests who served Zeus at the Corycian cave, not many miles from Olba, the names Tarkuaris, Tarkumbios, Tarkimos, Trokoarbasis, and Trokombigremis, besides many other obviously native names, occur side by side with Teucer and other purely Greek appellations [E. L. Hicks in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 243 ff. no. 27, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 878]. In like manner the Teucrids, who traced their descent from Zeus and reigned at Salamis in Cyprus, may well have been a native dynasty, who concocted a Greek pedigree for themselves in the days when Greek civilisation was fashionable.' *Id. ib.*[1] p. 65: 'If, as many scholars think, Tark or Tarku was the name, or part of the name, of a great Hittite deity, sometimes identified as the god of the sky and the lightning, we may conjecture that Tark or Tarku was the native name of the god of Olba, whom the Greeks called Zeus, and that the priestly kings who bore the name of Teucer represented the god Tark or Tarku in their own persons.' *Id. ib.*[1] p. 78: 'On that hypothesis the Olbian priests who bore the name of Ajax embodied another native deity of unknown name, perhaps the father or the son of Tark.' Similarly E. Herzfeld in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv Arch. Anz. p. 435 observes that the names of priests in the list from the Corycian Grotto include Ταρκυμβίης, Εἰανβίης, Τροκοζάρμας, Ἰανζάρμας, and comments: 'Dass die ersten Hälften dieser Namen, Tarku und Jan, auch den Namen Teukros und Aias zugrunde liegen, ist deutlich.' H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1905 i. 56, ii. 569 further compares the Etruscan *Tarcna*, *Tarchna*, *Tarquenna*, *Tarchu*, *Tarquitus*, *Tarcontius*, and the Latin *Tarquinius*. F. Schachermeyr in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2348 says of *Tarquinius*: 'Der Name geht letzten Endes zurück auf den des kleinasiatisch-ägäischen Gottes Tarku (so im östlichen Kleinasien; vgl. [J.] Sundwall Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier nebst einem Verzeichnisse kleinasiatischer Namenstämme [Leipzig 1913] [Klio Beiheft 11, 1913] 213 ff.), der uns in Lydien als Ζεὺς Ταργυηνός, auf Kreta als Ταρκυν entgegentritt. Von den aus Kleinasien nach Italien einwandernden Etruskern wurde der Gott nach Etrurien verpflanzt... Hier trat er als Tarchon...immer mehr zurück und wurde schliesslich nur mehr als Heros verehrt' etc. Zeus Ταργυηνός is attested by two inscriptions of *s.* i A.D. (J. Keil—A. v. Premerstein in the *Denkschr. d.*

Akad. Wien 1910 ii. Abh. p. 26 f. no. 37 with fig. 17 (=my fig. 457) the lower part of a white marble *stéle* from Philadelpheia in Lydia (*Alashehir*) Διὶ Ταργυηνῶ ἐπηκόωι | Φιλοπολμην Σόου εὐξά|μενος ἀνέθηκεν, *eid. ib.* 1914 i. Abh. p. 61 f. no. 78 on the lower part of a white marble *stéle* from *Ideli* – – – – – – – – – – |λάου υἱοὶ ϗ – – – – – – | Διὶ Ταριγυην[ῷ εὐχήν]), but his appellative is merely the local epithet (*-ηνός*: *supra* ii. 1228) of Tarigya or Targya, a township of which substantial remains exist in the fruitful basin of Ak Tash, half an hour east of *Ideli* (J. Keil in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2320). R. Blümel in *Glotta* 1927 xv. 78 ff. would extend the 'lykisch-etruskischen Wortfamilie' to include the Homeric ταρχύειν, which he regards as a Lycian word (cp. *Il.* 16. 455 f.): he argues that *tarχu* meant 'einen Mann, der weit über die gewöhnlichen Sterblichen erhaben ist' and ταρχύειν 'wie einen Gott oder (königlichen) Heros oder Helden, also prächtig bestatten' (Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 119). As to the alternation of the names Aias and Teukros at Olba, Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii. 131 n. 10 put forward a rival hypothesis, which he repeats in his *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 p. 47 'that these two names represent respectively the sons of

Fig. 457.

Yavan (the early Ionian settlers on the south coast) and the older race of Tarku (the worshippers and people of the Hittite and old Anatolian god Tarku). It is obvious that the genealogical relationship is the ancient expression of an agreement by which the hieratic power was divided between the older race of Tarku and the Ionian sailor-settlers.'

One other point in connexion with Teukros and the Cypriote Zeus is of outstanding interest. Lactantius *c.* 305—311 A.D. states that Teukros offered a human sacrifice to Zeus in Kypros and so started a custom which was abolished in the reign of Hadrian (Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 21 aput Cyprios humanam hostiam Iovi Teucrus immolavit idque sacrificium posteris tradidit; quod est nuper Hadriano imperante sublatum, *inst. epit.* 18. 1 Iovi Cyprio, sicut Teucrus instituerat, humana hostia mactari solebat). We have no sufficient ground for doubting Lactantius' statement. The Cypriote custom stands first and foremost in his list of human sacrifices, and less than two centuries had elapsed since its formal abolition. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 335 n. 15 compares the Cypriote cult of Zeus Εἰλαπιναστής and Σπλαγχνοτόμος (*supra* i. 654 n. 4)—appellatives which to Greek ears would have a euphemistic, not to say ogreish, sound. Gruppe also thinks it possible that there was a Cypriote Zeus Κεράστης (cp. *supra* ii. 1023 Pan as Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης), perhaps connectible with the poetic names of Kypros Κεραστίς (Nonn. *Dion.* 5. 614) or Κερασταιάς

Hypanis[1], whence his cult spread still further afield[2], even to central Italy[3] and Germany[4].

(Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κύπρος), Κεραστία (Menandros of Ephesos *frag.* 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 448 Müller) and Xenagoras *frag.* 8 (*ib.* iv. 527) *ap.* schol. and Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 447 = *et. mag.* p. 738, 51 ff. He recalls Ovid's allusion to the horned Cerastae of Amathus, who used to sacrifice a stranger to Iupiter *Hospes* (*i.e.* Zeus Ξένιος) till Venus in indignation transformed them into savage bulls (Ov. *met.* 10. 222 ff. illos, gemino quondam quibus aspera cornu | frons erat, unde etiam nomen traxere Cerastae. | ante fores horum stabat Iovis Hospitis ara; | ignarus sceleris (so J. N. Madvig for *in lugubris sceleri* (*sceleris* N.) codd. J. P. Postgate cj. *lugubris; incesto*) quam siquis sanguine tinctam | advena vidisset, mactatos crederet illic | lactantes vitulos Amathusiacasque bidentes: | hospes erat caesus! sacris offensa nefandis | ipsa suas urbes Ophiusiaque arva parabat | deserere alma Venus, 235 ff. dum dubitat, quo mutet eos, ad cornua voltum | flexit et admonita est haec illis posse relinqui | grandiaque in torvos transformat membra iuvencos), and finally remarks that Bouseiris' sacrifice of a stranger to Zeus (Hdt. 2. 45: see further F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1074 ff.) is derived from this Cypriote practice through Pygmalion (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 5 Busiris, Aegypti rex, omnibus annis Iovi hospites immolabat: nam per octo annos sterilitate Aegypto laborante, Pygmalion Cyprius finem futurum non ait, nisi sanguine hospitis litatum fuisset. primus autem Thyestes alienigena immolatus originem sacrificio dedit) or his brother Phrasios (Apollod. 2. 5. 11 *ταύτης ἐβασίλευε Βούσιρις, Ποσειδῶνος παῖς καὶ Λυσιανάσσης τῆς Ἐπάφου. οὗτος τοὺς ξένους ἔθυεν ἐπὶ βωμῷ Διὸς κατά τι λόγιον· ἐννέα γὰρ ἔτη ἀφορία τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατέλαβε, Φράσιος δὲ ἐλθὼν ἐκ Κύπρου, μάντις τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἔφη τὴν ἀφορίαν παύσασθαι, ἐὰν ξένον ἄνδρα τῷ Διὶ σφάξωσι κατ' ἔτος. Βούσιρις δὲ ἐκεῖνον πρῶτον σφάξας τὸν μάντιν τοὺς κατιόντας ξένους ἔσφαζε*, cp. Hyg. *fab.* 56 who calls him Thrasius, as does Ov. *ars am.* 1. 647 ff.). J. J. G. Vürtheim *Teukros und Teukrer* Rotterdam 1913 p. 40 and Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 145 f. apparently refer to Teukros also the Salaminian rite of spearing a man for Agraulos or Diomedes (Porph. *de abst.* 2. 54 f. = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 2 f. *ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν Σαλαμῖνι, πρότερον δὲ Κορωνίδι* (*κορωνίδιον* codd. *Κορωνίδι* Kyrill. *c. Iulian.* 4. 128 (lxxvi. 697 C—D Migne). *Κορωνείᾳ* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 2 and 24, cp. Steph. Byz. *s. vv.* *Κορώνεια·...τετάρτη πόλις Κύπρου, Κορώνη·...ἔστι καὶ Κορώνη μοῖρα τῆς Σαλαμῖνος τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ) ὀνομαζομένη, μηνὶ κατὰ Κυπρίους Ἀφροδισίῳ ἐθύετο ἄνθρωπος τῇ Ἀγραύλῳ τῇ Κέκροπος καὶ νύμφης Ἀγραυλίδος. καὶ διέμενε τὸ ἔθος ἄχρι τῶν Διομήδους χρόνων· εἶτα μετέβαλεν, ὥστε τῷ Διομήδει τὸν ἄνθρωπον θύεσθαι· ὑφ' ἕνα δὲ περίβολον ὅ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀγραύλου καὶ Διομήδους. ὁ δὲ σφαγιαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγόμενος τρὶς περιέθει τὸν βωμόν· ἔπειτα ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτὸν λόγχῃ ἔπαιεν κατὰ τοῦ στομάχου, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν νησθεῖσαν* (*νηθεῖσαν* codd. *νησθεῖσαν* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 2 and *de laude Const.* 13. *ἀφθεῖσαν* Kyrill. *loc. cit.*) *πυρὰν ὡλοκαύτιζεν*)—a rite later modified *εἰς βουθυσίαν* (*supra* i. 659 n. 4). F. Schwenn *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* Giessen 1915 pp. 11, 70 f., 186 discusses this Salaminian rite, but entirely ignores all the foregoing evidence for human sacrifice in the Cypriote cults of Zeus.

[1] B. Latyschev *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini* Petropoli 1885 i. 61 ff. no. 24 assigns to the reign of Septimius Severus (193—211 A.D.) a slab of grey marble framed by Corinthian pilasters and a pediment, which contained the relief of a man on horseback, his horse held by a naked boy. The inscription below is a decree in honour of a public benefactor, Kallisthenes son of Kallisthenes, who is described thus: 16 ff. *λέγων τὰ ἄριστα καὶ πράττων τὰ συνφέροντα πα|τὴρ ἀπεδείχθη τῆς πόλεως· ἱερεὺς δὲ γενόμενο[ς τοῦ] προ|εστῶτος τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν θεοῦ Διὸς Ὀλβίου [καὶ . . . .]ού|σας* (E. H. Minns suggests 'a compound of λούω, a natural rain charm.' Perhaps rather a slip for *θεραπ(ε)ύσας* A. B. C.) *τὸν θεὸν ἁγνῶς, τῆς τῶν ἀέρων εὐκρα[σίας δεόμενος] | ἐπέτυχεν εὐετηρίας· τήν τε οὐσίαν π[ᾶσαν ἐξανήλωσε, τοῖς] | [δε]ομένοις ἐπιδι[δ]οὺς χρήμ[ατα, ὅσων ἐδέοντο* (?)...

On the worship of Zeus at Olbia and in the neighbourhood see Miss G. M. Hirst in

the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 36—39 and E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Çambridge 1913 p. 476. Professor Minns remarks: 'Evidently Zeus Olbios was the god of Olbia and the giver of Olbos: especially in the form of a good harvest. The two ideas were inextricable. Surely it was in the temple of this Zeus that the council met and before it the open space into which Dio's hearers crowded [Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 53 Dindorf]. A priest of his in Roman times made a dedication to Achilles Pontarches[7] (? *Trans. Od. Soc.* XXVII. *Minutes*, p. 11).' *Id. ib.* p. 456 (with plan on p. 450 fig. 331): 'The opening up of the walls described above gives us the position of the acropolis and the limits of the Roman town. In the middle of the triangle have been found the remains of a considerable building apparently a temple, and further work may tell us where were the temples [*sic*] of Zeus Olbios and the chapel of Achilles Pontarches.'

Zeus Σωτήρ is represented at Olbia by three inscriptions, one of *s.* iv B.C. (Latyschev *op. cit.* i. 25 ff. no. 12 a decree granting 1000 gold pieces and a statue to Kallinikos son of Euxenos and ending with the words ὁ δῆμος Διὶ Σωτῆρι), another of *s.* ii A.D. (Latyschev *op. cit.* i. 124 f. no. 91, 1 ff. ἀ[γ]αθῆ[ι] τύχ[ηι] | [Δ]ιὶ Σωτῆ[ρι] εὐχαριστ[ήρι]ον | [ὑπὲρ

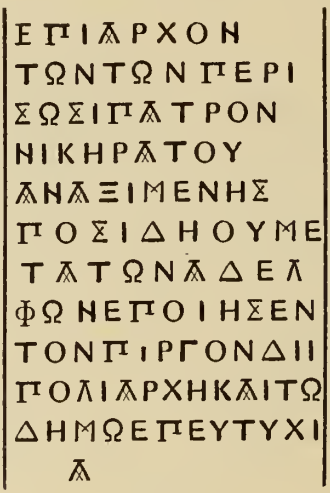


Fig. 458.

εἰρήνη]ς (?) καὶ σ[ωτη]ρίας | [τῆς πόλεως Ἀρισ]τό[ν]εικος Ἀρτέ|[μωνος? – – – ὁ] καὶ Ὀλβιοπο|[λείτης ἀνέθηκε]ν κ.τ.λ.), and a very fragmentary third (Latyschev *op. cit.* i. 125 no. 92, 2 ...Διὶ Σωτ[ῆρι...]).

Another fragment, assigned by Latyschev to the first half of *s.* iii, by Miss Hirst to *s.* iii, and by Professor Minns to *s.* iv B.C., is from a dedication to Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (Latyschev *op. cit.* 1901 iv. 299 f. no. 458 [ὁ δεῖνα Ἰκ]εσίου | [. . . . . Ἑκα]τέ[ω]νος Διὶ Ἐλευθερί[ω]ι).

A large statue-base in veined grey marble, which had probably supported an equestrian figure, was originally, in *s.* iii B.C., dedicated to Zeus Βασιλεύς (Latyschev *op. cit.* i. 137 no. 105 [ὁ δῆμος] Εὐρησίβιον Δημητρίου Διὶ Βασιλεῖ | [ἀρετῆς] ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτόν), but was later, perhaps in *s.* ii A.D., used for a long decree passed ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων τῶν περὶ Ὀμψάλακον Εὐρησι|βίου (*id. ib.* i. 52 ff. no. 21, cp. 94 ff. no. 58). See further E. H. Minns *op. cit.* Index p. 697 *s. v.* 'Heuresibius.'

A tower built in *s.* ii A.D. was dedicated to Zeus Πολιάρχης and the Demos (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2081, Latyschev *op. cit.* i. 134 f. no. 101 with facsimile (=my fig. 458) ἐπὶ ἀρχόν|των τῶν περὶ | Σωσίπατρον | Νικηράτου | Ἀναξιμένης | Ποσιδήου με|τὰ τῶν ἀδελ|φῶν ἐποίησεν | τὸν π[ύ]ργον Διὶ | Πολιάρχῃ καὶ τῷ | δήμῳ ἐπ' εὐτυχί|ᾳ).

As to Zeus Ἀταβύριος, see *supra* ii. 925 n. 0.

Zeus appears occasionally on the bronze coins of Olbia, usually as a bearded head in profile to the right, with a sceptre or more often an eagle on the reverse (*Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 22 nos. 63—65, 27 nos. 125—127, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* i. 1 pl. 11, 3—6 (=my figs. 459—461), E. H. Minns *op. cit.* p. 476 n. 8 pl. 3, 12 f.), rarely in imperial times as a seated figure holding a sceptre, with Tyche erect grasping *cornu copiae* and rudder on the reverse (B. de Koehne *Description du Musée de feu le Prince Kotschoubey* St.-Pétersbourg 1857 i. 88, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 28 no. 134 fig. (=my fig. 462) 'Sitzender Apollo,' *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* i. 1 pl. 11, 22 (=my fig. 463). Miss Hirst in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii 39 n. 103: 'If the attribution to Zeus is accepted, might it be considered as a representation of Zeus Ὄλβιος, in consideration of the reverse type?').

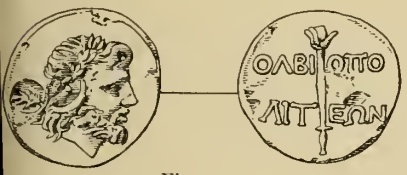


Fig. 459.

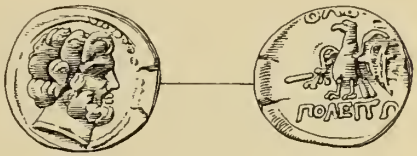


Fig. 460.

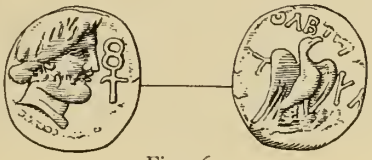


Fig. 461.

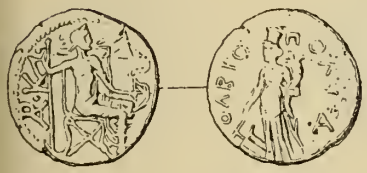


Fig. 462.

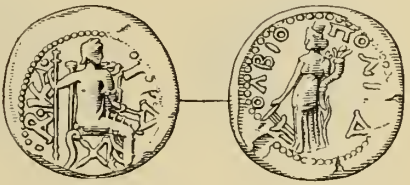


Fig. 463.

It is undeniably curious that Zeus Ὄλβιος, as namesake and paramount deity of the Greek town, does not bulk bigger on its coinage. I am tempted to suggest a further possibility. E. H. Minns *op. cit.* p. 478 f. writes: 'The commonest coins of Olbia, coins which were issued for many generations to judge by the varieties of style, bore on their obverse a horned head with long rough hair and sometimes ox ears (Pl. III. 4, 5). There has been some doubt whom this might represent: the Russian peasants recognise the Devil and call the place where they are mostly picked up the Devil's Dell; others find him, as they put it, like a Scythian or a Russian peasant; to others he is Poseidon. But no doubt he is really a river god Hypanis or Borysthenes. It is a less crude version of such an idea as the god Gelas on the coins of that city.' However, it is a far cry from Sicily to Sarmatia, and a much closer analogy is at hand. A 'horned head with long rough hair' is precisely what we saw on the *stéle* found near Kyzikos (*supra* p. 629 fig. 427), which was fortunately inscribed with the name of Zeus Ὄλβιος. I conjecture, therefore, that the horned head on the Olbian coins (*e.g. Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* i. 1 pl. 9, 26—29, E. H. Minns *op. cit.* pl. 3, 4 f., *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 155 f. pl. 159, 12—15. My figs. are from *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* i. 1 pl. 9, 26 (=my fig. 464), 27 (=my fig. 465),

(η) Zeus struck with a double axe. The birth of Athena.

The bovine form of Zeus familiar to us from the myths of Europe and Io, together with the semi-bovine type of Zeus *Ólbios*, suffice to prove that Zeus as a god of fertility might be represented by an ox, not only in prehistoric times, but far on into the classical period. Yet, fully to justify our reading of the Dipolieia, more is needed than that. In the Attic rite the divine ox was struck by the *Bouphónos*, who thereupon dropped his double axe and fled for his

29 (=my fig. 467), from *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 155 pl. 159, 12 (=my fig. 466), and from two other specimens in the Fitzwilliam Museum (=my figs. 468 and 469)) is after all not a river-god but Zeus Ὄλβιος himself, partly human, partly bovine in type.

[2] Inscriptions from the vicinity of Kyzikos have been noted *supra* p. 628 n. 4. Two more dedications θεῷ Ὀλβίῳ were found at Sestos (Marcopoulos in the Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ Smyrna 1878 ii. 12 f. nos. 206 and 204=A. Dumont *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie* Paris 1892 p. 456 no. 111[c11] a sepulchral relief inscribed θεῷ Ὀλβίῳ, Φλάβιε Τυ . . . . | εὐχαριστήριον (*sic*) and no. 111[c12] a similar dedication θεῷ Ὀλβίῳ, Εὔτυχος ὑπὲρ ἰδίας σ[ω]|τηρίας καὶ τῶν βουῶν (*sic*) εὐχαρισ[τήρι]|ον). Hence J. H. Mordtmann in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1881 vi. 264, 1882 vii. 257 attributes to Sestos an inscription from the Thracian Chersonese (correctly copied but incorrectly emended in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2017) Καμίσ(α)ος ὑπὲρ τοῦ | υἱοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου Διὶ | Ὀλβίῳ εὐχαριστήριον=A. Dumont *op. cit.* p. 431 no. 100[g]. Eutychos' thankoffering for his cattle would have special point, if Zeus Ὄλβιος at Sestos also was *quasi*-bovine.

Fig. 464.

Fig. 465.

Fig. 466.

Fig. 467.

Fig. 468.

Fig. 469.

[3] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4085 (found at Capua in 1885) pro salute | August. M. Aur. Commod. | Iovi Olbio | Sabaeo | ... Longus | [*mil.*?] leg. | . . . . . (with carved thunderbolt and eagle). The words *M. Aur. Commod.* are in smaller letters than the rest and seem to be a later addition. As to *Sabaeo*, Dessau remarks: 'Plane incertum utrum a Sabaeis Arabiae derivatum sit cognomen, an componendum cum Sabazio.'

[4] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4084 (found at Heddernheim, cp. *supra* ii. 71 n. 6, 89 n. 6) Iovi Olbio | Seleucus | Hermocra|tus qui et Dio|genes d. d. (preceded by carved thunderbolts). *Hermocratus*='Ερμοκράτους.

life. Can we really suppose that at Athens, the chief centre of Hellenic civilisation, Zeus *Polieús* himself was conceived as struck by a double axe? Or that the sacrilegious striker, after poleaxing his god, was allowed to flee from the spot and escape into safety?

Pausanias emboldens us to answer Yes. For no sooner has he described the ceremony of the Dipolieia than, in the very next sentence, he goes on to say: 'All the figures in the gable over the entrance to the temple called the Parthenon relate to the birth of Athena[1].' And it may be shown that the birth of Athena as there represented involved exactly the situation stated above—Zeus *Polieús* struck with the double axe, the escape of the striker, and the acquiescence of the bystanders.

The middle group of the figures in question is lost beyond hope of recovery. But its main features are in all probability preserved by the relief-frieze of a marble *puteal* or 'well-mouth' in the Madrid collection (fig. 470, 1 and 1 *a*), and partly also by a marble *replica* of its left end formerly in the Palazzo Rondinini (fig. 470, 2 and 2 *a*) and by another of its right end found in the Villa Palombara—both now transferred from Rome to the Schloss Tegel near Berlin (fig. 470, 3)[2]. The *puteal* as a whole portrays Zeus sitting quietly upon his throne. He is draped in a *himátion* and holds a sceptre in

[1] Paus. 1. 24. 5.

[2] These reliefs were published together and discussed in detail by R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 pp. 32—45 pl. 1, 1, 1^a, 2, 2^a, 4 (=my fig. 470, 1, 1^a, 2, 2^a, 3). Further references in Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 193 no. 5 and ii. 87 f. nos. 6—8.

The *puteal* was for long in the Moncloa near Madrid, where sunk deep in the ground it served as a flower-pot for the Royal Gardens. Previously, it had belonged to the Dukes of Alba. Earlier still, its history is uncertain: Schneider thinks that it was originally found in Italy, probably at Rome, that it formed part of the collection owned by Queen Christina of Sweden (1626—1689), and that it was purchased by Philip V of Spain to adorn his castle (1724)—see E. Hübner *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid* Berlin 1862 p. 14. In consequence of these vicissitudes it had received some injuries and had at one time—perhaps in the seventeenth or eighteenth century—been prepared for restoration. It was virtually rediscovered by J. de Dios de la Rada y Delgado, director of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, and published with good illustrations by J. de Villa Amil y Castro 'Puteal griego encontrado en la Moncloa' in the *Museo español de antigüedades* Madrid 1875 v. 235—246 pl. 1 f. There is a cast in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, and another at Berlin (Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 735 f. no. 1862). Height 0·99^m.

The two slabs from the collection of the Marchese Rondinini belong together and were still one when published by G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti*[2] Roma 1821 ii. 5 with Frontispiece. Subsequently they were sawn in two and separately framed as a pair of mural reliefs. They passed into the possession of W. von Humboldt (1767—1835) and are now in his castle at Tegel. See further G. F. Waagen *Das Schloss Tegel und seine Kunstwerke* Berlin 1859 p. 13. The restorations, which can be well seen in the *Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 2988 (Zeus) and 2989 (Prometheus) with Text x. 90 by W. Amelung, include Zeus—left forearm, most of left leg, front part of right foot, most of footstool;

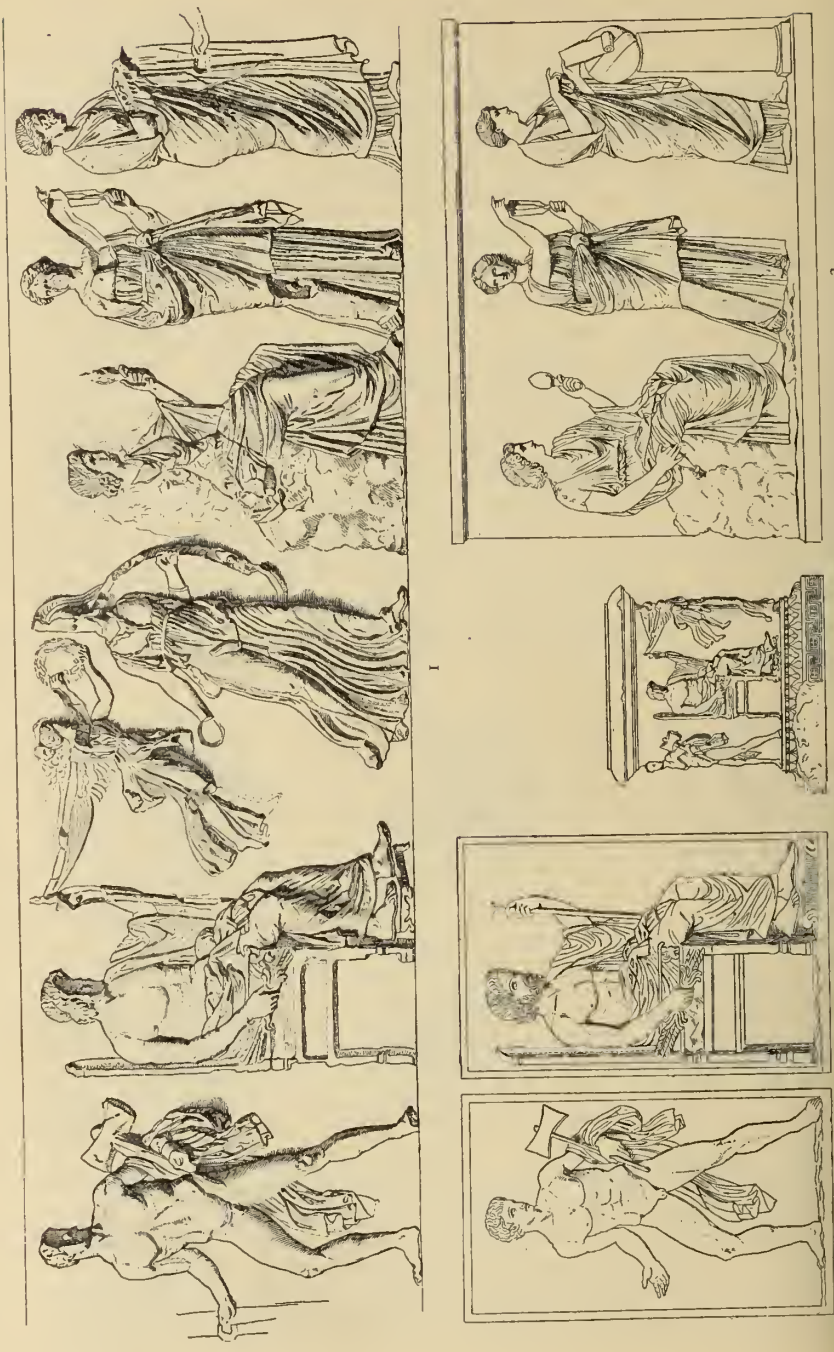


Fig. 470.

his raised left hand, a thunderbolt in his lowered right. His head has just been cleft with the double axe; for behind him a youthful god or demi-god, still grasping his weapon, starts to flee from the scene of his sacrilege and yet in the very act of flight looks back to note the marvellous issue of his blow. In front of Zeus Athena, already full-grown and clad in her panoply, speeds forth into the world, but as she goes glances towards the sire from whose head she has sprung. Nike, hovering between them, presents her with a victor's wreath. Adjoining her are the three Fates.

Prometheus—forehead, nose, mouth, half the right forearm with the right hand, front parts of both feet. There are casts at Berlin (Friederichs—Wolters *op. cit.* p. 736 no. 1863 f.). Height 0·685^{m}.

The remaining slab, of a different marble and in a finer style, was discovered about 1770 in the Villa Palombara behind the church of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, and in 1809 was sold by its possessor, Prince Massimi alle Colonne, to Frau von Humboldt, who handed it over to A. B. Thorvaldsen and C. D. Rauch to be patched up and made presentable. Rauch in 1816 had the luck to find the head, breast, and left hand of the seated Fate, which had been treated as a medallion and set in a gilded frame, in the studio of the sculptor A. Malatesta at Rome. The fragments are now reassembled at Tegel. See further G. F. Waagen *op. cit.* p. 16, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 2990 with Text x. 90 f. by W. Amelung. Modern parts: right arm, right hip, and lower body of the seated Fate; nose and part of the right upper arm of her neighbour; fingers of right hand and lower left arm of the third figure together with roll, globe, and pillar. There is a cast at Berlin (Friederichs—Wolters *op. cit.* p. 736 f. no. 1865). Height 0·73^{m}.

F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1903 vi. 79—107 attempts to combine these slabs (figs. 46—48) with neo-Attic fragments of reliefs, now in Rome, Florence, and Munich, representing the three Horai and the three Agraulides (pl. 5—6). Since all the fragments were found, though at different times, in the Villa Palombara, and since they all correspond in size or nearly so, he holds that the whole composition was a series of four oblong altar-reliefs, copied from a fine work of the Attic school to be dated near the end of *s.* iv B.C. Lastly, he conjectures that they were copies of bronze reliefs by the younger Kephisodotos, which—he thinks—adorned the altar of Zeus *Sotér* and Athena *Sóteira* in the Peiraieus. See, however, the objections raised by P. Arndt and G. Lippold in the *Einzelaufnahmen* vi. 44, W. Amelung *ib.* x. 90.

J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1902 v. 169—188, 285—377 (=*id.* Τὰ κειμήλια τῶν Μουσείων μας Athens 1904 pp. 9—40) and again in his *Ath. Nationalmus.* pp. 179—236 nos. 215—217 pls. 30, 1 f. and 31, 1 ventures another combination, arguing that the design of the Madrid *puteal* and the Tegel reliefs, incomplete towards the right, can be completed by that of the Apollon-and-Marsyas slab from Mantineia. The resultant frieze (fig. 134 and fig. 140=my fig. 471) representing the musical victory of Apollon once decorated the front of a *thyméle* or platform for singers assumed to have stood in the *orchéstra* of the local theatre. The two remaining slabs from Mantineia with their six 'Praxitelean' Muses could then have formed the two sides of the same platform (figs. 141, 142=my fig. 472). The whole to be dated *c.* 250—150 B.C. On this showing, the Fates (? the three missing Muses (p. 206)) foretold the doom of Marsyas, while Zeus watched the issue from afar and Nike with her wreath flew to crown the victorious Apollon (cp. the *pelike* from Ruvo figured *supra* i pl. xii); 'Prometheus' was a second Satyr (?'ein Quelldämon' (p. 213 f.)) equipped with an axe and inserted as a sympathiser with Marsyas; and Athena, a figure identical with he Athena of the Finlay vase (Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 136 ff. no. 127 pl. 26, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 466 with fig. 242, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.*

The only uncertainty in this design relates to the axe-bearing figure. Orthodox writers from Pindar downwards said that the head of Zeus had been cleft by Hephaistos[1]; and such was the

Fig. 471.

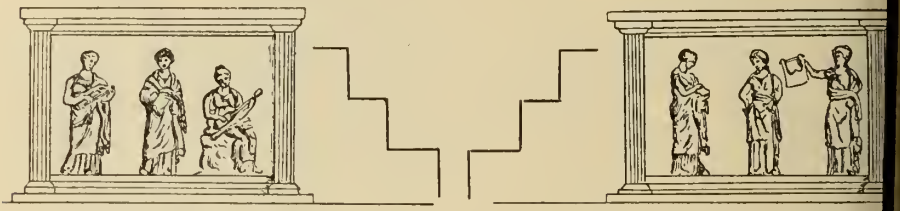


Fig. 472.

Fig. 473.

p. 408 with fig. 29, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 157 with fig. 586), was hastening to warn Marsyas of his fate. Svoronos finally completes the embellishment of his hypothetical *thymélе* by adding a back-frieze (fig. 143 = my fig. 473) formed of Hauser's Horai and 'Agraulides' (?Hyades) arranged left and right of a Pan between two dancing Nymphs (?Hyades) taken, with variation of order, from a slab in the Lateran (O. Benndorf—R. Schoene *Die antiken Bildwerke des lateranensischen Museums* Leipzig 1867 p. 123 no. 202 pl. 4, 3, A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2721 f. fig., Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 280 no. 1).

Reconstructions of this sort are undeniably ingenious and come within the pale of possibility. But unfortunately they leave so large a part to mere conjecture that they seldom carry conviction. In any case, whether they are right or wrong, we should be justified in assuming that the Madrid *puteal* and the Tegel reliefs were adaptations, mediate or immediate, of the Parthenon pediment. Even Svoronos is forced to admit that his axe-bearing Satyr was 'von dem Hephaistos oder Prometheus des Pheidias kopiert' (*Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 215).

[1] Pind. *Ol.* 7. 35 ff. with schol. *ad loc.* To the references given *supra* p. 200 n. 3 add Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 59 p. 31 Gomperz (cited *infra* p. 661 n. 4).

tradition followed by the vase-painters of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.[1] Others, including Euripides, ascribed the blow to Prometheus[2]—the first, according to Pliny, who ever felled an ox[3]. A poem that passed under the name of Eumolpos[4] or Mousaios[5] called the striker Palamaon. Lastly, Sosibios, a Lacedaemonian scholar of the third century B.C., spoke of him as Hermes[6]; and some early artists, as might be seen for example in the sanctuary of Athena *Chalkioikos* at Sparta, represented Hermes, axe in hand, standing beside Zeus[7].

But, whatever name we give to the axe-bearer on the Madrid *puteal*, it is clear that the Athenians even of the Periclean age were prepared to tolerate the conception of Zeus as struck on the head by an axe—a 'holy axe[8]' said some, an 'ox-striker[9]' said others. This they would never have done, unless behind the myth there

[1] *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 55 ΟΤΥΙΑΙΦΞΗ, *ib.* vi pl. 56, 3 ΑΦ·Η, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i pl. 65 A ΥΟΤΥΙΑΦΞΗ (black-figured vases); *ib.* i pl. 64 ΕΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ (red-figured vase, attributed to Hermonax (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 31 no. 12) or a nearly allied painter (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 304 no. 1)).

[2] Eur. *Ion* 452 ff. *σὲ τὰν ὠδίνων λοχιᾶν | ἀνειλείθυιαν, ἐμὰν | Ἀθάναν ἱκετεύω, | Προμαθεῖ Τιτᾶνι λοχευθεῖσαν κατ' ἀκροτάτας | κορυφᾶς Διός, ὦ πότνα Νίκα, κ.τ.λ.*, Apollod. 1. 3. 6 *ὡς δ' ὁ τῆς γεννήσεως (γενέσεως epit.* followed by R. Wagner) *ἐνέστη χρόνος, πλήξαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει Προμηθέως ἢ καθάπερ ἄλλοι λέγουσιν Ἡφαίστου (λέγουσι καὶ Ἡφαίστου codd. plerique* followed by A. Westermann), *ἐκ κορυφῆς* (R. Hercher would either delete these two words or write *ἐκ τῆς κορυφῆς αὐτοῦ*), *ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ Τρίτωνος (damnat* C. G. Heyne), *Ἀθηνᾶ σὺν ὅπλοις ἀνέθορεν*, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 66 a *ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν Προμηθέα λέγουσι*, 66 b *οἱ δὲ Προμηθέα.*

[3] *Supra* i. 469 n. 4. But see what is said of Sopatros (*supra* p. 590), Diomos (*supra* p. 593), and Thaulon (*supra* p. 597 n. 2).

[4] Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 59 p. 31 Gomperz *τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου διαιρεῖται, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Εὔμολπον ἢ τὸν συνθέντα τὴν ποίησιν ὑπὸ Παλαμάονος.*

[5] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 66 a *ἐν τοῖς Μουσαίου Παλαμάων λέγεται πλῆξαι τοῦ Διὸς τὴν κεφαλήν, ὅτε τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐγέννα* (Mous. *frag.* 8 (*Epic. Gr. frag.* i. 225 Kinkel)), 66 b *οἱ μὲν Παλαμάονα λέγουσι ῥῆξαι τὴν τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλὴν ὅτε Ἀθηνᾶ ἐγεννᾶτο.* The story was perhaps told in the *Εὐμολπία* of Mousaios: this would account for its attribution to Eumolpos. So Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1213 n. 4.

[6] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 66 a *Σωσίβιος δὲ Ἑρμῆν φησι* (Sosib. *frag.* 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 627 Müller)), 66 b *οἱ δὲ Ἑρμῆν.* The statement may have occurred, as C. Müller supposes, in Sosibios' work *περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι θυσιῶν* (on which see Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 131), or, as R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 5 n. 24 suggests, in his *περὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος.*

[7] Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 59 p. 31 Gomperz *ἔνιοι δ' ὑφ' Ἑρμοῦς παραδεδώκασιν. καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων τινὲς δημιουργῶν τοῦτον παρεστῶτα τῷ Διὶ ποοῦσι πέλεκυν ἔχοντα, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου.* The allusion is very possibly to the work of Gitiadas (Paus. 3. 17. 2).

[8] Pind. *frag.* 34 Bergk[4], 34 Schroeder (cited *supra* p. 200 n. 3, cp. p. 605) *ἁγνῷ πελέκει.*

[9] Nonnos etc. (*supra* p. 200 n. 3) use *βουπλήξ* apparently as a mere synonym for *πέλεκυς* without any further mythological significance.

had been some ritual practice of immemorial sanction; and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the practice concerned was that of the Dipolieia.

The matter calls for careful investigation. Fortunately we know that the subject of Pheidias' pediment was no new thing. Rather it was the last term of a whole series, which, mainly by the help of numerous extant vase-paintings, can be traced back to the early part of the sixth century B.C. Our business therefore is to classify the vase-paintings and, adducing any collateral evidence that is found, to consider how far they may be based upon underlying cults either at Athens or elsewhere.

(θ) The birth of Athena in art.

Vases representing the birth of Athena fall into five groups[1], according as they depict (1) Zeus in labour helped by the Eileithyiai; (2) Athena emerging from the head of Zeus, which has been cleft by Hephaistos; (3) a fusion of these two types—Zeus attended

[1] R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 8 ff. distinguishes four types: (*a*) the moment of birth; (*b*) the moment before birth; (*c*) the moment after birth; (*d*) a later moment. These correspond with my types as follows: $(a) = (2) + \frac{(3)}{2}$; $(b) = (1) + \frac{(3)}{2}$; $(c) = (4)$; $(d) = (5)$. Schneider's useful list of vases and Etruscan mirrors (*op. cit.* pp. 9—16) is extended by P. Baur 'Eileithyia' in *Philologus* 1899—1901 Suppl. viii. 503 (= P. V. C. Baur 'Eileithyia' in *The University of Missouri Studies* 1902 i. 4. 78), who adds a fine, though fragmentary, black-figured *pínax* belonging to my type (3), found on the Akropolis at Athens (F. Studniczka in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886 p. 117 ff. pl. 8, 1 (=my fig. 484), Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* iv. 251 f. no. 2578 pl. 109), and a black-figured vase of my type (4), now in the Museo Municipale at Orvieto (G. Karo in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 140 n. 3). The most important *addendum* to the lists of Schneider and Baur is the black-figured vase of my type (1) lately found in Rhodes (*infra* fig. 475).

See further E. Gerhard *Athenens Geburt auf Vasenbildern und auf dem Parthenonsgiebel* Berlin 1838, P. W. Forchhammer *Die Geburt der Athene* Kiel 1841, O. Jahn *Die Geburt der Athene* Kiel 1841 pp. 1—18 with pl., T. Bergk 'Die Geburt der Athene' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1860 lxxxi. 289—319, 377—424 (=*id. Kleine philologische Schriften* Halle a.S. 1886 ii. 635—722), G. Loeschcke 'Über Darstellungen der Athena-Geburt' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiv. 108—119, P. Stengel 'Die Sagen von der Geburt der Athene und Aphrodite' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1885 cxxxi. 77—80, H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 11 and in his *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 15 f., W. Deonna 'La naissance d'Athéna' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1912 ii. 350—354 ('un simple mythe iconographique'? cp. the Karlsruhe statuette (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 740 fig. 332), which implies primitive belief in birth from parent's head), *id. Dédale* Paris 1930 p. 263 n. 5 with fig. 17, 4, G. Ancey 'La naissance d'Athéna' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 209—211 (Athena the sneeze of Zeus!).

Collections of vases for comparative study are given by Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i pls. 1—5 and by Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 174 ff. pls. 54—65 A; of mirrors, by Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 67 ff. pl. 66, iv. 11 ff. pls. 284—285 A, v. 12 pl. 6.

Amphora at Munich :
Zeus in labour, flanked by two Eileithyiai.

See page 663 *n.* 1.

both by the Eileithyiai and by Hephaistos; (4) Athena, armed but not yet fully grown, standing on the knees of Zeus; (5) Athena, armed and fully grown, standing before Zeus.

(1) The first type, which is confined to black-figured vases, shows a sceptred Zeus sitting on a throne towards the right, at first (fig. 474 and pl. 1)[1] with an Eileithyia in front of him and another Eileithyia behind him. They are by their gestures aiding[2] the birth of Athena; but the goddess is not yet born, nor is there the least indication that her birth will be brought about by a blow from an axe—the type being simply the older representation of an *accouchement*[3] applied to the particular case of Zeus. One interesting

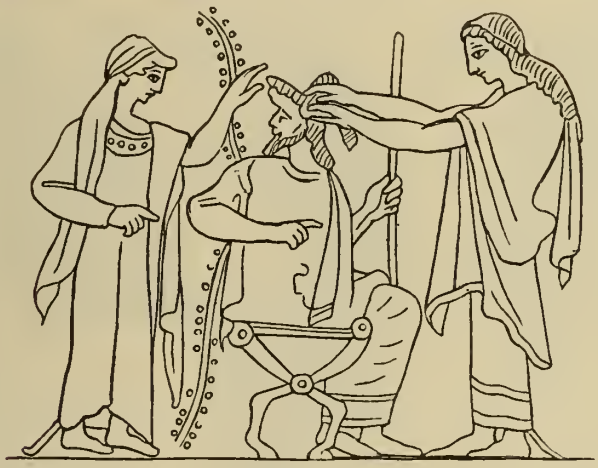


Fig. 474.

[1] A 'Nolan' *amphora* at Florence published by J. B. Passerius *Picturae Etruscorum* Romae 1770 ii. 38 f. col. pl. 152 as red-figured (!)—a blunder corrected by Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 190 fig. (=my fig. 474), R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 13 no. 29. A black-figured *amphora* at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 29 no. 101) likewise shows a seated Zeus, with a sceptre in his left hand, flanked by two Eileithyiai. My pl. 1 is from a photograph most kindly sent to me by Dr C. Weickert (June 3, 1935).

[2] R. Schneider *op. cit.* p. 17, C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 322 f. On Persephone Χειρογονία see *supra* p. 98 n. 0 (8). Similarly Lucina, to lighten the throes of Myrrha, 'admovitque manus et verba puerpera dixit' (Ov. *met.* 10. 511). Here the Eileithyiai extend the open hand in token of delivery (? cp. Paus. 7. 23. 5 f. the acrolithic *xóanon* of Eileithyia at Aigion ταῖς χερσὶ τῇ μὲν ἐς εὐθὺ ἐκτέταται, τῇ δὲ ἀνέχει δᾷδα) or point with the forefinger—a gesture copied by Zeus. On the other hand, Lucina, wishing to delay the birth of Hercules, 'subsedit in illa | ante fores ara, dextroque a poplite laevum | pressa genu et digitis inter se pectine iunctis | sustinuit partus' (Ov. *met.* 9. 297 ff., cp. Ant. Lib. 29 after Nikandros ἑτεροιουμένων δ').

[3] *Supra* p. 80 n. 2 (1) fig. 23 or the supporters of a goddess on an archaic *píthos* with reliefs from Boiotia (P. Wolters in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892 p. 225 ff. pls. 8, 9, A. de Ridder in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 440 ff. fig. 1, Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes*

example from Rhodes (fig. 475)[1] marks the divinity of the persons concerned by giving wings to the Eileithyiai. Others, now at

Fig. 475.

p. 111 f. no. 466, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 497 pl. 47). Doubtful parallels of 'Minoan' date may be seen in Sir A. J. Evans' '*Διάσκουραι*' (*sic*!) (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 11 ff. figs. 11—15) or '*Δίας Κοῦραι*' (*sic*!) (*ib.* p. 65 ff. fig. 55, cp. *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 1 339 ff. figs. 193 and 194, *a—f*).

[1] G. Jacopi in *Clara Rhodos* Rodi 1929 iii. 179 ff. (tomb clxxix, 3) with col. pl. C (=my fig. 475) and fig. 177. This black-figured *hydría* has a shoulder-decoration of a hen flanked by two cocks, beneath which in a metope bounded by sprays of ivy is the main design. Zeus, wearing a purple head-band, a purple *chitón*, and a short black *himátion*, sits on a stool towards the right and holds a tall slender sceptre. Before and behind him stand two winged females (whom Jacopi calls 'Arpie?') in short purple *péploi* and black *endromídes*: they make magical passes, raising the left hand and lowering the right with open palms—a gesture thoroughly characteristic of the Eileithyiai. It is tempting to conjecture that the painter by giving them wings was anticipating W. Prellwitz'

Amphora from Girgenti, now at Karlsruhe:
Zeus in labour, with two Eileithyiai and Hermes in attendance.

See page 665 *n.* 1.

Karlsruhe (pl. li)[1], Vienna (fig. 476)[2], and Florence (figs. 477, 478)[3], produce the same effect by adding to left and right one or more deities as spectators of the great event. Sometimes, as on a vase in

Fig. 476.

notion that Εἰλείθυια, from εἴλλω + θυΐα, means 'in der Bedrängnis schnell herbeieilend' (*Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 129). But that notion is itself improbable, and the wings may be explained as in the text. The same explanation fits the Etruscan Eileithyiai, who appear as winged women (*Thanr* and *Ethausva*) on a mirror from Praeneste given below (*infra* p. 676 fig. 487).

[1] A black-figured *amphora* from Girgenti, now at Karlsruhe (Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 31 f. no. 161), has Zeus flanked by two Eileithyiai, while Hermes on the left moves towards the right. The sceptre of Zeus is surmounted by a ram's head (cp. *supra* i. 406 fig. 302). My pl. li is from a photograph kindly supplied by the Direktor of the Badisches Landesmuseum.

[2] Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 30 f. no. 237 pl. 4, a black-figured *calix-kratér* formerly in the Castellani collection. The group of Zeus and the two Eileithyiai is amplified by the addition of Ares on the left, Hermes and a gesticulating goddess on the right. For a fresh photograph of this lower register (my fig. 476) I am indebted to the kind offices of Mr A. D. Trendall.

[3] A black-figured *amphora* found near Vulci, later in the possession of Dr Guarducci at Florence (Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* i. 117 f. pls. 75, 76, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 25 f. pl. 5, 1, 2, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 7 pl. 1 and 185 ff. pl. 54, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 21, 1—3), adds Hermes (?) and Apollon on the left, Herakles (!) and Ares on the right. My fig. 477 is from a photograph by C. A. Bonelli.

Another black-figured *amphora*, likewise in the Museo Archeologico at Florence, has a seated Zeus flanked by a bearded god and Eileithyia on the left, Hermes departing and a second Eileithyia (?) holding a tendril on the right. The sceptre in the hand of Zeus is topped by the forepart of a winged horse; a gecko creeps up behind his seat; and a wreath fills the blank beneath him. My fig. 478 is again from a photograph by Bonelli.

Fig. 477.

Fig. 478.

Amphora from Vulci, now in the Vatican:
Zeus in labour, with one Eileithyia and two gods in attendance.

See page 667 *n.* 1.

Amphora from Caere, now in the Vatican :

the Vatican (pl. lii)[1], there is but a single Eileithyia. And once, on a second vase in the same collection (pl. liii)[2], the approaching birth is heralded by the appearance of a small owl which has the temerity to perch on the very sceptre of Zeus.

A similar scene is shown on a marble slab found in 1900 at *Haïdar-pacha* near *Kadi-Keui* and now preserved in the Museum at Constantinople (fig. 479)[3]. The relief, surmounted by a dedication in lettering of 550—500 B.C.[4], portrays Zeus seated on a high-backed throne and facing—an unusual circumstance—towards the left. An Eileithyia standing behind him places her right hand on

Fig. 479.

his head, her left on his left shoulder. Another Eileithyia standing before him apparently clasps both his hands with hers. The group is flanked by two further figures. A female personage on a somewhat smaller scale holds out her hands on the left: another female,

[1] A black-figured *amphora* from Vulci, found in 1835, and now in the Vatican (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 8 pl. 39, 1 *a*), shows Zeus seated, sceptre in hand, on a folding-stool towards the right, while a single Eileithyia stands before him. On the left a draped god gesticulates, on the right another draped god stands still. My pl. lii is from a photograph kindly procured for me by Mr A. D. Trendall.

[2] A black-figured *amphora* from Caere, found in 1836, and now in the Vatican (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 9 pl. 48, 2), Albizzati *Vasi d. Vaticano* p. 139 f. no. 353 pl. 45 (part of which = my pl. liii)), renders a similar scene with somewhat greater elaboration. The throne of Zeus has its back ending in a swan's-head and its seat resting on a small draped male. The god's left hand grasps a sceptre with curved top, to which a small owl is clinging. Eileithyia in patterned *péplos* gesticulates before him. Behind Zeus stand Poseidon and Hermes (?); behind Eileithyia stands Ares.

[3] S. Reinach in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1900 p. 699, *id.* in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1901 xiv. 127—137 pl. 1 (=*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 274—284 with fig.), *id. Rép. Reliefs* ii. 165 no. 4, Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 227 f. no. 524 fig. (=my fig. 479).

[4] S. Reinach restored [N]ικό[.... patronymic] ἐμὲ κατέθ[ηκεν].

still smaller, raises her right hand to her head on the right. S. Reinach, who first published this monument, observed that *Kadi-Keui* occupies the site of Kalchedon, a colony of Megara[1], and that Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of the Eileithyiai at Megara itself[2]. Hence he inferred that the relief was an *ex-voto* dedicated to the Eileithyiai, whose cult had been carried by the colonists from Megara to Kalchedon. Reinach indeed contended—and his contention is *prima facie* plausible—that the type of Zeus *accouché* by the Eileithyiai originated in connexion with their cult and ultimately hails from Megara. Other evidence cited by him will be

Fig. 480.

mentioned later[3]. Meantime it may be conceded that in general a definite art-type does pre-suppose a definite belief and not infrequently a definite cult.

(2) The second type, which shows Zeus delivered without the aid of the Eileithyiai by the axe-bearer alone, is so far as I know represented by a single black-figured *kýlix* (fig. 480)[4]. This fine

[1] J. Oehler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2829 f. (founded 686/5 B.C.). See now K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund 1934 pp. 122 f., 209.

[2] Paus. 1. 44. 2 καὶ Εἰλειθυιῶν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν.

[3] *Infra* p. 671 ff.

[4] Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 192 f. pl. 56, A (inadequate). New and better publication by J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 pp. 136 fig. 84, 189 fig. 118, *id. Attic Black-figure* London 1928 p. 6 f. pl. 1, 1 f., *id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 170, 199 pl. 5, Hoppin *Black-fig. Vases* p. 314 f. no. 2. My fig. 480 is from the official photograph.

vase, which J. D. Beazley dubs 'the best of all little-master cups[1],' was found at Vulci in 1867, passed from the Durand into the Blacas collection, and is now to be seen in the British Museum[2]. It is signed by the maker Phrynos, one of the minor Athenian artists at work in the middle of *s.* vi B.C.[3] Zeus in a purple *chitón* and an embroidered *himátion* is seated, facing to the right, on a decorated throne. Its back ends in a swan's head, its legs are leonine, and its arm is supported by four small Doric pillars. The god, as J. Overbeck pointed out, has dark hair but a grey beard—an indication of old age most unusual in the case of Zeus[4]. His long locks are bound by a fillet. He raises both arms, brandishing a lotiform bolt[5] in his right hand and making the gesture of delivery[6] with his left. Before him a male figure, clad in a short purple *chitón* and *endromídes*, starts to make his escape, but looks backward as he goes. He raises his right hand with open palm[7] and holds in his left the double axe, with which he has just cleft the head of Zeus. From the cleft emerges the upper half of Athena, a long-haired goddess wearing a purple *chitón* and armed with lance[8] and shield.

The birth of Athena as here portrayed has, if I am not in error, been strongly influenced by the ritual of the Dipolieia[9]. Zeus with uplifted bolt is Zeus *Polieús*[10]. The axe-bearer with double axe, short *chitón*, and *endromídes* is the *Boutýpos*[11], who—armed with just this weapon and clad in just this costume—struck the sacred ox and then fled for his life[12]. This is indeed no mere starting back in terror or surprise: other vase-paintings show Hephaistos running off as fast as his legs will carry him[13]. And, if the Dipolieia was celebrated to ensure an adequate dew-fall and rain-fall, it must not

[1] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 199. See also O. S. Tonks in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 288 ff., Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 274, 320, *supra* ii. 788 n. o fig. 751.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 223 no. B 424, *Corp. vas. ant.* Brit. Mus. III H. *e* pl. 13, 2[a] and 2[b] with text p. 5 by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce.

[3] M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 191.

[4] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 29, *supra* i. 2 n. 2.

[5] *Supra* ii. 769 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 663 n. 2.

[7] Lenormant—de Witte *El. mon. cér.* i. 192 'Ce geste d' Héphestus répond à celui d'Ilithyie, dont il remplit ici le rôle.' Cp. *supra* p. 664 ff. figs. 475—477.

[8] Not visible on the photograph.

[9] *Supra* p. 577 ff.

[10] *Supra* p. 570 ff.

[11] *Supra* p. 585 ff.

[12] *Supra* p. 583.

[13] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 103 ff. no. B 147 (*Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 44, *infra* p. 700 fig. 517). Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 241 ff. no. 1704 (*Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 55, *infra* p. 673 fig. 485). E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2[me] Série Paris 1901 p. 78 f. no. E 852 (*Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 56, 3, *infra* p. 680 fig. 491).

be forgotten that in the Rhodian myth Zeus sent a shower of golden snow-flakes, when his head was cleft by the bronze axe of Hephaistos for Athena's birth[1]. Whether our vase-painter was conscious of any relation between the scene he has given us and the ritual of the Bouphonia, is questionable. But is it merely by accident that he has placed upon Athena's shield a blazon which it nowhere else exhibits[2]—an ox-head in relief with projecting horns?

(3) Thirdly, the type of Zeus delivered by the Eileithyiai was fused with that of Zeus delivered by Hephaistos. This fusion was effected in the early part of *s.* vi B.C.—hardly earlier[3]—and thence-

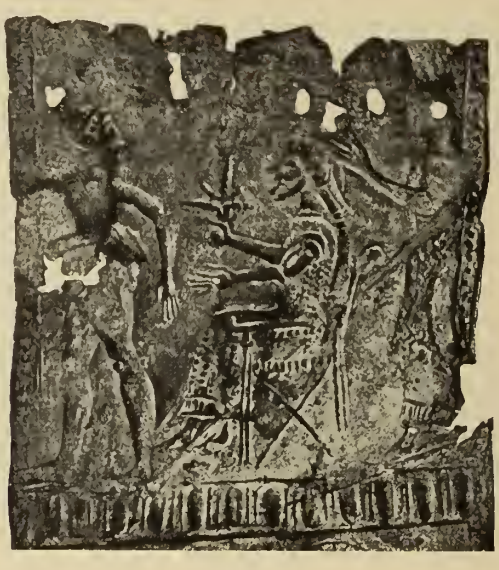


Fig. 481.

[1] *Supra* p. 477.

[2] On a fragmentary red-figured *kýlix* at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 418 f. no. 559 fig. 102), attributed to Hieron (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 93 no. 37 *bis*) or to the Brygos Painter (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 186 no. 4), Athena's round shield has as its blazon an ox-head *en face*.

[3] H. G. G. Payne *Necrocorinthia* Oxford 1931 p. 142 cites an Argive-Corinthian relief from Delphoi (P. Perdrizet in the *Fouilles de Delphes* v. 2. 124 pl. 21 (part of which =my fig. 481)), which he calls 'late Protocorinthian' in style, as 'by far the earliest representation' of the birth of Athena. But the Argive-Corinthian bronze strips in low relief, of which this is a very characteristic example, have been hitherto assigned with confidence 'to the second and third quarters of the sixth century' (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 120). The relief in question forms a square metope in a *quasi*-architectural frame. Zeus with long hair and pointed beard sits to the left on a throne, the back of which ends in a swan's-head (?). He is clad in a long *chitón* and *himátion* (?) and holds in his right hand a lotiform bolt with twisted spike (*supra* ii. 779 f.).

forward remained the dominant type for Athenian vase-painters[1]. It was perhaps first brought about by some Megarian resident in Athens; for S. Reinach[2] has given reasons for thinking that the names painted on the two oldest specimens of it imply a knowledge of the Megarian alphabet and dialect[3]. The said specimens are here

Behind him stands a similarly draped Eileithyia, raising her left hand with open palm to his head—a gesture repeated by Zeus with his extended left hand. Before him a male god (Hephaistos?), wearing a cap and a short *chitón*, departs towards the left, but turns to face Zeus. He too holds his left hand with open palm, but downwards—perhaps another variety of the same gesture. His right hand was raised and may have held the axe, though this is uncertain as the relief here passes beyond the limits of the metope. T. Homolle was the first to recognise the scene as the birth of Athena. Payne *op. cit.* p. 142 n. 2 says 'the figure of Athena is almost obliterated': but is she there at all?

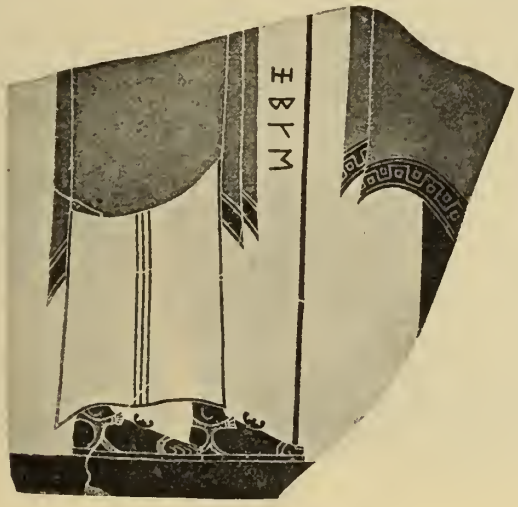


Fig. 482.

Kleanthes of Corinth (?early in *s.* vi B.C.: M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 144 f.) is known to have painted a 'Birth of Athena,' which was preserved in the temple of Artemis Ἀλφειονία near the mouth of the Alpheios (Strab. 343). But our only clue to his treatment of the theme is the obtuse remark by Demetrios the antiquarian of Skepsis (*c.* 180—140 B.C.) that in it Ποσειδῶν πεποίηται θύννον τῷ Διὶ προσφέρων ὠδίνοντι (Demetr. Skeps. *frag.* 5 ed. R. Gaede (Gryphiswaldiae 1880) *ap.* Athen. 346 B—C)—of course a mere attribute as often on black-figured vases (A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 67 n. 7).

[1] R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 9 ff. So on Etruscan mirrors: Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* pls. 66, 284, 1, 2, 285, 1, 2.

[2] S. Reinach in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1901 xiv. 133 ff. (=*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 280 ff.).

[3] *Mon. d. Inst.* ix. pl. 55 (=my fig. 485) ΔΒΕΥΣ and ΚΟΥΕΥΝΙΟΣ, *ib.* vi. pl. 56, 3, 4 (=my fig. 491) ΙΔΕΥΣ. ΔΒΕΥΣ shows Corinthian and Megarian Β=ε followed by an explanatory Athenian Ε. ΚΟΥΕΥΝΙΟΣ shows a similar juxtaposition

of the alternatives Athenian K and Corinthian (and Megarian?) Q. IΔEVS may be accounted for by the hypothesis that a Megarian, accustomed to the form Δεύς, was working at Athens, where the name was written Ζεύς.

The theory advanced by G. Kaibel in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 112 and by G. Loeschcke in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiv. 110 (cp. H. B. Walters in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 284), *viz.* that the Attic vase-painter was copying Corinthian models, on which Ζεύς was spelled ΔBVM and Κυλλήνιος had an initial Q, makes shipwreck—as P. Kretschmer *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 103 points out—on the fact that the Corinthians said Ζεύς, not Δεύς. Two of the archaic inscribed *pínakes* found in 1879 at *Pente Skouphia* near the Akrokorinthos and referable to a date *c.* 600 B.C.

Fig. 483.

put the form of the name beyond doubt (E. Pernice in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1897 xii. 13 and 20, *id.* in the *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 6 pl. 30, 12 (=my fig. 482) and pl. 29, 13 (=my fig. 483), P. Kretschmer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 343 f., *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i nos. 263 fig. and 264 fig., F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1923 ii. 235. The first and better preserved of these two is further published by Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 20, 66, *id. Imagines inscriptionum Græcarum antiquissimarum*[3] Berolini 1907 p. 43 no. 5, *r*, Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 61 no. 490, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 124 no. 90, 66). True, Megarian inscriptions too give the forms Ζεῦξις, Ζώπυρος, Ζωΐλος, Ζώτιχος, etc. (cp. E. Schneider *De dialecto Megarica* Gissae 1882 p. 71 f.); but that 'ne prouve rien, ces textes étant relativement récents' (S. Reinach in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1901 xiv. 134 n. 3 (*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 281 n. 4)).

A *pínax*-fragment found on the Akropolis at Athens preserve the head of Zeus, the body of Athena, and the hands of Eileithyia (F. Studniczka in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1886 p. 117 ff. pl. 8, 1). Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* iv. 251 f. no. 2578 pl. 109 (=my fig. 484) comments: 'Obwohl die Inschrift attisch ist, darf an dem korinthischen Ursprung des Pinax nach Stil, und Farbe des Tons, der dem der protokorinthischen Ware entspricht, nicht gezweifelt werden.'

Amphora from Caere, now at Berlin :
Athena born from the head of Zeus, with two Eileithyiai and other deities in attendance.

reproduced, because they illustrate the two possible forms of compromise between the Megarian and the Athenian type, according as Athena is, or is not, visible.

The first is a 'Tyrrhenian' *amphora* from Caere, now at Berlin (fig. 485 and pl. liv)[1]. Zeus in a *chitón* and patterned *himátion* is seated on a throne of which the back ends in a swan's head, the legs in lion's claws. In his left hand he grasps a thunderbolt. From his head emerges Athena armed with a lance, a circular shield, and a high-crested helmet. Hephaistos, then, has already struck his blow;

Fig. 484.

indeed he is to be seen hurrying off on tip-toe[2] towards the left[3] Nevertheless two birth-goddesses are still standing, Eileithyia behind Zeus, Demeter[4] before him, and are lifting their hands with

[1] G. Kaibel in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 106—114, *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 55 (part of which = my fig. 485), G. Loeschcke in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiv. 108—111, Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 241 ff. no. 1704, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 197 f., 1—6, H. Thiersch "*Tyrrhenische*" *Amphoren* Leipzig 1899 p. 157 no. 26, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 252. Pl. liv is from a fresh photograph procured by Mr A. D. Trendall.

[2] *Supra* p. 587 n. 2.

[3] A cameo published by A. L. Millin *Pierres gravées inédites* Paris 1817 i pl. 56 (= Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 128 f. no. 56 pl. 122) shows Hephaistos with his mallet standing still to watch Athena received by the hands of the two Eileithyiai. But E. Braun in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1849 vii. 112 pl. 6, 1 justly pronounced the gem to be a forgery.

[4] G. Kaibel in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 107 takes this figure to be a second Eileithyia, and refers the name [ΔΕ]ΜΕΤΕΡ to the fragmentary figure next to it on the right. But on this vase most of the names are well towards the right of the persons named. Moreover, the fragmentary figure is certainly male, and holds an object with a long handle—presumably Poseidon with his trident.

Fig. 485.

Amphora from Vulci, now in the British Museum:
Athena born from the head of Zeus, with two Eileithyiai, Hermes, and Hephaistos in attendance.

See page 675 *n.* 3 (1).

a

Pelike from Vulci, n
(*a*, *b*) Athena born from the head of Zeus, v

b

ow in the British Museum :
with one Eileithyia and other deities in attendance.

See page 676 *n.* o (3) and *page* 710 *with fig.* 526.

open palms as though they would conjure the new-born maiden to appear. Other deities are present. To the left of the central group, and separated from one another by the rapidly retreating figure of Hephaistos, are Dionysos and Hermes. The former wears an ivy-wreath and holds a *kántharos*. The latter, in festal attire, bears a *caduceus* of unusual form and announces his presence with the naïve remark—'I am Hermes of Kyllene.' To the right of Zeus and his attendant goddesses is a god, probably Poseidon[1], conversing with a goddess, probably Aphrodite[2], while behind them stands Apollon with bow and arrow in his hands[3].

Fig. 486.

[1] So G. Loeschcke in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiv. 109, R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 9, and with a query Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 197. The mutilated word]VMEL[is probably an appellative of Poseidon; Furtwängler *loc. cit.* says 'am ehesten wol Εὐρ]υμέδ[ων wenn man ein schiefgestelltes Δ zulässt,' cp. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1334. Less likely is θ]υμέλ[η—there is not much room for one. More improbable still, Wilamowitz' reading Γαν]υμήδ[ης. Quite impossible, a hovering Ὑμέν[αιος.

[2] Furtwängler *loc. cit.* proposes Ἀ(μ)φ[ιτρίτη, which is accepted, again with a query, by Reinach *loc. cit.* But Poseidon is more than once paired with Aphrodite (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1145 n. 4 f.), and the initial Ἀφ[– – – is beyond question.

[3] Noteworthy variations on the theme of this vase include the following:

(1) A black-figured *amphora* from Vulci, now in the British Museum (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 6 ff. pl. 2, 1, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 196 f. pl. 58, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 155 no. B 244 with fig 21 on p. 11, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 20, 3—5, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 16 fig. 113), which J. D. Beazley in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 78 f. fig. 16 f., 82 attributes to his 'Antimenes painter' *c.* 530—520 B.C. My pl. lv is from the official photograph. Zeus and Athena are flanked by a pair of Eileithyiai with Hermes on the left and Hephaistos on the right.

(2) A red-figured *hydría* from Nola, now in Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 337 ff. no. 444 fig. 74 (=my fig. 486), Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 542 ('karikaturenhafte Schlankheit') iii. 196 fig. 518), which J. D. Beazley assigns to his

manneristic 'Nausikaa painter' *c.* 470 B.C. (*Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 122 no. 9, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 253 no. 13, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 213 no. 8). This gives Zeus an unexpected *phiále* and makes Athena jump the wrong way to the manifest surprise of Hephaistos and the two Eileithyiai. De Ridder names the figures from left to right Iris (?), Hera (?), Zeus, Athena *Prómachos*, Hermes, 'Déesse (?).'

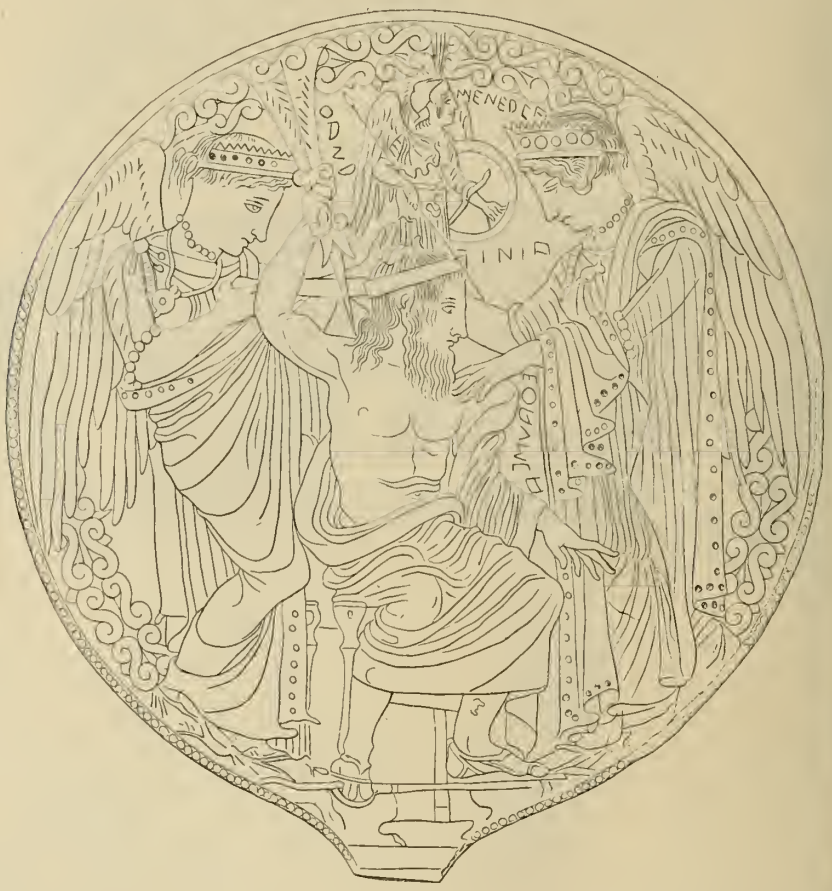


Fig. 487.

(3) A red-figured *pelíke* from Vulci, now in the British Museum (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 6 ff. pl. 3—4, P. W. Forchhammer *Die Geburt der Athene* Kiel 1841 with pl., Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 211 ff. pls. 64 and 65, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 256 f. no. E 410, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 20, 6), which is attributed either to Hermonax *c.* 465—455 B.C. (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 31 f. no. 12, but see Leonard in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 901) or to a painter closely resembling him (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 304 no. 1). My pl. lvi is from the official photographs, cp. *infra* fig. 526. Zeus, enthroned *en face*, makes the gesture of delivery with his right hand as Athena rises from his head. Eileithyia and Artemis on the right are balanced by Hephaistos and Poseidon on the left. The design is then

amplified by the addition of other immortals. Under the left handle Nike hastens towards the right followed by a draped youthful male wearing a wreath (Apollon?), Dionysos, a bald and bearded deity also wreathed (Hades??), and a white-haired

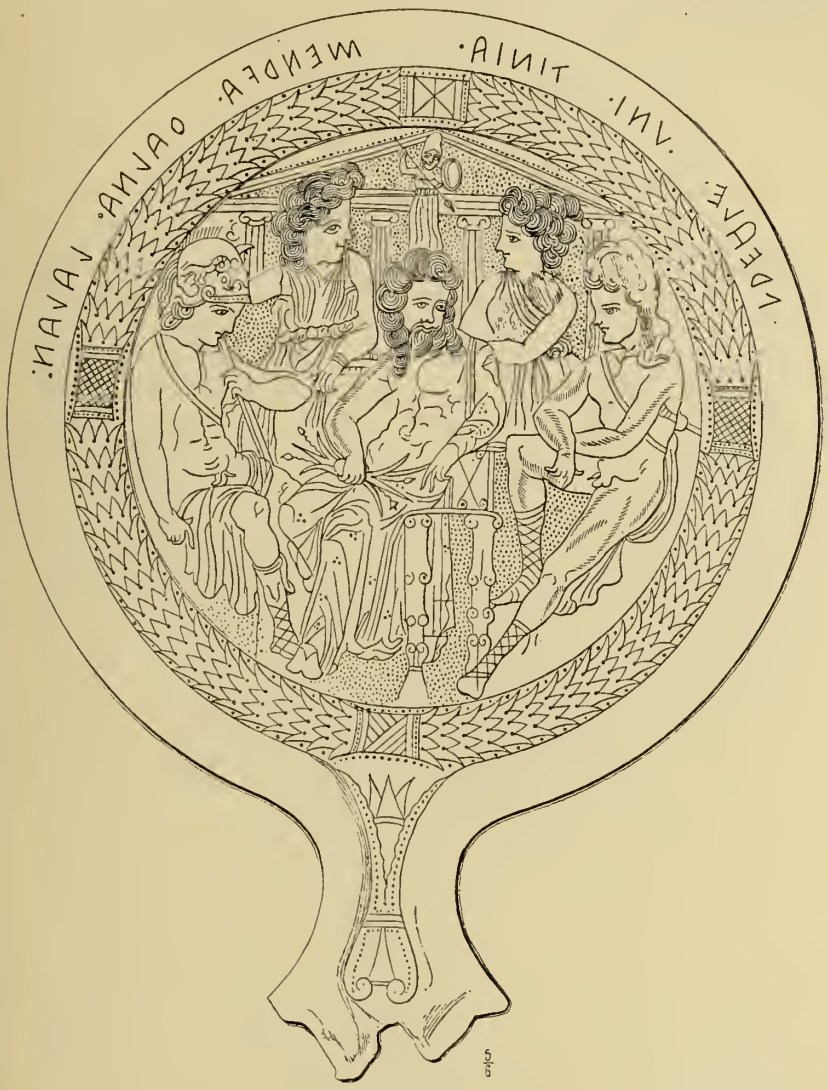


Fig. 488.

personage resting on a staff (Nereus??). The identification of the last two figures is quite uncertain: provisionally I follow Gerhard. For other guesses see R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 11 f.

Etruscan mirrors, under the influence of imported red-figure vases (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 129 f.), repeat the design with additions and subtractions:

(1) A mirror from Arezzo, now at Bologna (*supra* ii. 709 ff. pl. xxix), shows *Tina* delivered by *Thanr* and *Thalna*, while *Sethlans* with his double axe stands aloof.

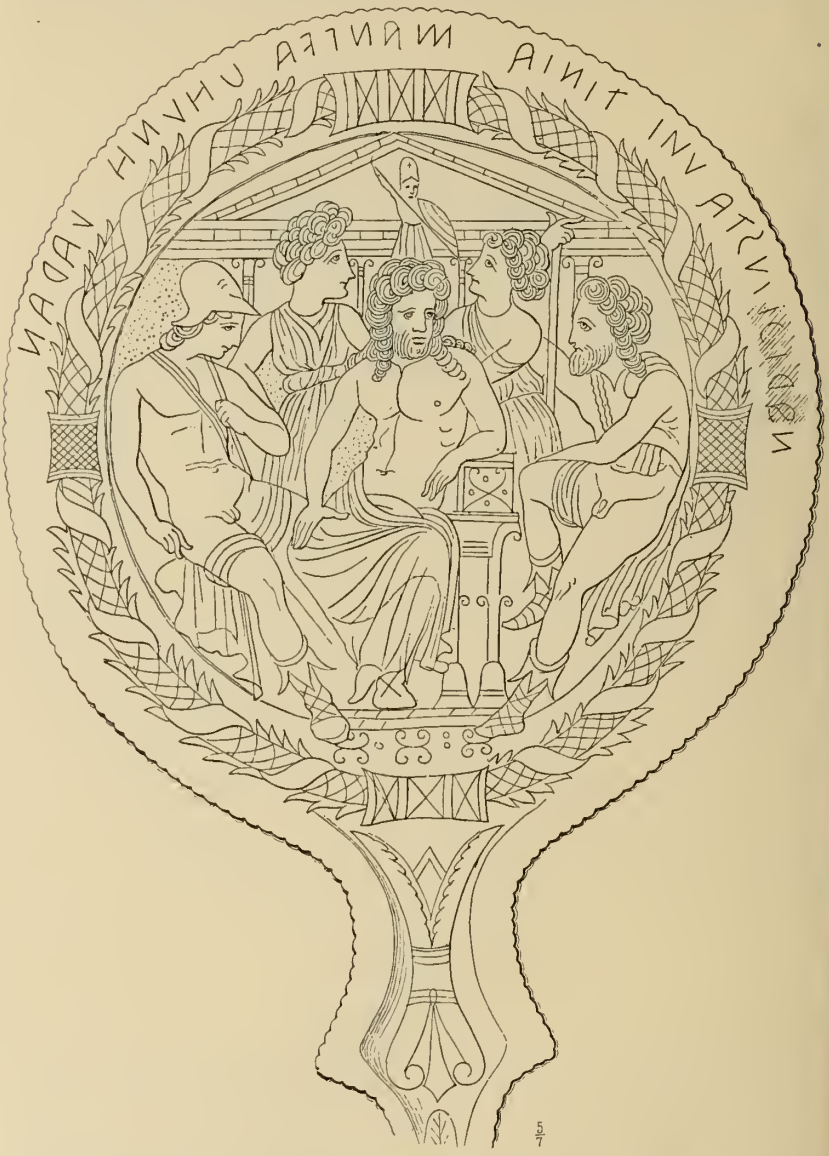


Fig. 489.

(2) Another, from Palestrina, now in London (R. Kekulé in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 129, *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 56, 3, C. L. Visconti in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1874 ii. 94, A. Klügmann in Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* v. 12 pl. 6 (=my fig. 487), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 91 f. no. 617), gives the central group only. *Tinia* attended

by *Thanr* and *Ethausva*—the former fastening a bandage round his head, the latter laying her hands on his head and shoulder—gives birth to an armed *Menerva*. All the goddesses *more Etrusco* (*supra* p. 665 n. 0) are winged. On *Thanr* see C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 527—529. On *Thalna*, C. Pauli *ib.* v. 459—463, cp. 442, E. Vetter in *Glotta* 1924 xiii. 146—148, Eva Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 1227—1230. On *Ethausva*, W. Deecke in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1390, E. Samter in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 717. It must be remembered that Strab. 226 says of

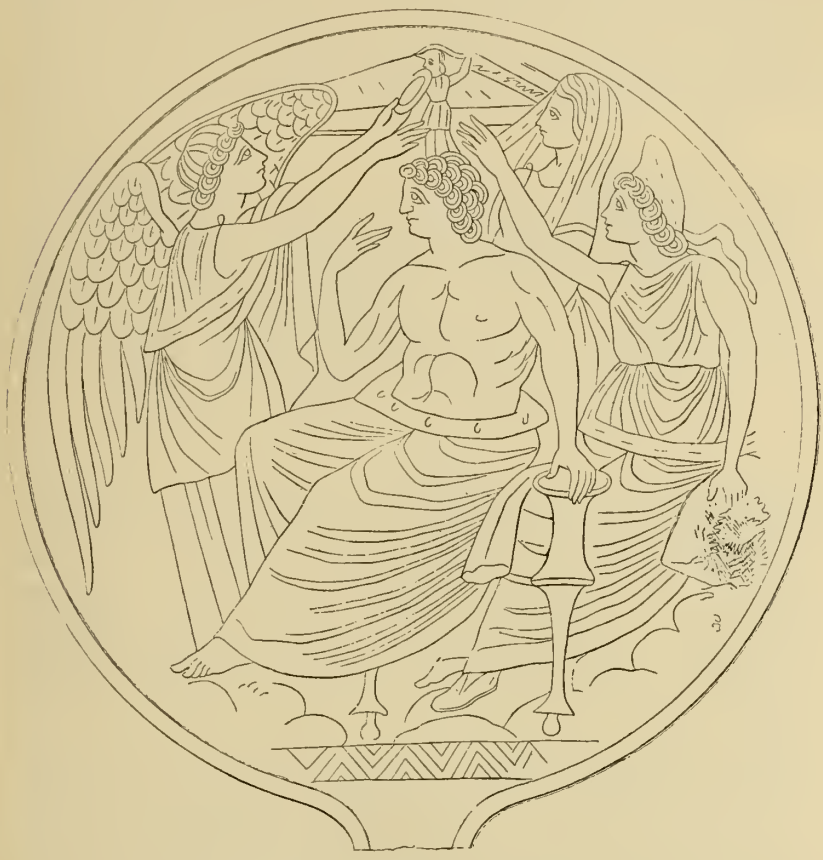


Fig. 490.

Pyrgoi, the port of Caere: ἔχει δὲ Εἰληθυίας ἱερόν, Πελασγῶν ἵδρυμα, πλούσιόν ποτε γενόμενον, κ.τ.λ.

(3) A third, now at Berlin (no. 2979) (E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 xxiii. 141 ff. pl. G—H, Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 12 f. pl. 284, 1 (=my fig. 488), A. Fabretti *Corpus inscriptionum Italicarum* Aug. Taurinorum 1867 p. ccxv no. 2478, C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2933 f.), has *Tinia* sitting on a throne with lowered bolt and *Menrfa* in armour rising from his head. Left and right of him, leaning on the back of his throne, are *Thalna* and *Uni* (Iuno)—both appropriate as birth-goddesses. These in turn are flanked by two young warriors described as *Lalan* and *Preale*. *Lalan* is an obvious slip for *Laran*, the Etruscan Ares (W. Deecke in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1866 f.). *Preale* occurs here only, but must be a deity akin to Mars (C. Pauli *loc. cit.*). Finally, in

The second form of compromise between the Megarian and the Athenian type is exemplified by another 'Tyrrhenian' *amphora* from Caere, now in the Louvre (fig. 491)[1]. Zeus, clad in a white *chitón* and a red *himátion*, is seated on a throne—carefully inscribed as such[2]—with swan's-head back and lion's-claw legs. His left hand holds the thunderbolt, his right a lotos-topped sceptre. His feet rest on a footstool, upon which stands one of the birth-goddesses with a wreath in her uplifted right hand. Her fellow, definitely named Eileithyia[3], stands behind the throne of Zeus and

Fig. 491.

the background is seen a temple-front with four Ionic columns, which is hardly to be identified with the newly built Parthenon (J. Roulez in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 318), but suggests that the scene is being enacted in Olympos (Gerhard p. 17).

(4) Very similar is the design of another mirror, now in London (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 13 f. pl. 284, 2 (=my fig. 489), A. Fabretti *op. cit.* p. ccxiv no. 2471 *bis*, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 116 no. 696). *Tinia* and *Menrfa* are again supported by *Thalna* and *Uni*. On the left is *Laran*, on the right a bearded *Maristiusta* (so H. B. Walters, who thinks he 'may be meant for Poseidon.' C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2933 f. reads *mariṣ..usta* and, with more probability, assumes some relationship to Mars). In the background, as before, is a temple-*façade* with four Ionic columns (cp. also Gerhard *op. cit.* iv. 14 f. pl. 285, 1).

(5) Yet another mirror, formerly in the Museo Campana, now in the Louvre (J. Roulez in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 314 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 56, 1, Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 16 f. pl. 285 A (=my fig. 490), De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 52 no. 1738), makes Tinia beardless and surrounded by three goddesses—one with wings (Thanr or Uni (Roulez) rather than Nike (Gerhard, De Ridder)), a second with Phrygian cap (Thalna (Roulez), Artemis (Gerhard), Artemis? (De Ridder)), a third with veil (Iuno (Gerhard) or Hera? (De Ridder) rather than Venus (Roulez)). A sketchy pediment still marks the background.

[1] J. Roulez in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 299–307, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 56, 3 (=my fig. 491) and 4, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 155 f., 4 and 5, H. Thiersch "*Tyrrhenische*" *Amphoren* Leipzig 1899 pp. 49 f. ('Stark ergänzt und übermalt' etc.), 158 no. 39, E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 78 f. no. E 852 ('Les repeints et les restaurations sont très importants dans toutes les parties du vase, mais les groupes du centre en *A* et en *B* sont à peu près saufs'), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 106 f. fig. 75, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 252. The central group is figured by F. Durrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. ant.* iii. 385 fig. 3956.

[2] ΦPONOΣ.

[3] HIΛEIΘVF.

raises both arms to his head. Athena is not yet born[1]; but owing to the fusion, or rather confusion, of types Hephaistos with his double axe is already making off to the extreme right of the spectator. Left of the central scene is a group of interested deities—Dionysos with a garland of vine-leaves, Aphrodite draped and veiled, Ares with lance and shield, and lastly Leto. Right of the central scene appear other deities—Poseidon leaning on his trident(?) as he talks to Amphitrite, and a nude bearded god, perhaps meant for Hermes, who holds a long-handled *caduceus*(?) with one hand and gesticulates with the other.

(4) The fourth type, which represents Athena standing—a half-grown maiden—on the knees of Zeus, is again but a special application of a much older mother-and-child *motif*[2]. As applied to Zeus and Athena, it occurs on several black-figured *amphorae* and one red-figured *pelike*.

The earliest of the black-figured vases is an *amphora* in the style of Amasis noted by G. Karo in 1899 as being then in the Museo Municipale at Orvieto[3]. It seems probable that this is the vase published by Miss E. H. Hall (Mrs Dohan) as 'excavated from an Etruscan tomb at Orvieto in 1907 [*sic*] by Mr A. L. Frothingham' and now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum at Philadelphia (fig. 492)[4]. It has been to some extent repainted, but the original parts can be well made out from the official line-drawing. Zeus, holding a lotiform bolt, sits stiffly erect on a throne towards the right. Its back ends in a ram's head. Its seat rests on a Nike with spread wings and gesticulating hands. On his lap stands Athena in her panoply. Before Zeus is Eileithyia with ex-

[1] So Pottier *loc. cit.* S. Reinach *loc. cit.* supposes that the female figure on the footstool is Athena. But F. Durrbach *loc. cit.* justly observes that on a black-figured *amphora* from Chiusi representing the same scene (Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 194 f. pl. 57) one of the Eileithyiai is carrying a wreath. Besides, the figure on the footstool has no attribute distinctive of Athena.

[2] A gold ring from one of the later tombs at Thisbe in Boiotia, published by Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1930 iii. 470 ff. and by him assigned at latest to 'a Mainland-Mycenaean phase equivalent to L. M. III *a*,' shows a draped goddess sitting on a throne with a nude boy standing on her knees. Behind the throne is a small female attendant; in front of it, two armed worshippers approach with offerings.

[3] G. Karo in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 140 n. 3: 'Zeus with the new-born Athena on his knee, between two Eileithyiae.'

[4] E. H. H[all] in *The Museum Journal* 1912 iii. 68 ff. figs. 33 (photo of whole), 34 (= my fig. 492), and 35 (drawing of reverse). The date 1907 is possibly a slip for 1897: it is in any case inconsistent with Miss Hall's statement in the same paragraph that A. Furtwängler saw the vase at Philadelphia in 1904 and, upon his return to Europe, made a report of it to the Munich Academy of Science [see the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1905 p. 257 no. 16].

Fig. 492.

Fig. 493.

pressive fingers. Behind him, Apollon with *kithára* and *plêktron*. On the right, Ares in full armour is accompanied by a hound[1]. On the left are traces of Poseidon(?). Finally a few blanks are filled by a couple of soul-birds and sundry meaningless inscriptions. Another *amphora*, now in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire at Geneva, is included in the Genevan series of Giraudon's photographs[2]. A third, here given (fig. 493)[3], was found at Vulci and passed from

Fig. 494.

[1] On the use of dogs in war see F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2566 f.; and on their relation to Ares, *id. ib.* viii. 2575 f. (cp. the same author's monograph *Der Hund im Altertum* Schleusingen 1910). The subject had been already handled by O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 126 ff., 141.

[2] R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 14 no. 32 ('Genf: musée Fol. (Kat. n. 154)'), P. Milliet *Vases antiques des collections de la ville de Genève* Paris 1892. (Text to A. Giraudon's plates.)

[3] G. Micali *Monumenti per servire alla storia degli antichi popoli italiani* Firenze 1832 pl. 80, 1, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 197 ff. pl. 59 (=my fig. 493), Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 164 pl. 21, 228, L. Urlichs *Verzeichniss der Antikensammlung der Universität Würzburg* Würzburg 1872 iii. 44 f..no. 243.

the Feoli collection to Würzburg. Zeus is seated on a stool, which has decorated legs and a central support in the shape of a bearded and draped male figure. The god holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, and uplifts his left with open palm. On his lap stands Athena, not yet fully grown, but armed with *aigís* and shield. Before Zeus, with one hand raised and open, the other lowered and shut, stands a birth-goddess, presumably Eileithyia. Behind him Apollon with

Fig. 495.

kithára and *plêktron* makes music. To the right of all stands a bearded and draped god, perhaps Poseidon—though no attribute is visible; to the left, a bearded and nude god with a peaked and pointed *pétasos*—probably Hermes, but possibly Hephaistos.

The red-figured vase, a *pelíke* from Nola now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (fig. 494)[1], is referred by J. D.

[1] A. de La Borde *Collection des vases grecs de M. le comte de Lamberg* Paris 1813 i. 88 pl. 83, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 191 pl. 55 (=my fig. 494), R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 14 no. 33, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 207, 3.

Beazley to his 'Geras Painter[1],' a minor artist of *c.* 480—470 B.C. It depicts the middle group of deities only, and rather clumsily exaggerates the size of Eileithyia at the expense of Zeus[2].

Fig. 496.

[1] J. D. Beazley *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 56 f., *id. Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 110 no. 11.

[2] It may be noticed in passing that this mother-and-child *motif* was applied by Athenian vase-painters not only to Zeus and Athena, but also to Zeus and Dionysos. A black-figured example of the latter has already been given (*supra* ii. 273 n. 3 with fig. 177, which having suffered an accidental exchange of right for left is here replaced by the more correct fig. 495): in it Zeus kept his own thunderbolt and sceptre, 'Zeus' boy' brandished torches, and the original Eileithyia was transformed into Hera. A red-figured bell-*kratér* found, full of ashes and small vases, in tomb no. 311 of the Val di Trebbia necropolis near Comacchio (A. Negrioli in the *Not. Scavi* 1927 p. 166 pl. 16 (=my fig. 496), M. I. Rostovtzeff *Mystic Italy* New York 1927 Frontispiece, C. Dugas in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 89 fig. 5) has a noble long-haired Zeus sitting on a high-backed chair. He wears an olive (?)-wreath, a tagged or embroidered *chitón*, and a plain *himátion*. But the painter has given him a distinctly Dionysiac character by making him shoulder a *thýrsos* by way of sceptre and use a fawn-skin as his antimacassar, while he supports the infant Dionysos already equipped with ivy-wreath, vine-stem, and *kántharos*. In this

(5) The fifth and final type, in which Athena has reached her full stature, is attested by a couple of vases, a black-figured *hydría* from Vulci now at Würzburg and a red-figured *stámnos* from Vulci now in the Vatican.

The *hydría* (fig. 497)[1] shows Zeus seated on a throne, facing towards the left. He holds a sceptre with a curious Janiform head[2] in one hand, but no thunderbolt in the other. Athena, armed and fully grown, stands before him. She has issued from him, as we might infer from the position of her feet, but she turns her face

Fig. 497.

directly towards him while adjusting her high-crested helmet. To either side of this group stand the two Eileithyiai, and beyond them Poseidon and Hermes. Hephaistos is not there.

The *stámnos* (fig. 498, *a* and *b*)[3], regarded by J. D. Beazley as

case the two Eileithyiai have become stately Nymphs holding flowers or clothing for the new-born god.

It is possible, though not certain, that Dionysos borrowed the type from Athena, who—to judge from our few examples—appears to have been first in the field. In any event his adoption of the scheme was very understandable: it is but a step from some vase-illustrations of Dionysos emerging out of his father's thigh (*supra* p. 81 fig. 25 and pl. xiii, 1—3) to these of Dionysos standing upon it.

[1] O. Benndorf in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865 xxxvii. 368 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 24 (part of which = my fig. 497), L. Urlichs *Verzeichniss der Antikensammlung der Universität Würzburg* Würzburg 1872 iii. 28 no. 132, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 171.

[2] The conjoined profiles are respectively bearded and beardless (cp. *supra* ii. 387 ff. on the differentiation of the sky-god's faces), and two arms are attached to the common torso. But Urlichs *loc. cit.* says: 'ein Scepter, worauf ein Doppelgesicht (modern?).'

[3] *Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 5 pl. 21, 1 (= my fig. 498, *a* and *b*).

a late 'Schularbeit' of his 'Berlin Painter[1],' may be dated *c.* 465 B.C. Front and back of the vase are decorated with sections of the same scene, in which the familiar figures are regrouped with sundry infelicitous variations. On the obverse, Zeus is standing not seated, having vacated his chair for Hera, who sits there raising her right

a

b

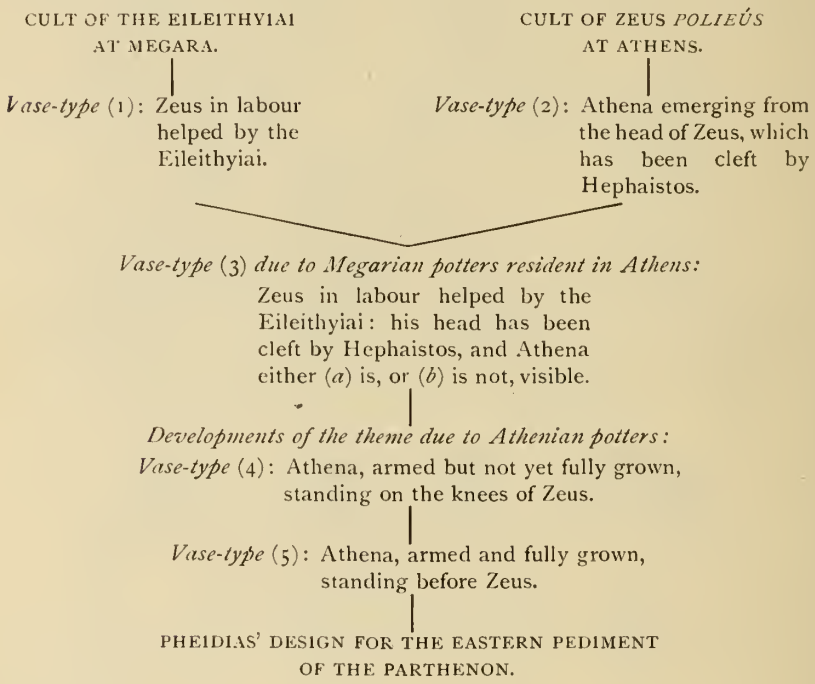
Fig. 498.

hand as if to greet the hasty arrival of Nike from the left. Nike presumably brings tidings of Athena's birth. And meantime Athena herself, armed and fully grown, stands holding out her helmet behind Hera's back. In short, a complete rearrangement of the traditional scheme. No less wilful is the artist's treatment of

[1] J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 83 no. 91, *id. Der Berliner Maler* Berlin 1930 pp. 15, 19 no. 110.

the reverse. The divine witnesses are not relegated to the left and right as flanking figures, but are paired off as conversing couples—Poseidon with Hermes(?)[1], Kore(?)[2] with Hades(?)[3].

The fifth type of vase-painting leads up to[4] and culminates in the great complex of sculptural decoration employed by Pheidias for the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. The ultimate dependence of this complex on actual cults may be seen from the following diagram:


CULT OF THE EILEITHYIAI AT MEGARA.
Vase-type (1): Zeus in labour helped by the Eileithyiai.
CULT OF ZEUS POLIEÚS AT ATHENS.
Vase-type (2): Athena emerging from the head of Zeus, which has been cleft by Hephaistos.
Vase-type (3) due to Megarian potters resident in Athens: Zeus in labour helped by the Eileithyiai: his head has been cleft by Hephaistos, and Athena either (a) is, or (b) is not, visible.
Developments of the theme due to Athenian potters:
Vase-type (4): Athena, armed but not yet fully grown, standing on the knees of Zeus.
Vase-type (5): Athena, armed and fully grown, standing before Zeus.
PHEIDIAS' DESIGN FOR THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

The foregoing enquiry has brought us to the threshold of a difficult, not to say dangerous, enterprise. If Pheidias' design was indeed the climax of certain pre-existing ceramic types, which can

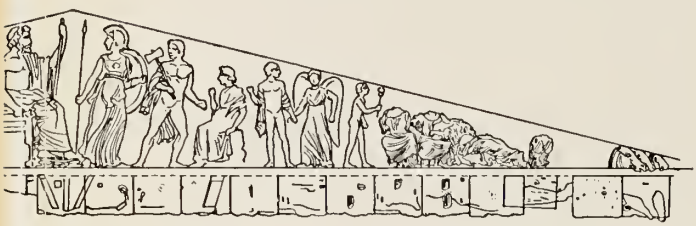
[1] *Chlamýs*, *pétasos*, and *endromídes* suggest Hermes. Is the rather obvious pair of pincers a *caduceus* repainted by somebody who thought the presence of Hephaistos essential?

[2] *Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 5 'Venere o meglio Proserpina con fiore in mano.'

[3] *Ib.* 'Plutone.' The wish to work all three of the Kronidai into the company of heaven is understandable, though Hades is quite out of place *dans cette galère*.

[4] G. Bendinelli in *Ausonia* 1921 x. 109—130 claims that the seated Zeus from a *pôros* pediment of the sixth century at Athens (*supra* i. 2 n. 2) should be combined with a standing Athena, like the duplicated goddess of an archaic relief (Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 101 ff. no. 82 pl. 26, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 331 no. 1), to form a pedimental composition representing the Birth of Athena. But his fig. 6 is far from convincing. See further C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 599 ff.

Carrey ? (1674).

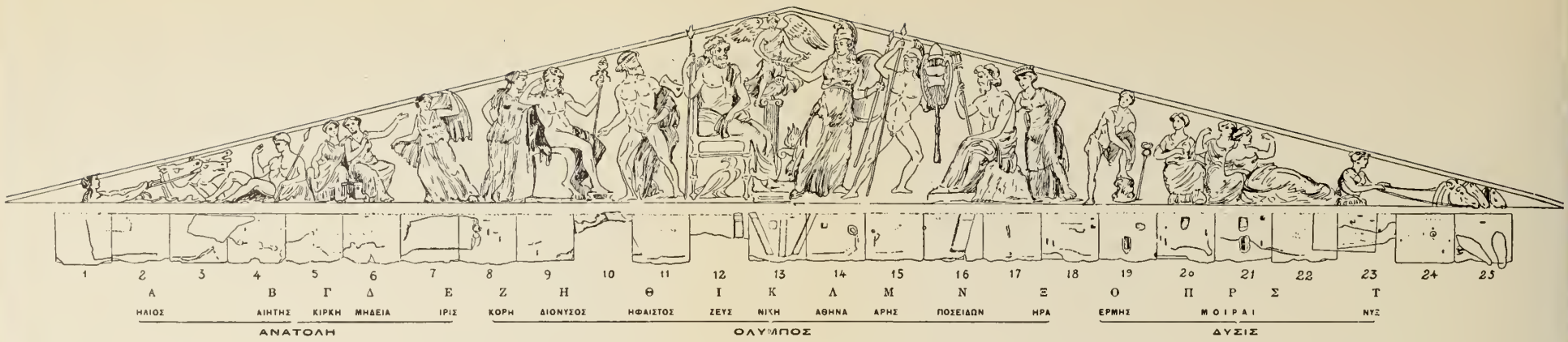


A. Gardner (1902).

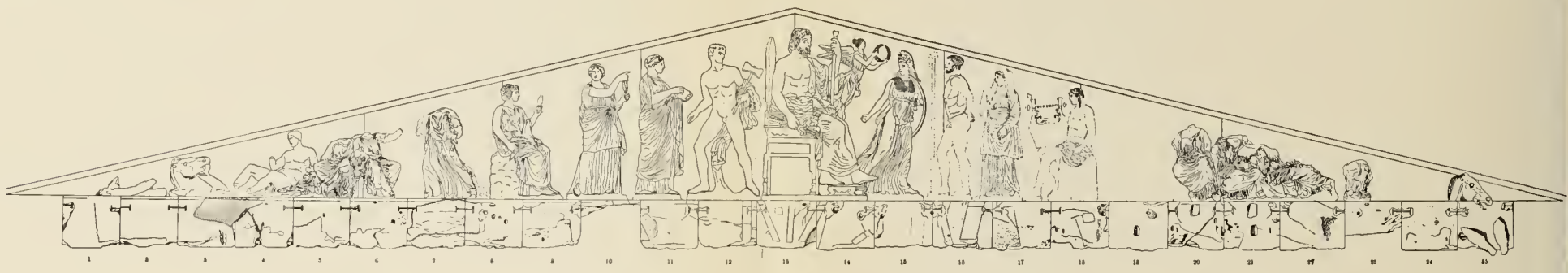
Schwerzek (1904).

, and attempted restorations by E. A. Gardner (1902) and K. Schwerzek (1904).

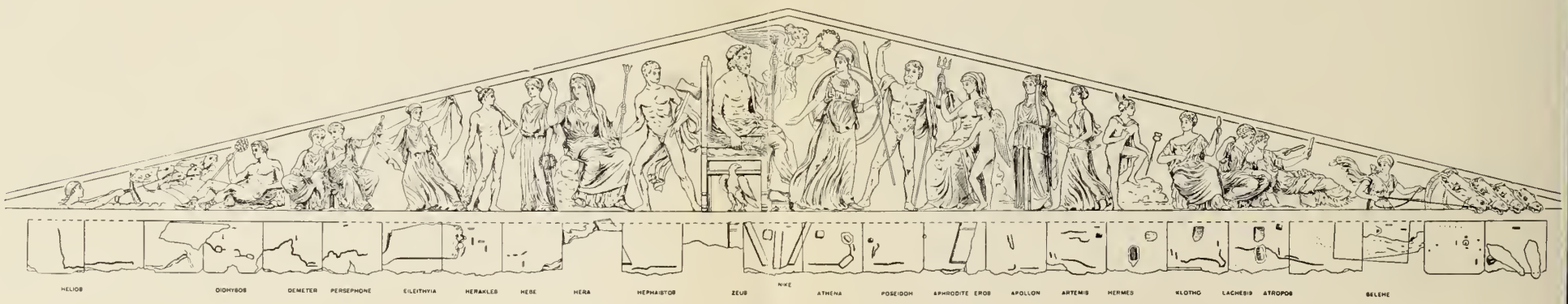
See page 689 ff.



1. J. N. Svoronos (1912).



2. Rhys Carpenter (1933).


HELIOS DIONYSOS DEMETER PERSEPHONE EILEITHYIA HERAKLES HEBE HERA HEPHAISTOS ZEUS NIKE ATHENA POSEIDON APHRODITE EROS APOLLON ARTEMIS HERMES KLOTHO LACHESIS ATROPOS SELENE

3. A. B. Cook (1917).

Attempted restorations of the east pediment of the Parthenon by J. N. Svoronos (1912), Rhys Carpenter (1933), and A. B. Cook (1917).

See page 689 ff.

be determined and arranged in an intelligible series, we are thereby encouraged to play Childe Roland and, undeterred by the fate of our predecessors, once more attack that Dark Tower of Athenian archaeology—the time-honoured problem of reconstructing the eastern pediment of the Parthenon.

Two factors in the situation make the attempt less foolhardy nowadays than it was a century since in the time of Christopher Wordsworth[1]. On the one hand, R. Schneider[2] in 1880 justly emphasized the importance of the Madrid *puteal*[3] and inferred from it that Pheidias' Zeus was seated in profile[4] to the right with the axe-bearer behind him and Athena before. On the other hand, B. Sauer[5] in 1890—1891 published and discussed the first minutely accurate chart of the *Standspuren* or actual traces left by the sculptures on the floor of the gable[6]. His investigation corrected Schneider's idea that Zeus occupied the middle of the pediment[7]

[1] C. Wordsworth *Athens and Attica* London 1836 p. 116 'The attempt to *infer* the treatment and details of the altorilievo groupe which once occupied the *eastern* pediment from the fragments of it which remain, would be as futile an enterprise as that to reconstruct an Athenian Tragedy from a few broken lines.'

[2] R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 42.

[3] *Supra* p. 657 ff. Others have attached little or no weight to the *puteal*, on the ground that its figures were neo-Attic—'eine Compilation älterer Typen' (P. Arndt in *Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 1724—30 Text vi. 42 ff.) or 'klassizistische Einzeltypen' (E. Pfuhl in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 170). Thus, for example, W. Amelung *Die Basis des Praxiteles aus Mantinea* München 1895 p. 13 ff. maintains that the Fates of the *puteal* were taken from fourth-century prototypes closely resembling the Muses of the Mantinean base, and that they are therefore *non*-Pheidiac in character and *post*-Parthenonian in date—a view sufficiently refuted by Rhys Carpenter in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 123 ff. Most critics, however, would admit that the *puteal*-groups, even if they were mediate rather than immediate copies of the pediment, are yet highly relevant to a reconstruction of their lost originals (*supra* p. 660 n. 0).

[4] This would not necessarily preclude the slightly oblique position assigned to the throne and body of Zeus by K. Schwerzek *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 p. 17: 'Wegen der geringen Tiefe des Giebels ist es nämlich aus technischen Gründen ganz unmöglich, die Zeus-Statue in der reinen Vorder- oder Seitenansicht anzuordnen.'

[5] B. Sauer in the *Ant. Denkm.* i. 48 ff. pl. 58, B and C, *id.* 'Untersuchungen über die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 59—94 pl. 3.

[6] Rhys Carpenter in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 130 ff. fig. 7 and pl. 3, A was still operating with Sauer's floor-plan, but in 1931—thanks to the great scaffoldings erected by M. Balanos—he was able to pay repeated visits to the actual floor and in various points to control or supplement the observations of his predecessor (*Hesperia* 1933 ii. 2—12 with pls. 1 (photograph of floor-blocks 19—11) and 2 (=my pl. lviii, 2: restoration of pediment and revised plan of floor)).

[7] R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 42 'Zeus—alle übrigen Figuren an Grösse überragend—in der Mitte, rechts die neugeborne Tochter, links der Geburtshelfer' etc. J. Six 'Die Mittelgruppe des östlichen Parthenongiebels' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. 83—87 with fig. adopts this solution of the problem in a restoration justly derided by A. Furtwängler *Intermezzi* Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 23 f.

by showing that the central marks required, not one colossal figure, but two large-sized figures of about equal weight[1]. E. Pfuhl[2] in 1926 improved upon this by arguing from a fresh consideration of the same *data* that, of the two central figures, the left was heavier than the right and apparently rectangular in plan.

It will be observed that the citation of the *Standspuren* was by no means fatal to the relevancy of the Madrid *puteal*. Indeed it

Rhys Carpenter, deaf to derision, revives Six' central group in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 132 f. pl. 3, A with a drawing which E. Pfuhl in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 168 n. 2 condemns as incompatible with the floor-traces 'und auch sonst unmöglich.' Unperturbed by hard words, Rhys Carpenter returns to the charge in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 1, 34—39 with fig. 7 and pl. 2 (=my pl. lviii, 2), where he still advocates a colossal Zeus sitting in *quasi*-profile to the right on a central throne 'not set quite parallel to the tympanon but at this slight angle of about 3°. By this minute turn the throne was swung sufficiently to suggest that the pose was not a pure profile, and the torsion in the upper body of Zeus was made more natural. The narrowness of the pediment prevented a more thoroughgoing displacement. On the Madrid puteal relief the throne of Zeus is drawn with exactly this slight but indispensable obliquity.'

Many of the older authorities assumed a central Zeus enthroned *en face* with Athena either emergent above his head (R. Schneider *op. cit.* pl. 2 Quatremère de Quincy, pl. 3 E. Gerhard) or in close proximity to him (*ib.* pl. 5 C. R. Cockerell, pl. 6 L. Drossis). The model exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of New York is of this latter type (W. H. Appleton in *Art and Archaeology* 1916 iv. 11 with pl. on p. 20).

[1] Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 30—39 discusses in great detail the floor-marks of the pediment, which he regards as pointing clearly and unmistakably to the existence of a single central statue of formidable weight—Zeus enthroned to the right as on the Madrid *puteal*. This arrangement is plausible and, I suppose, possible. But it suffers from three serious drawbacks. It involves a grave discrepancy with the scheme of the western pediment, which had two central figures, not one. It makes Zeus bulk too big in a temple that belonged to Athena. And it is eked out by a grouping of the Fates, etc., which to me at least is very unconvincing (see *e.g.* the criticisms of C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 i. 272).

A. Furtwängler *Intermezzi* Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 22 f. had likewise disputed Sauer's conclusion, arguing that the two stout iron bars converging on block 13 were intended to support the plinth of a heavy central figure. He proposed to find that figure in the 'torso Medici' of the École des Beaux Arts at Paris. But later (*Aegina* München 1906 i. 330 f.) he confessed himself convinced by further argumentation on the part of Sauer (*Der Weber-Laborde'sche Kopf und die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon* Giessen 1903) and reverted to his original view that the 'torso Medici' is a copy of the so-called '*Promachos*' of the Akropolis.

[2] E. Pfuhl in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 169 f. 'Der Gedanke, dass beide Barren (*sc.* embedded in the central *geîson*-block no. 13) die gleiche Last trugen, steht im Widerspruch mit allen Analogien beider Giebel. Diese lehren, dass die lange und die quadratische Randbank zum linken Barren, der kleine Randbankansatz vorn rechts neben der langen Randbank zum rechten Barren gehört. Folglich liegt hier, fast genau in der Mitte des Giebels, die Grenze zwischen zwei Statuen. Die Standplatte der rechten Statue zeichnet sich durch Leere, Randbänke und zwei Dübel, die ein Vorkippen verhinderten, deutlich ab; zu ihr gehört ein Stabloch vor dem Barren. Dieser nahm dem Geisonblock 13 das Gewicht der von 14 her auf ihn übergreifenden Statue ab, denn 13 war von 12 her schwer belastet. Dem entspricht der grosse Barren gleich rechts auf 12: er trug an derselben schweren Last mit. Wir haben also jederseits der Mitte zwei ungleiche Gestalten; die linke war schwerer und allem Anschein nach gerade und rechtwinklig begrenzt.'

was with an eye to both sources of evidence that the sculptor K. Schwerzek[1] in 1904 produced the first really satisfactory filling of the central space—Zeus enthroned to the right, Athena moving away from him but facing left, and Nike hovering between them wreath in hand. A. Prandtl[2] in 1908, following the *puteal* with more absolute fidelity, went further in the same direction. He plotted in, not only Zeus, Athena, and Nike[3], but also the axe-bearing god

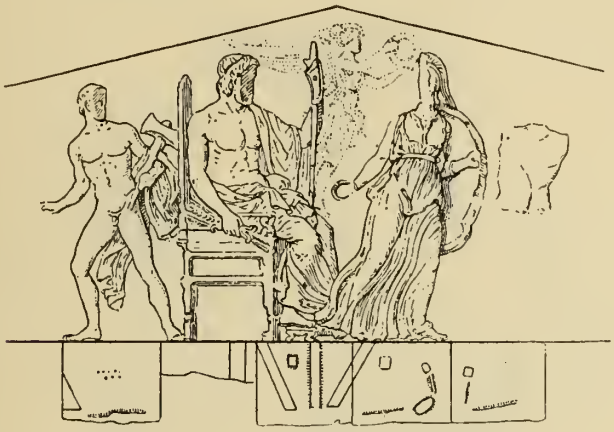


Fig. 499.

behind the throne of Zeus. Moreover, taking a hint from Sauer, he added next to Athena the extant torso of a god starting back in surprise or alarm[4]. This fine figure on the right aptly balances the retreating axe-bearer on the left.

[1] K. Schwerzek *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 p. 7 ff. pl. 1 (=my pl. lvii, 3), W. K. Malmberg in *Zapiski* (Transactions of the Classical Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society) 1904 i pl. 24—25, 2.

[2] A. Prandtl 'Fragmente der Giebelgruppen des Parthenon' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1908 xxxiii. 1 ff. fig. 1 (=my fig. 499). Prandtl would recognise, among the fragments attributed to the Parthenon pediments, the right heel of the axe-bearer, the left hand and part of the drapery of Zeus, also two fragments from the right wing of Nike.

Frag. 36 in A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 23 pl. 14 A (fig. 500), a right male thigh, to the knee (height 0·41[m]), is on a scale large enough to suit this axe bearer.

Fig. 500.

[3] E. Pfuhl, like B. Sauer, regards a hovering Nike as 'undenkbar' and postulates at most a Nike held in the god's hand (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 170).

[4] A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 22 pl. 13, 11, M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris s.a. p. 31 pl. 52, H and H[1].

Approaching the matter by a different route Sir Cecil Smith[1] had in 1907 arrived at substantially similar results, at least in so far as the three central figures were concerned. He based his argument on the acute observation that Attic vases painted within a decade or so of the erection of the pediment 'are full of suggestions of motives directly or indirectly borrowed from the Parthenon.' In parti-

Fig. 501.

cular he referred to the magnificent *kratér* of the Villa Giulia (*supra* ii. 737 with fig. 668) as evidence that Pheidias filled the central space by Zeus seated towards the right, Athena standing before him, and Nike with a wreath hovering between them in the apex (fig. 501)[2].

[1] C. Smith 'The Central Groups of the Parthenon Pediments' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1907 xxvii. 242—248 with figs. 1 (=my fig. 501), 2, 3.

[2] He contends that the types of Zeus and of Athena (with her crested helmet and gorgeous *péplos*) are precisely what we should expect of Pheidias, that a hovering Victory

He also cited the polychrome *pelike* from Jüz Oba (*supra* ii. 258 ff. pl. xvi) as another vase reminiscent of the Parthenonian design.

We may take it, then, that this disposition of the central group is so highly probable as to be practically certain. But, before attempting to extend it right and left, I would draw attention to one or two details.

It is surely hard to believe that Pheidias would have left, as on the Madrid *puteal*, a large blank rectangle beneath the throne of Zeus. K. Schwerzek in his reconstruction (pl. lvii, 3) tries to minimise

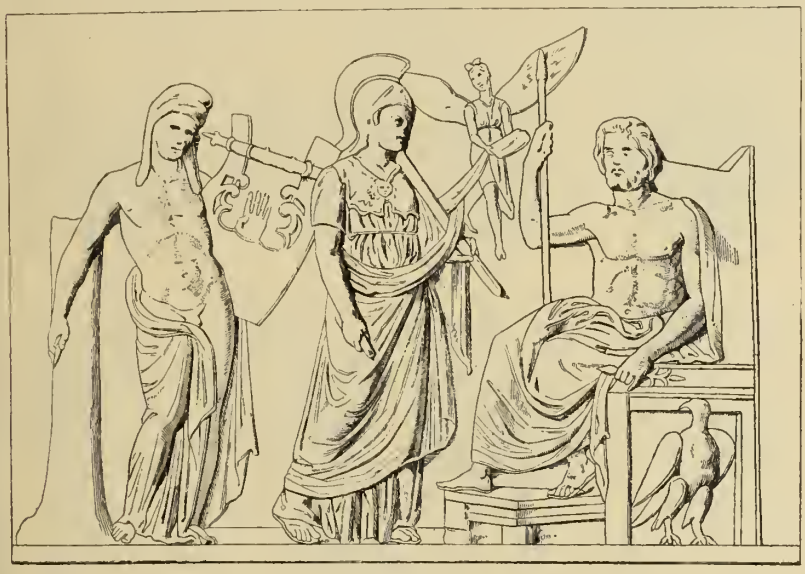


Fig. 502.

this objectionable feature by inserting a cross-bar and a sunk panel between the legs of the throne. The effect is not good: Zeus appears to be seated on a pile of boxes. It occurred to me[1] that a simple

would admirably fill the apex of the pediment, and that the vase-painter observing the statuary-group from below might well indicate, as he has done, the under-surface of the throne of Zeus. The last of these arguments is, I think, the weakest: the drawing of the throne may be merely an effect of pseudoperspective (see *supra* p. 92 with fig. 33 and *e.g.* Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 604 f., Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 145 ('Was ganz besonders auffällt, ist die stark betonte Unteransicht verschiedener Gegenstände, z. B. sieht man unter die Kline, unter Laomedons Chiton hinein, von dem Schemel sogar sämtliche Querleisten seiner Unterfläche')).

[1] I first put forward my reconstruction in a paper read to the Hellenic Society on 13 Feb. 1917 (*Journ. Hell. Soc.* 1917 xxxvii p. xliv ff.). But years afterwards I found that already in 1912 J. N. Svoronos had hit upon the same solution of this particular problem (*Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 274 pl. IΘ') and had sought to justify it by sundry parallels drawn from coin-types (*e.g.* Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 15 no. 53

way out of the difficulty would be to place an eagle below the throne. There were ancient religious reasons for fixing an eagle in the pediment of a temple[1], and it seemed natural to put the lightning-bird in immediate juxtaposition with the thunderbolt of Zeus. My conjecture was confirmed by the design of another *puteal* (fig. 502)[2], clearly a later variation on the Pheidiac theme, which transposes left for right but retains the bird beneath the throne.

A second detail in regard to which I should differ from Sauer, Schwerzek, and E. A. Gardner[3] is that they all make Athena hold her lance in the right hand. But, thus held, it endangers the well-meaning Nike; or, if Nike be absent, at least it interposes a weapon

Fig. 503.

Fig. 504.

Fig. 505.

Fig. 506.

Fig. 507.

Fig. 508.

Fig. 509.

Fig. 510.

of offence between the new-born goddess and her sire, while it creates an ugly parallel or *quasi*-parallel with his sceptre. Besides, Athenian bronze coins of imperial date (figs. 503—510)[4] represent an

pl. 48, 8 a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius) and votive reliefs (Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 142 no. 2357, pl. 143 no. 2383, pl. 219 no. ii. 1330, cp. O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 25, O. Walter in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1910 xiii Beiblatt p. 229 ff. figs. 141—143 [*supra* ii. 1161 fig. 969]).

[1] *Supra* i. 259. It may be added that the Zeus enthroned in the eastern pediment of the old Hekatompedon held an eagle in his hand (T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 105 fig. 108, p. 106 fig. 109).

[2] E. Curtius in the *Mon. ed Ann. d. Inst.* 1856 p. 29 ff. pl. 5 = my fig. 502 (from the cast of a marble well-mouth or altar since lost), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 170 (L) Atlas pl. 1, 48, Apollon p. 276 f. (no. 20). Zeus, Nike, Athena, Apollon (?Orpheus).

[3] E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 308 'Sketch Restoration of East Pediment.'

[4] E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 390, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 129 f. pl. Z, 8—10, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 85, 8—31, 32—37, cp. 38—40. My figs. 504, 506, 508, and 510

Athena identical, as Schneider[1] points out, with the goddess of the Madrid *puteal* and therefore, as Svoronos[2] saw, clearly derived from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon[3]: this Athena is shown proceeding from Zeus[4] but looking back towards him with a gesture of uncertain import[5]; she carries her shield and commonly her spear too in the left hand. The same type occurs on engraved gems

Fig. 511.

Fig. 512.

Fig. 513.

are from Beulé *loc. cit.*; fig. 503, from Svoronos pl. 85, 24 Paris; fig. 505, from Svoronos pl. 85, 19 Athens; fig. 507, from Svoronos pl. 85, 8 Gotha; fig. 509, from Svoronos pl. 85, 35 McClean.

[1] R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 39 pl. 1, 3.

[2] J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 274 pl. Ιϛ', 4, 9, 10.

[3] C. Robert in *Hermes* 1881 xvi. 68 f., E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 251 ff., and Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 389 f. no. 1176 traced this type of Athena to the west, not the east, pediment. But, apart from the fact that Athena is moving in the wrong direction, her right arm should then have been raised to hold the spear. These critics were misled by the presence of the olive and the snake—variable attributes, which, like the owl, were useful for filling a blank on the circular field of the coin.

[4] J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 273 pl. Ιϛ', 2 and 1 (=*id. Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 92, 3 Athens and 4 A. Romanos) thinks that certain rare Athenian bronze coins of imperial date, which represent Zeus enthroned towards the right with a sceptre in his right hand and an eagle on his left, were likewise copied from the Zeus of the eastern pediment. He modifies his restoration accordingly (*Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv pl. ΙΘ'), but is inconsistent enough to accept the sceptre in the god's right hand while he rejects the eagle on his left as '*προσθήκη τοῦ σφραγιδογλύφου*.' It seems wiser to follow throughout the pattern of the *puteal*.

[5] S. W. Grose in the *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 364 f. no. 5949 'patera in extended r. hand,' no. 5950 'patera not clear.' But is there any *patera*, clear or otherwise, on either specimen? Cp. *supra* p. 572 n. 4.

On a bronze medallion of Commodus, struck in the year 191 A.D., a very similar Minerva holds a sprig of olive in her outstretched hand (Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 137 f. fig., Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 57 no. 47 pl. 81, 6 Paris. The specimen, formerly in the Weber collection and now in the British Museum, figured by Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 129 pl. Z, 13 shows Minerva plucking the sprig from the olive, but is unfortunately 'troppo ritoccato' (Gnecchi *loc. cit.*)).

(fig. 511)[1], sometimes in an architectural surround which to some extent confirms our attribution of the original to the Parthenon (figs. 512, 513)[2].

The central group thus determined is flanked by the axe-bearer starting to escape behind the throne of Zeus and a male deity recoiling in astonishment from Athena. If the axe-bearer was Hephaistos or Prometheus, some other name must be found for this god. Following Furtwängler[3], I have identified him with Poseidon[4] and restored him in an attitude somewhat resembling that of Myron's Marsyas[5]. I do so with some confidence, partly because

[1] A cornelian of Graeco-Roman date, from the Hertz collection (C. W. King *Antique Gems and Rings* London 1872 ii. 52 pl. 19 B, 9 (=my fig. 511), Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 45, ii. 207).

[2] E. Gerhard *Über die Minervenidole Athens* Berlin 1844 p. 24 pl. 4, 2 (=my fig. 512) '*Athena Promachos*' from an unpublished gem, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 153 f. pl. 20, 216[c].

A. F. Gori *Museum Florentinum* Gemmae antiquae ex thesauro Mediceo et privatorum dactyliothecis Florentiae exhibitae tab. cc Florentiae 1732 ii. 124 pl. 77 no. 2, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 66, no. 77, 2 pl. 66 (=my fig. 513), from a red jasper of the '*Mus. Gherard.*'

These two gems, if genuine (and there is no obvious reason to doubt them), appear to be of Roman imperial date.

[3] A. Furtwängler *Intermezzi* Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 28 f.

[4] Note that Poseidon occupied a similar position to the right of the central group in several of the vase-paintings already considered (*supra* figs. 485, 491, 493 (?)), though in others he was placed on the left (*supra* figs. 492 (?), 497).

J. N. Svoronos in his restoration (*Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 283 f. pl. IΘ′) completes this figure as Ares carrying a trophy—a numismatic type for which he would have done better to substitute Ares the shield-bearer (*supra* fig. 477 and pl. liii. Cp. Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 116, 3, ii. 20, 1).

[5] Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 465. His observation *ib.* n. 3 'Only the right arm was lifted up, not both as is generally stated. The difference in the marking of the muscles on back and breast between the two sides shows this indubitably' is traversed by K. Schwerzek *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 p. 25 'beide Achseln zeigen, dass die Arme erhoben waren... der rechte Arm viel höher kommt als der linke, obgleich beide fast gleichmässig in die Höhe streben.' The question is one for anatomists to decide.

Among the extant fragments attributed to the pediments by A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 22 ff. I have found two (figs. 514, 515) which may fairly be referred to this Pheidiac Poseidon. One (*frag.* 34 pl. 13) is part of a colossal right hand (Smith inadvertently says 'left'), held up, thrown back, and spread open. The other (*frag.* 39 pl. 14 A) is part of a colossal right foot, of which Smith justly remarks: 'The hinder part of the foot seems to have been slightly raised from the ground.' Both fragments are of the right size to form the extremities of that splendid body, which we commonly call Torso H. They help to assure me that H does not spell Hephaistos. And here I part company with my friend Mr Smith, who in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 111 attributed the torso to Hephaistos or Prometheus, adding: 'Perhaps both hands held an axe above the head, as if about to strike.' That was a plausible suggestion, but surely mistaken; for not one of our vase-types showed Hephaistos in act to strike—he was always consistently running away with lowered axe. Eighteen years later in *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* p. 22 Mr Smith modified his opinion: 'It is probable that

the west pediment also places a Marsyas-like[1] Poseidon next to an impetuously moving Athena—the result being a sort of echo from front to back of the temple—, and partly because the Finlay relief on a vase of Pentelic marble now at Athens combines the Athena of the east pediment with Marsyas himself in a Hellenistic reproduction of Myron's group[2]. It may be added that energy and movement, actual or potential, is thoroughly characteristic of Poseidon in all periods of Greek art[3].

Continuing our reconstruction we next note that immediately beyond Hephaistos on the left and Poseidon on the right broad iron bars were set askew in, or rather just over, the floor of the gable. These, as Sauer pointed out[4], were meant to support (on the cantilever principle[5]) two heavy seated figures; and, *ceteris paribus*, it may be presumed that the said figures faced towards the centre in three-quarter position, *i.e.* along the lines of the supporting bars[6].

Fig. 514.

Fig. 515.

the figure was represented as drawing back, after the stroke by which the cleaving of the head of Zeus was accomplished.' It is more probable still that Torso H was Poseidon, not Hephaistos at all.

[1] E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 254, *id. A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* London 1897 p. 276.

[2] G. Hirschfeld *Athena und Marsyas* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xxxii) Berlin 1872 p. 7 pl. 2, 2, H. Heydemann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1872 xxx. 96, R. Kekulé *ib.* 1874 xxxii. 93 pl. 8, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 194 no. 456, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 466 f. fig. 242, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 136 ff. no. 127 pl. 26 (with fullest bibliography), Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 29 no. 127, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 157 with fig. 586.

[3] See *e.g.* Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Poseidon p. 243 ff. ('Das Ideal des Poseidon'), H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2860 ff.

[4] B. Sauer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 62, 69 no. 10, 70 no. 16, 87.

[5] W. B. Dinsmoor 'Structural Iron in Greek Architecture' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1922 xxvi. 148 ff. (especially pp. 156—158), Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 6—8.

[6] Sauer *loc. cit.* p. 87 thought otherwise ('Die Figuren wären dann wie Zeus im Profil zu denken').

They probably sat on rocks[1], not on thrones[2]; for the presence of other thrones would inevitably have detracted from the majesty of Zeus.

But have we definite evidence as to the name and nature of any such figure? I make bold to maintain that we have. In 1901 C. Waldstein[3] (Sir Charles Walston) published two marble statuettes, which had been bought at Rome in 1892 for the Dresden Albertinum. They are of the same uncommon dimensions[4]; and, since they were bought together, they had in all probability been found together—a couple of figures from the pediment or pediments of a small-sized shrine. One of them is a free copy of the reclining god ('Ilissos' or 'Kephisos') from the west pediment of the Parthenon, not uninfluenced by the corresponding figure ('Theseus') of the east pediment. The other (fig. 516)[5] represents a goddess half-draped in an ample *himátion*, which, as the folds at the back indicate, covered her head behind like a veil and was drawn upwards by her right hand. Beyond all question she is an Aphrodite, and an Aphrodite of Pheidiac type[6]. We need not,

[1] So in the restoration proposed by E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 308.

[2] A. Furtwängler *Intermezzi* Leipzig—Berlin p. 29 flanked his central Athena (*supra* p. 690 n. 1) by Zeus enthroned on the left and Hera enthroned on the right. J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv pl. IΘ′ has Dionysos enthroned on the left, Poseidon rock-seated on the right—a clumsy, lop-sided expedient.

[3] C. Waldstein in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* December 1901 civ. 12—18.

[4] The male figure measures 0·35^{m} long by 0·20^{m} high; the female figure, 0·31^{m} long by 0·31^{m} high. Cp. the marble statuettes, one-third of full size, found at Eleusis and similarly derived from the west pediment of the Parthenon (D. Philios in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1888 p. 27 (cp. *ib.* 1887 p. 51), *id.* in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 124 n. 1, p. 218 ff. pl. 12 f., E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1889 x. 271, Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 59 nos. 200—202, Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1932 i. 11 ff., 22 ff., C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 457).

[5] From a photograph of the cast at Cambridge.

[6] The broad treatment of the body with its widely-spaced breasts, the easy yet dignified pose, the simple, harmonious drapery, and the action necessarily attributed to the right hand, all go to prove the Pheidiac character of this little figure. It is, therefore, of considerable interest as evidence of a semi-draped Aphrodite in the fifth century B.C.

After my paper to the Hellenic Society (*supra* p. 693 n. 1) I received a letter (Feb. 19, 1917) from my friend Mr (now Sir George) Hill containing the politest of demurrers: 'Are you sure about the semi-nude Aphrodite? It looks to me, fine as it is, far too sensuous, not to say sensual, to be a Pheidian type. Is there any other case as early, except under Oriental influence, of a semi-nude Aphrodite? It struck a jarring note to me in what was otherwise a concord of sweet sounds. And how do you reconcile her with the Aphrodite of the frieze? Are those statuettes genuine??'

It has not, I think, been noticed that evidence for half-draped female figures in Attic sculpture at least as early as 425—423 B.C. (the date of the play: see G. H. Macurdy *The Chronology of the extant Plays of Euripides* Lancaster, Pa 1905 pp. 5, 40 ff., cp. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 361 n. 2) may be drawn from

therefore, hesitate to accept Waldstein's contention that she has preserved to us one of the missing figures from the east gable of the Parthenon. And, since she is seated on a rock in precisely the position that we require, I have restored her[1] as occupying the block adjacent to Poseidon[2]. We have already seen a probable case of Aphrodite ranged next to Poseidon in the right-hand half of a

Fig. 516.

Eur. *Hec.* 557 ff. *κἀπεὶ τόδ' εἰσήκουσε δεσποτῶν ἔπος,* | *λαβοῦσα πέπλους ἐξ ἄκρας ἐπωμίδος ἔρρηξε λαγόνος ἐς μέσον παρ' ὀμφαλόν,* | *μαστούς τ' ἔδειξε στέρνα θ' ὡς ἀγάλματος* | *κάλλιστα.*

[1] *Supra* ii pl. xxxiii.

[2] C. Waldstein *loc. cit.* p. 18 originally gave her a different position: 'I should place her in the left half of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, immediately following the extant figure of Iris, the body turned towards the Iris, the head towards the centre...and I should call her Aphrodite.' But this position will not suit the marks in the gable-floor, which at that point demand two standing figures, not one seated figure. Later, in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 295 fig. 20, Waldstein was willing to accept my restoration of the goddess, whose head he thought to identify with the 'Aphrodite' of Holkham Hall—a notion promptly and properly scouted by G. Dickins *ib.* 1914 xxxiv. 122 ff. Waldstein's rejoinder *ib.* p. 312 ff. is unconvincing.

vase-picture showing the birth of Athena[1]; and it will be granted that this association of the foam-born goddess with the sea-god was reasonable enough. The amount of rock visible at her left side makes it likely that here, as on the frieze, she was grouped with an Eros[2] standing at her knee.

As a counterpoise to Aphrodite we need another figure seated on a rock in three-quarter position towards the right. A suitable personage would be Hera, who in sundry vase-illustrations of the birth appears behind the throne of Zeus[3], and is expressly mentioned

Fig. 517.

[1] *Supra* p. 675 n. 2.

[2] A fragment of this figure perhaps survives in a left thigh of marble (fig. 518: height 0·32^{m}) attributed by A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 202 pl. 8, 39 to the nude seated female S in the west pediment, but by A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 196 f. no. 335 (cp. *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 22 *frag.* 6 pl. 13) to the boy E in the same pediment.

Fig. 518.

[3] (1) A black-figured *amphora* from Vulci, now in the British Museum (G. Henzen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1842 xiv. 90—103, *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pls. 44 and 45$_{A}$ Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 217 ff. pl. 65 A (=my fig. 517), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* II. 103 ff. no. B 147). Hera (HEPA) stands next to Hephaistos.

(2) A black-figured *amphora* from the Campana collection, now in the Louvre (J. Roulez in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 307 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 56, 2 (=my fig. 530), E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2^{me} Série Paris 1901 p. 80 no. E 861 pl. 60 (reverse), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 107 f. figs. 76 and 77). Hera, not named but carrying sceptre, stands next to Dionysos.

(3) A black-figured *amphora* from Italy (?), formerly in the Fould collection, now in the Louvre (G. Conestabile in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1861 p. 214 f., R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 10 no. 11, Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* iii. 729 no. F 32, *id.* in the *Corp. vas. ant.* Louvre iii H. *e* pl. 14, 8 (obverse), pl. 15, 2 (reverse), pl. 16, 3 (detail) with text p. 12 no. 8). Hera (?), not named and without attributes, stands next to Poseidon.

by Philostratos of Lemnos (born *c.* 190 A.D.[1]) in a rhetorical description of the scene as portrayed in a picture-gallery at Naples[2]. Schwerzek has restored her as enthroned in the right place[3]. But we want a rock-seat, not a throne. And it so happens that on the east frieze of the Hephaisteion ('Theseion'[4]), a temple whose sculptures owe much to direct imitation of the Parthenon[5], we find Hera sitting on a rock in just the requisite attitude. I have transferred her bodily from Sauer's drawing of the 'Theseion' frieze[6] to my restoration of the Parthenon pediment[7], not of course as a certain, but at least as a possible or even probable, figure in the composition[8].

[1] Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 336.

[2] Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 2. 27. 2 *καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς "Ηρας τι δεινὸν ἐνταῦθα, γέγηθε δέ, ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ αὐτῆς ἐγένετο.*

[3] K. Schwerzek *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 p. 21 with pl. (=my pl. lvii, 3).

[4] *Supra* p. 223 n. 6.

[5] Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 461 ff., B. Sauer *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck* Leipzig 1899 p. 209 ff.

[6] Sauer *op. cit.* pl. 3, 7 with over-leaf.

[7] *Supra* ii pl. xxxiii.

[8] Again I would draw attention to three fragments of the pedimental sculptures extant at Athens (figs. 519—521).

(*a*) (*b*)

Fig. 519.

One is a large female head (height 0·35[m]), which J. Six in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 66 f. fig. 2 described as 'a nearly formless block.' That is a bit too severe. A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 198 no. 339, 2 and in *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 22 *frag.* 15 pl. 14 A had been content to say 'much defaced.' Points deserving of emphasis are these. It was certainly a veiled female head. It appears to have worn a head-band or *stephánē*. And in both respects it resembles the Hera of the Hephaisteion ('Thescion').

At this point prudence would perhaps pause, content with probabilities, for in what follows the element of conjecture is necessarily larger. Nevertheless a bow drawn at a venture has before now hit the mark. So I proceed with as much circumspection as the facts allow.

Between Hera and the first of the extant figures from the southern angle is a gap, which—as the floor-traces suggest—was once filled by two standing persons. But, since these persons have entirely disappeared, how are we to identify and restore them? Our only clue will be the fact noted above[1], that Attic vases painted within a few decades from the completion of the pediment are full of motives derived from the Parthenon. Now a splendid *kratér* at Petrograd (fig. 522)[2], attributed by J. D. Beazley to his 'Kadmos

The other two fragments possibly derived from the same figure are a left breast (height 0·185^{m}) with close-fitting *chitôn* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 202 no. 339, 29, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* p. 24 *frag.* 87 pl. 14 B) and the front part (width 0·35^{m}) of a sandalled right foot (*The Sculptures of the Parthenon* p. 23 *frag.* 40 pl. 14 A).

Fig. 520.

Fig. 521.

So far as I can judge, these three fragments fall well into place on my drawing, which was—I may say—completed before I began my search for confirmatory remnants. On the other hand, Six *loc. cit.* p. 66 claims that the veiled head was found by Ross before the western front of the Parthenon. If that be so, it of course tells against the assignment of *frag.* 15 to my seated Hera. But the statements of Ross himself are not quite so explicit and leave some room for doubt (L. Ross *Archäologische Aufsätze* Leipzig 1855 i. 89 f. 'Die Ausgrabung ist jetzt (*sc.* 1835) schon bis an die Mitte der Westseite [des Unterbaus] des Tempels fortgeführt....Die Menge der gefundenen Bruchstücke von Bildhauerarbeit und Inschriften ist gross....Unter den übrigen Bruchstücken sind noch viele sehr schöne, namentlich ein Paar Fragmente von Köpfen, die aber wohl nicht (A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 196 on nos. 8 and 9 asks: 'warum nicht?') zu den Figuren des Giebelfeldes gehören möchten; von einer der Metopen der Südseite ist ein sehr schön erhaltener Centaurenkopf ausgegraben worden,' etc.). Such a dump of fragments as he reports, some sculptured, others inscribed, may well have yielded a stray piece from any part of the building. Smith in the British Museum publications simply ignores the alleged find-spot.

[1] *Supra* p. 692.

[2] *Supra* ii. 262 n. 4, iii. 184 n. 1 (1). The obverse of this vase is published in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 Atlas pl 3 (=my fig. 522); the reverse, *ib.* pl. 4 (=my ii pl. xvii).

Fig. 522.

Painter'[1] (*c.* 420—410 B.C.[2]), depicts the judgment of Paris in terms, so to speak, of the eastern pediment. The scene is flanked by two *quadrigae*. In the centre an armed Athena stands before her judge. To the right is a seated Aphrodite grouped with Eros; to the left, a seated Hera with Hebe standing behind her. I submit that in Pheidias' design too Hebe stood behind Hera. And, if so, her companion was almost certainly Herakles, whose presence at the birth of Athena is attested by vases of our first[3] and third[4] types. This conjecture is strengthened by the fact that on the *kratér* of the Villa Giulia[5], which demonstrably borrowed its three central figures[6] and very possibly borrowed all its figures from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, Herakles and Hebe stand side by side. In my restoration I have adopted from that *kratér* the gesture of Hebe's right hand, which may be characteristic as it occurs in another vase-representation of her[7], and also the entire figure of Herakles[8], including his club and lion-skin[9].

[1] J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 451 no. 5. Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 191 no. 44 had been content with a more general attribution to the circle of Meidias.

[2] M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 193. If this dating is sound, I have placed the vase somewhat too late *supra* ii. 262.

[3] *Supra* p. 665 n. 3 (fig. 477).

[4] *Supra* p. 700 n. 3 (1) (fig. 517).

[5] *Supra* ii. 737 with fig. 668.

[6] *Supra* p. 692 (fig. 501).

[7] A red-figured *kratér* from Ruvo, in the Jatta collection (no. 1093) (F. Gargallo-Grimaldi in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 160—166, *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 42, 1, 2, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* ii. 890 f. fig. 965 ([Κυβ]ήβη!), O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2453 f. fig. 5), attributed to 'the Kadmos Painter' (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 451 no. 1).

[8] In order to make Herakles approach from the left, not from the right, I had a tracing of the vase-figure turned back for front.

Frag. 51 in A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 23 pl. 14 A (fig. 523) is perhaps part of Herakles' left thigh (height 0·26^{m}).

Fig. 523.

[9] One interesting result of this procedure is that we obtain a Pheidiac prototype of the Lansdowne Herakles (*Specimens of Ancient Sculpture*...selected from different collections in Great Britain by the Society of the Dilettanti London 1809 i pl. 40, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* v. 14 pl. 788 fig. 1973, cp. pl. 802 G fig. 1973 A (reversed), Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pls. 691 and 692 with Text pp. 1—5 by A. Preyss. See also A. Kalkmann *Die Proportionen des Gesichts in der griechischen Kunst* Berlin 1893 p. 61, C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 84, 160, 170, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 135 with fig. 707). That famous statue portrays the hero in a very similar pose and with very similar proportions. Critics have regarded it sometimes as Lysippean (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* Cambridge 1882 p. 451 f., P. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 126 ff., 1905 xxv. 234 ff., W. W. Hyde *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art* Washington 1921 p. 298), sometimes as Scopaic (B. Graef in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 iv. 189 ff., Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 296 f. fig. 125, M. Collignon *Scopas et*

The gap between Aphrodite and the extant marbles from the northern angle is wider, and requires three figures to fill it. At first sight this might seem a yet more hopeless task. But in point of fact we are here much helped by the floor-traces and by certain *à priori* reasonings. The traces in the floor appear to show[1] that the two blocks behind Aphrodite were occupied by one figure standing and another advancing from right to left. The remaining block was covered by a mass of marble supporting a third figure, which probably faced right, since the drawing attributed to Carrey and now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale has the head of the nearest seated goddess turned towards the left as if in conversation[2] (pl. lvii, 1).

Now the vase-paintings regularly represent two witnesses of the birth for whom room has not so far been found—Hermes holding his *caduceus* and Apollon playing his *kithára*. Several modern critics accordingly have suggested that Hermes should be installed next to the extant figures on the north: he would thus balance the hasting female ('Iris') on the south. To this position he has been relegated by A. Furtwängler[3], E. A. Gardner[4] (pl. lvii, 2), K. Schwerzek[5] (pl. lvii, 3), J. N. Svoronos[6] (pl. lviii, 1), and Rhys Carpenter[7]. It has not, however, been noticed how admirably the Hermes of the Villa Giulia vase is adapted to fill the space.

Praxitèle Paris 1907 p. 34. cp. F. P. Johnson *Lysippos* Duke Univ. Press 1927 pp. 53 f., 208 ff. pl. 41). But Lysippos, as P. Gardner *locc. citt.* has urged, was alike in style and in date closer to Skopas than is commonly assumed. And both sculptors appear to have been influenced strongly and permanently by the Parthenon marbles. It is therefore by no means improbable that the Lansdowne Herakles is a Lysippean or Scopaic modification of an original to be sought among the missing figures of the east pediment. If we may judge from the Villa Giulia vase on the one hand and the Lansdowne statue on the other, the Pheidiac Herakles turned his head towards the *Standbein*, whereas the Lysippean or Scopaic modification looked towards the *Spielbein*. But that is a change characteristic of the transition from fifth-century to fourth-century sculpture in general.

[1] *Longe aliter* Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 68 ff., 81. He holds that on block 17 was a standing Muse, on block 18 a seated Apollon (both recoverable, the latter with a right-for-left turn, from the Mantinean base), and on block 19 probably a Hermes (less probably an Iris) running or moving rapidly towards the right.

[2] L. de Laborde *Athènes aux xv^e^, xvi^e^ et xvii^e^ siècles* Paris 1854 i. 132 pl. (a lithographic facsimile in red and black, the colours of the original). Fraenkel in the *Ant. Denkm.* i. 2 pl. 6 A, 2 and 3, H. Omont *Athènes au XVII^e^ siècle: Dessins des Sculptures du Parthenon* Paris 1898 pl. 1.

[3] A. Furtwängler *Intermezzi* Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 28 f. fig.

[4] E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 307 f. fig.

[5] K. Schwerzek *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 p. 31 pl. 1.

[6] J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 258 ff. pl. IΘ'.

[7] Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 81.

If the painter of that vase was indeed, as we have supposed[1], copying the recently erected Parthenon pediment, then it follows that the beautiful device of giving wings to Hermes' head—a device with a future before it[2]—must be ascribed to Pheidias himself[3]. Again, it has long been known that the restful attitude of the supported foot, a favourite motive with Lysippos[4], is found in the west frieze of the Parthenon, where twice over a youth wearing a *chlamýs* is seen raising his left foot on a rock to tie his shoe-string or fasten his sandal-strap[5]. But now we perceive that Lysippos, who employed the same stance for his wonderful multifacial Hermes[6], was inspired not by a Pheidiac relief but by a

[1] *Supra* pp. 692, 704.

[2] It came to be used, not only for Hermes (C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2400, 2422), but also for the Gorgon (J. Six *De Gorgone* Amstelodami 1885 p. 70 ff.), Perseus (on cap or helmet, but not head: see F. Knatz *Quomodo Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint* Bonnae 1893 pp. 28 ff., 43, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 119 pl. 27, 3), Hypnos (B. Sauer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2849 ff.), the wind-gods (H. Steinmetz in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 33 ff. pl. 3), etc.

[3] On Hermes with winged head in existing copies of fifth- and fourth-century originals see Furtwängler in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 214 f. pl. 11 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 54 f. pl. 24 f.

[4] K. Lange *Das Motiv des aufgestützten Fusses in der antiken Kunst und dessen statuarische Verwendung durch Lysippos* Leipzig 1879 *passim*.

[5] A. S. Murray *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 pp. 122, 157, 159, A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 pl. 65, 12 and pl. 71, 29, M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris (1909—1912) pl. 78, 29 and pl. 83, 12.

[6] Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 420 ff. fig. 220, *id. Lysippe* Paris 1905 p. 71 ff. fig. 16, E. Loewy *The Rendering of Nature in early Greek Art* trans. J. Fothergill London 1907 p. 87 f. fig. 40, F. P. Johnson *Lysippos* Duke Univ. Press 1927 p. 170 ff. pl. 30 f., G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 58. The bronze original stood in the gymnasium called Zeuxippos at Byzantion shortly before 532 A.D., when the building was destroyed by fire (*Anth. Pal.* 2. 297 ff. (Christodoros)).

W. Klein *Praxitelische Studien* Leipzig 1899 p. 4 ff. distinguished two varieties of the sandal-binding 'Hermes.' The statue in the Lansdowne collection (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* Cambridge 1882 p. 464 ff. no. 85 with pl., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 58 f. pl. 30) and the torso at Athens (F. Studniczka in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1886 xi. 362 ff. pl. 9, 1, *Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 733 and 734 with Text iii. 28 by P. Arndt, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 153 no. 10) he compares with the sandal-binding Nike of the Nike-balustrade and assigns to Lysippos. The copies at Munich (Furtwängler *Glyptothek zu München* p. 291 ff. no. 287, *ib.*[2] p. 309 ff. no. 287, *id. Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 63, P. Wolters *Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwigs i. zu München* München 1922 p. 43 f. no. 287 with pl.) and Paris (Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 210 ff. no. 183) he regards as representing an athlete, compares with the figures on the west frieze of the Parthenon, and attributes to a pre-Lysippean master. Klein's results were accepted by E. von Mach *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Sculpture* Boston 1905 p. 249 ff. pl. 238 *a*, *b*, but by nobody else (see *e.g.* Furtwängler *Glyptothek zu München* p. 294 n., *ib.*[2] p. 312 f. n., F. P. Johnson *op. cit.* p. 172 f.), and later were abandoned by Klein himself (W. Klein *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* Leipzig 1905 ii. 364 f.).

Pheidiac sculpture in the round, not by the *épheboi* of the west frieze but by the Hermes of the east pediment[1]. The abiding influence of Pheidias' representation may be judged from the fact that in the pediment of Domitian's Capitoline temple a similar figure of Mercurius occupied almost the same relative position[2].

The two blocks next to Aphrodite were filled, we have said[3], by one figure standing and another advancing from the right. If the former was Apollon *kitharoidós*, the latter was presumably Artemis. Brother and sister thus formed a good pendant to the pair of lovers, Hebe and Herakles, in the opposite wing of the gable. They are restored in this position by Schwerzek[4] (pl. lvii, 3) and in the corresponding position behind Zeus by Furtwängler[5].

Apollon would almost certainly have been wearing the long *chitón* customary with *kithára*-players. His type is, I believe, preserved with slight modifications by the Munich statue of Apollon *kitharoidós*[6], which Furtwängler attributed to Agorakritos, the pupil

It may be observed that one copy of the sandal-fastening Hermes, a statuette in the Vatican (Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 814 fig. 2047), makes the god stand towards the right and raise his left foot. But this inversion of the established pose can hardly be viewed as a survival of the Parthenon motive.

[1] Of the actual statue one possible portion (fig. 524) remains, two fragments at Athens which together make the right knee and leg of a male figure suitable in size (height 0·58m) (A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 199 no. 339, 10, *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 23 *frag.* 59 pl. 14 A).

Fig. 524.

[2] H. Brunn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 xxiii. 292, *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 36, E. Schulze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1873 p. 1 ff. pl. 57, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 903 with fig. 1150. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 203 no. 1, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 505 f. no. 893. The relief, which represents the sacrifice of M. Aurelius before the temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus*, is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 22 ff. Scala ii no. 4 pl. 12).

[3] *Supra* p. 705.

[4] K. Schwerzek *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 p. 29 f. with pl. (=my pl. lvii, 3).

[5] A. Furtwängler *Intermezzi* Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 28 f. fig.

[6] Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 465 ('Muse Barberini'), A. Furtwängler—H. L. Urlichs *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* München 1895 pl. 4 with Text, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 88 with fig. 36, *id. Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 32, *id. Glyptothek zu München*[2] pp. 194—200 no. 211 ('Apollo Barberini'), P. Wolters *Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwigs i. zu München* München 1922 p. 23 no. 211 with pl.

and intimate of Pheidias[1]. L. R. Farnell[2] says of it: 'The pose is that of the musician pausing in his music. The stately and elaborate drapery[3]...has much of the solemnity and arrangement of the folds found in Pheidian works: only, if we may trust a replica discovered at Rome some years ago, the lower folds of the mantle on the left side were inflated as if the wind had caught them.' In my restoration (pl. lviii, 3) I have copied this replica[4]. The peculiar treatment of

Fig. 525.

[1] For Agorakritos see C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 882 f., G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 180 f. with figs. 633—635, and the literature cited by F. Matz in the *Katalog der Bibliothek des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom* Leipzig 1932 ii. 1. 118.

[2] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 347 pl. 41.

[3] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1875 p. 122 ff. argued that this form of drapery, a long *chitón* with a large *chlamýs* fastened either under the chin or on both shoulders so as to cover the back only, was not introduced till the second half of the fourth century B.C. See also Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 182 ff. and Farnell *loc. cit.* K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 98 rejects the opinions of Stephani and Overbeck, accepting Furtwängler's view that the Munich Apollon goes back to a fifth-century original and 'steht in enger Beziehung zur Kunst des Pheidias.' C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 43 includes it in his list of anonymous works referable to 'Le cinquième siècle après Phidias.' P. Wolters *loc. cit.* puts it later ('Gute und wirkungsvolle Kopie eines Originals des 4. Jahrhunderts, das wohl als Kultstatue geschaffen viel von der würdevollen Haltung älterer Zeit bewahrt hatte').

[4] C. L. Visconti in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1887 p. 336 ff. pl. 20—21, *ib.* 1888 p. 44 ff., L. Savignoni 'Apollon Pythios' in *Ausonia* 1907 ii. 21 ff. fig. 4. The statue, discovered in 1887 in the Prati di Castello (Via Orazio) at Rome, is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 514 no. 907, Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 116 f. Galleria no. 69 pl. 42 'The Conservatori statue is the severer in style and represents a work not much later than the Pheidian period; whereas the

the said folds may be due partly to what Furtwängler called the 'processional gait' of the god, but partly also to the proximity of Artemis hastening up from the right. A very similar figure of Apollon appears in later works of art[1], *e.g.* on a *pelike* found near

Fig. 526.

Barberini Apollo in Munich represents a later more fluid version of the same or a similar type, which Flasch (A.B. 836, 837), followed by Amelung (A.B. 1169), refers to the period immediately preceding Praxiteles').

[1] Listed by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1875 p. 145 ff.

Kerch and now at Petrograd, which represents his contest with Marsyas (fig. 525)[1] and obviously borrows most of its ideas from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon.

For Artemis we must depend on a red-figured *pelike* from Vulci, now in the British Museum (fig. 526 and pl. lvi)[2]. This handsome vase, attributed by Ducati[3] to Hermonax and by Beazley[4] to a painter akin to Hermonax, should be dated *c.* 460 B.C.[5]. Its Artemis cannot, therefore, have been copied from the pediment, but may well, I conceive, preserve for us the type adopted by Pheidias. The goddess is seen advancing hastily from the right towards the central group: she raises her right hand in surprise and holds a bow with her left. This type in the course of the fifth century made its way from painting to sculpture. For the Artemis Colonna at Berlin[6]—to mention but one out of many replicas[7]—gives the goddess approximately the same attitude and is regarded by Furtwängler[8], Bulle[9], Kekulé[10], and more recently by Schröder[11], as a fifth-century creation[12]. L. R. Farnell[13] says of her: 'The pose and action are

[1] L. Stephani *Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.* ii. 42 ff. pl. 57, 1—4 (in colours) = Reinach *Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.* p. 106 f. pl. 57, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1862 p. 109, A. Michaelis *Die Verurtheilung des Marsyas* Greifswald 1864 p. 9 ff. pl. 1, 1 (= my fig. 525), Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 328 ff. no. 1795, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 433 no. 9 Atlas pl. 24, 20.

[2] To the literature cited *supra* p. 676 n. 0 (3) add Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 433 f. fig. 39, A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 7 fig. 10 (= my fig. 526).

[3] P. Ducati in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1906 xxi. 114.

[4] J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 304 no. 1 ('Der Maler der Londoner Athenageburt. Dem Hermonax verwandt').

[5] M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 192 f.

[6] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 30 f. no. 59 fig.

[7] W. Klein *Praxiteles* Leipzig 1898 p. 310 n. 2 enumerates thirteen replicas. Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 108 adds three more. M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 167 f. no. 326 fig. 47, yet another.

[8] A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1889 iv Arch. Anz. p. 10 puts it towards the end of the fifth century.

[9] H. Bulle in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1894 ix. 159 places it 'noch ins v. Jh.'

[10] R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*[2] Berlin 1907 p. 133 ff. fig. says: 'Diese ist keine originale Arbeit, sondern eine spätere Nachbildung, aber sie führt uns, während der ihr aufgesetzte Kopf einen oft wiederholten Typus aus dem vierten Jahrhundert wiedergibt, in die erste Hälfte des fünften Jahrhunderts oder wenigstens in nicht viel jüngere Zeit zurück.... Wie sehr noch in der Artemis Colonna die altertümliche Sinnesart und Formensprache vorwaltet, kann der Vergleich mit der sogenannten Iris aus dem Ostgiebel des Parthenon lehren.'

[11] B. Schröder 'Artemis Colonna' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 34—48 with 7 figs. concludes (p. 44) 'dass Körper und Kopf der Artemis Colonna zusammengehören und als Einheit der ionischen Kunst des v. Jahrhunderts entstammen.'

[12] For attempts to refer the 'Typus Colonna' to the fourth century see F. Studniczka in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1888 iii. 278 and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1425 f.

[13] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 544 pl. 36.

somewhat difficult to explain. She is hurrying forward, with both arms partly stretched out; the right hand certainly held nothing, but the left was grasping something that must have been either a torch or a bow.' He suggests 'that she has just discharged an arrow...and that the action of the archer still lingers, so to speak, in the hands.' I should prefer to think that the original type, taken over by Pheidias from the painters' tradition, represented Artemis hasting to greet the new-born goddess.

We come now to the extant marbles—a topic less precarious but almost equally problematic. And first for the maidenly figure ('Iris') escaping towards the left. Iris she cannot be; for, as A. H. Smith[1] points out, she has neither the wings nor the regular costume of that goddess. Besides, her action is not that of a steady flight through the air, but rather that of a person starting aside in alarm. Latterly the opinion has been gaining ground that she is Eileithyia. This was conjectured in 1876 by G. Loeschcke[2], and was for some time maintained by A. S. Murray[3]. J. Overbeck[4] was inclined to follow suit, but doubted whether Eileithyia could be so juvenile in appearance. W. R. Lethaby[5], to whose restoration of the figure I am much indebted, speaks of her as 'Ilithyia?' What, to my thinking, makes this identification practically certain is the fact that the vase-paintings of Athena's birth show two and only two persons flying from the scene. One is Hephaistos; the other, Eileithyia (fig. 526)[6]. If, then, Pheidias designed his gable with reference to the existing ceramic tradition, an escaping female figure *must* be Eileithyia. Overbeck's objection that this figure is too youthful loses its force when we remember that, according to Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and half a dozen later writers[7], Eileithyia was the daughter of Hera, indeed—if we may argue from the Hesiodic genealogy—was younger even than Hebe[8].

[1] A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 110 f. no. 303 G, *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 23 f. no. 303 G, *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 11 fig. 19 and pl. 3. Other good photographs in M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1909—1912 pl. 49.

[2] G. Loeschcke in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiv. 118.

[3] A. S. Murray *A History of Greek Sculpture* London 1883 (ed. 2 London 1890) ii. 70 ff. pl. 4. *Id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 p. 39 f. regards her as a third Hora.

[4] Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 408.

[5] W. R. Lethaby *Greek Buildings represented by fragments in the British Museum* (iii The Parthenon) London 1908 p. 129 fig. 128.

[6] *Supra* p. 709 fig. 526 and pl. lvi.

[7] I have collected and sifted the literary evidence in the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 367.

[8] 'Iris' has been identified with Hebe by H. Brunn in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr.*

The naming and restoring of the two seated goddesses beyond Eileithyia is an easy task, thanks to F. Studniczka and G. Dickins. Studniczka[1] in 1904 showed that the goddesses are sitting, not on stools or low thrones, but on square hinged chests, so that they must be identified, not as P. O. Bröndsted[2] in 1830 suggested with Pindar's 'well-throned Horai[3],' but with Demeter and Persephone on their mystic boxes (*kibotoí*)[4]. Dickins[5] in 1906—1907 after a brilliantly successful[6] restoration of Damophon's group at Lykosoura observed that the Messenian sculptor's Demeter and Despoina were direct adaptations of the seated goddesses in the Parthenon pediment[7]. This discovery not only enables us to decide with regard to the Parthenon pair that Demeter is the goddess on our left, Persephone the goddess on our right, but further justifies us in restoring Persephone with a long sceptre. Enough of Demeter's right hand remains to make it certain that she was not grasping a torch but, at most, holding a bunch of corn-ears and poppies as in the Chiaramonti statuette[8]. Damophon, transforming the pediment-group to a cult-monument, put a long torch into the hand of Demeter in order that it might balance the long sceptre in the hand of Persephone. I have given Persephone corn-ears in her right hand rather than a basket (*kíste*) like that of Despoina because I conceive that Despoina's basket was the equivalent of the box on which Persephone is sitting. Damophon had to make his

Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1874 ii. 19, by Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 465, and by C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 18 fig. 9, 21 ('Iris ou plutôt Hébé sans doute').

[1] F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix. 3 ff. figs. 1—6 pl. 1. Cp. Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 215.

[2] P. O. Bröndsted *Voyages dans la Grèce accompagnés de recherches archéologiques* Paris 1830 ii p. xi ('des trois Heures (Saisons)').

[3] Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 105 *εὐθρόνοις Ὥραισι* (for context see *supra* p. 267).

[4] Paus. 10. 28. 3 (Polygnotos' painting of the Underworld in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphoi showed Tellis and Kleoboia on board Charon's boat) *Κλεόβοια δὲ ἔτι παρθένος, ἔχει δὲ ἐν τοῖς γόνασι κιβωτὸν ὁποίας ποιεῖσθαι νομίζουσι Δήμητρι... Κλεόβοιαν δὲ ἐς Θάσον τὰ ὄργια τῆς Δήμητρος ἐνεγκεῖν πρώτην ἐκ Ἰλίου φασίν.*

[5] G. Dickins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 357 ff. figs. 1—23, 25—28 pls. 12—14.

[6] Dickins' restoration of the whole cult-group was triumphantly vindicated by a bronze coin of Megalopolis published by B. Staes in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 45—47 pl. Θ', 1—3 and further discussed by Dickins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1910—1911 xvii. 80 ff. figs. 1—6.

[7] Damophon's group had already been brought into connexion with the Parthenon figures by E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 125 n. 3 and by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter—Kora pp. 423 n. [b], 431.

[8] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter—Kora p. 473 f. Atlas pl. 14, 16, Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 362 f. no. 81 pl. 38.

Déspoina, in accordance with her cult-title, a 'Queen' seated on a throne; he therefore found room for the sacred receptacle on her lap and *ipso facto* displaced the corn-ears of his original. The restoration of the Parthenon Persephone with corn-ears in her right hand and a sceptre in her left is supported by the existence of a similar type on the imperial bronze coinage of Athens (fig. 527)[1].

Fig 527.

The reclining god next to Demeter is Dionysos. This identification, first mooted by F. G. Welcker[2] in 1817, doubted by W. M. Leake[3] in 1821, but re-affirmed by E. Gerhard[4] in 1840, admitted with a query by A. Michaelis[5] in 1871, and then more definitely established by E. Petersen[6] in 1873, is accepted nowadays by most critics and has in fact become the official view[7]. The main reasons advanced on its behalf are that the skin over which the young god has spread his mantle appears to be a panther-skin not a lion-skin[8], that the soft seat and comfortable sandals suit a lover of ease[9], and that Dionysos occurs in a very similar pose on a dramatic relief from the Peiraieus[10], on the choragic monument of

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica p. 102 pl. 17, 8, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 141 pl. BB, 22 (=my fig. 527), J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 93, 36—42.

[2] F. G. Welcker in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Auslegung der alten Kunst* 1817 i. 208 f. 'Jacchos.'

[3] W. M. Leake *The Topography of Athens* London 1821 p. 255 n. 2 'To those who are inclined to think that this figure is Bacchus, reposing upon the skin of a panther, it may be observed, that Bacchus was a deity of too much importance among the Athenians not to have had a place nearer the centre of the composition.' But see *infra* p. 714 nn. 4, 5.

[4] Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 19 f. 'der den Dionysos gleichbedeutende, den eleusinischen Göttinnen in schwärmerischer Schönheit verbundene, Jüngling Iacchos,' *id. Drei Vorlesungen über Gyps-Abgüsse* Berlin 1844 p. 45 'den jugendlichen Gott eleusinischer Weihungen den Iacchos.'

[5] A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 pp. 165, 168, *id.* in the *Ber. sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1880 p. 168 ff. pl. 3, 2 f.

[6] E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 116 ff.

[7] A. H. Smith *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 20 no. 303 D pl. 3, *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 9 f. fig. 16 and pl. 2. Other good photographs in M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1909—1912 pl. 47.

[8] E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 119 (the skin can hardly be leonine, since no mane is visible; hence 'kann man füglicher ein Pantherfell drin sehen, das unter den Göttern im Olymp nur einem, dem Dionysos, eigenthümlich ist'), A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 107 and in *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 20.

[9] E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 120 f.

[10] F. Studniczka in the *Mélanges Perrot* Paris 1902 p. 307 ff., *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix. 2 n. 5. Further bibliography and discussion in Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 512 ff. no. 1500 pl. 82, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 412 no. 3.

Lysikrates[1], on a moulded *askós* in the British Museum[2], and as a recumbent figure forming the lid of a Roman sarcophagus in the Louvre[3]. It should further be noticed that vase-painters introducing Dionysos into the scene of Athena's birth regularly place him at[4], or towards[5], the extreme left of their composition. I have restored him with a *thýrsos* in his right hand and nothing in his left, partly because the muscles of the left fore-arm, so far as it is preserved, suggest an attitude of simple repose and are inconsistent *e.g.* with his holding a *phiále* as on the Peiraieus relief, and partly because this type for the god passed into the *répertoire* of later ceramic art (fig. 528)[6]. No doubt analogous types were used by the die-sinkers of Magna Graecia *c.* 400 B.C. to represent Herakles at Kroton[7], Herakleia[8], and Tarentum[9], and to represent Pan at Pandosia[10].

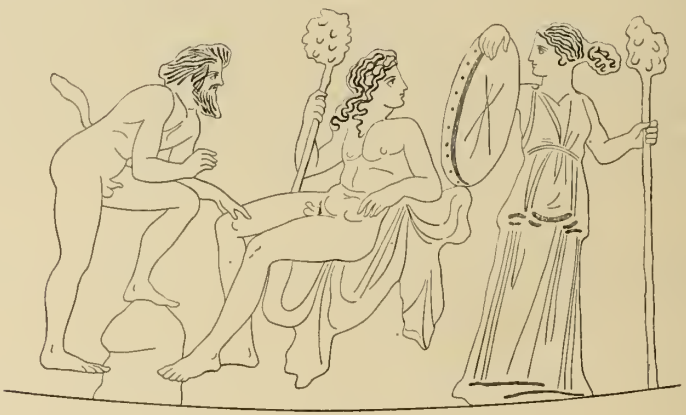


Fig. 528.

[1] A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 253 no. 430, 1, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 120 ff. fig. 174, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 365 ff. fig. 188, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 13 f.

[2] A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 107 f. fig. 9 (no. G 281, not yet included in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases*).

[3] Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 273 fig. 1592 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 138 no. 2, Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 240 f. no. 228.

[4] *Supra* p. 674 fig. 485.

[5] *Infra* p. 716 fig. 530; *supra* p. 680 fig. 491; *supra* p. 677 n. 0.

[6] *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1873 Atlas pl. 4, 2 (= Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 40, 2), *ib.* 1875 Atlas pl. 4, 4 (= Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 47, 1) reproduced in my fig. 528, etc.

[7] Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 103 f. pl. 184, 31—38, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 7 pl. A, 5, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 151 pl. 109, 35—39, pl. 110, 1, *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 202 f. pl. 54, 13—18, *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 20, 615 f. Lloyd.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 226 no. 15 fig., Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 133 pl. 102, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p 71 fig. 32, *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 9, 268 Lloyd.

[9] Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 62 pl. 119, 400 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 218 no. 476 f., Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 131 pl. 101, 7—10.

[10] Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 97 pl. 175, 2, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 370 f. figs.,

But we have seen reason to put Herakles elsewhere in the pediment; and Pan is a god who never appears in vase-paintings of Athena's birth. The claims of Dionysos to be identified with 'Theseus' are indeed so strong that we may fairly dispense with a detailed discussion of other hypotheses[1].

Corresponding with the deities of corn and wine we have another triad in the opposite wing of the gable. Here again Pheidias took a hint from ceramic tradition; for a black-figured *amphora* in the Louvre (fig. 530)[2] shows three goddesses in a row to the extreme right of the birth-scene. F. G. Welcker[3] held that the Parthenon

Fig. 529.

Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 154 pl. 111, 6—8, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 106 fig. 59. Cp. Pan on coins of the Arcadian League (*supra* i. 69 f. figs. 47—49).

[1] (1) Herakles (E. Q. Visconti *A Letter from the Chevalier Antonio Canova: and two Memoirs read to the Royal Institute of France on the Sculptures in the Collection of the Earl of Elgin* London 1816 p. 35 ff., W. M. Leake *The Topography of Athens* London 1821 p. 255, L. de Ronchaud *Phidias* Paris 1861 p. 260 ff., M. Collignon *Phidias* Paris n.d. p. 43 ff.). Cp. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 349 no. 7, 351 no. 2.

(2) Pan (C. J. Reuvens in *The Classical Journal* 1823 xxviii. 282). Cp. Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 2013 pl. 137: my fig. 529 is from a fresh photograph.

(3) Kephalos (P. O. Bröndsted *Voyages dans la Grèce accompagnés de recherches archéologiques* Paris 1830 ii p. xi n. 3, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 468, A. S. Murray *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 p. 35 ff.).

(4) Kekrops (E. Falkener in *The Museum of Classical Antiquities* 1851 i. 394 f., Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* i. 81).

(5) Mt Olympos (H. Brunn in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1874 ii. 14, C. Waldstein *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* Cambridge 1885 pp. 142 ff. pl. 6, 173 ff. fig. 6 f., Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 436).

[2] Louvre E 861, on which see *supra* p. 700 n. 3 (2).

[3] Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* i. 77 ff.

triad was Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos; and J. Roulez[1] was inclined to give the same explanation of the three goddesses on the Paris vase. Their view is attractive and the title 'die "Thauschwestern"' still finds some defenders[2]. Nevertheless the discovery of the Madrid *puteal* has gone far towards proving that the old[3] name, 'the Fates,' is right. Even F. Hauser[4], who argues that the Fates of the *puteal* were not taken from the same model (*Vorbild*) as its other figures, yet admits that they too may well go back to the east pediment of the Parthenon as their original. Further, while granting that their attributes have not yet been

Fig. 530.

found on pre-Roman works of art, he urges that Roman reliefs here as elsewhere presuppose Greek prototypes. Fate as a spinner is Homeric[5]: cleromancy was no discovery of the Romans[6]: oracle-

[1] J. Roulez in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 310.

[2] *E.g.* K. Schwerzek *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 pp. 10, 15, H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 227 ff.

But J. Overbeck, who in 1857 took the triad to be the Kekropides (*Gr. Plastik*[1] i. 250 f.), in 1893 wrote of them as the Moirai (*op. cit.*[4] i. 416). And M. Collignon, who at first had favoured 'les noms de Thallo, d'Auxo et de Karpo, les trois Kharites attiques' (*Phidias* Paris n.d. p. 46), was later content to call them 'les Parques' (*Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 30 f.).

[3] Collignon *op. cit.* ii. 30 'sur la foi de Visconti, de Bröndsted, de Cockerell, et de Beulé.'

[4] F. Hauser *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 67 f.

[5] *Il.* 20. 127 f., *Od.* 7. 197 f. See further H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 *s.vv.* ἐπικλώθω, κλῶθες.

[6] A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1879 i. 189—197 and iv Index *s.v. Cléromancie*, H. J. Rose in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 779[b], F. Heinevetter *Würfel- und Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland und Kleinasien* Breslau 1911, M. P. Nilsson 'Würfelorakel ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ' in

rolls can be quoted from older Greek sources[1]. I have not scrupled, therefore, to use the Madrid *puteal* and the Tegel *replica* for the restoration of these goddesses, assuming that the first designer of such reliefs adapted the pedimental group to the requirements of his frieze by the simple expedient of making two of the figures stand up[2]. In the pediment the Fate sitting on a separate rocky seat is *Klothó*, the 'Spinner.' She holds a distaff in one hand, a spindle in the other, and—a thoroughly natural touch—has drawn back her right leg to leave room for the spindle to twirl. Lachesis too is seated (Platon[3] speaks of her lap) and holds the *láche* or 'lots,' of which Atropos the left-handed[4] has just drawn the one that she is reading. She lies on the knees of Lachesis and thereby declares herself a personification of that irreversible fate which, as Homer has it, 'lies on the knees of the gods[5].' Intentionally or not, Pheidias conceived her in accordance with the strange Hesiodic[6] description—literally lower than her sisters and yet the eldest and in a sense the most exalted of the three. Details apart, the common interpretation of this famous triad as the Fates is so apt that we may again without scruple jettison a cargo of divergent and sometimes fantastic misunderstandings[7].

the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 316 f., W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 pp. 205—234 ('Kleromancy'), F. E. Robbins 'The Lot Oracle at Delphi' in *Class. Philol.* 1916 xi. 278—292.

[1] *E.g. supra* i. 128 pl. 12, cp. 130 pl. 13.

[2] Rhys Carpenter in his restoration (*supra* pl. lviii, 2) has contrived to work in the Fates of the *puteal* as three standing figures, but at the expense of more than one improbability. He has to place this triad in the left wing of the gable, whereas the vase-painter relegates it to the extreme right of the scene (*supra* fig. 530). Again, Carpenter must represent his Fates as three figures on an ascending scale, large, larger, largest—a variation which might be tolerated in the case of three diverse deities but becomes grotesque if applied to three powers of equal prestige. And lastly, the aesthetic effect of so many single figures standing erect in parallel, pillar-like lines is architectural rather than sculptural: it recalls indeed the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, but is in flat and flagrant contradiction of Pheidias' closely knit and subtly balanced design.

[3] Plat. *rep.* 617 D λαβόντα ἐκ τῶν τῆς Λαχέσεως γονάτων κλήρους τε καὶ βίων παραδείγματα.

[4] In the Platonic image (*ib.* 617 C) Klotho uses her right hand, Atropos her left, Lachesis either hand alternately. Platon is probably Pythagorising (J. Adam *ad loc.*), and where that is the case we may well suspect a basis of popular belief (to the passages cited *supra* ii. 222 n. 1 add i. 283 n. 0, ii. 223 ff., 354, 649, 1129, etc.).

[5] See W. Leaf on *Il.* 17. 514, W. W. Merry—J. Riddell on *Od.* 1. 267, E. Schwyzer 'Der Götter Knie—Abrahams Schoss' in ΑΝΤΙΔΩΡΟΝ (Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel) Göttingen 1923 pp. 283—293, Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 311 f.

[6] Hes. *sc. Her.* 258 ff. Κλωθὼ καὶ Λάχεσίς σφιν ἐφέστασαν· ἡ μὲν ὑφήσσων | Ἄτροπος οὔτι πέλεν μεγάλη θεός, ἀλλ' ἄρα ἦγε | τῶν γε μὲν ἀλλάων προφερὴς τ' ἦν πρεσβυτάτη τε.

[7] (1) The Kekropides Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos (F. G. Welcker *supra* p. 715 n. 3, J. Overbeck *supra* p. 716 n. 2, K. Schwerzek *supra* p. 716 n. 2).

The whole scene of Athena's birth is flanked by two angle-groups representing daybreak and nightfall[1]. On the left Helios drives his team of four horses up from the sea. On the right Selene drives hers down behind the hills[2]. The rising Sun thus synchronises with the setting Moon and fixes the time as that of a full moon. Pheidias has indicated this with subtlety and success by making

(2) Amphitrite with Kirke (Aphrodite?) on the lap of Perse (Thalassa?) (L. de Ronchaud *Phidias sa vie et ses ouvrages* Paris 1861 p. 260 ff.).

(3) Pandrosos? with the Horai Thallo? and Karpo? (A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 168 f. cp. Paus. 9. 35. 2).

(4) Hestia with Aphrodite in the lap of Peitho (E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Phidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 128 ff.).

(5) The Clouds (H. Brunn in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1874 ii. 15 ff.).

(6) Hestia with Thalassa in the lap of Gaia (C. Waldstein *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* Cambridge 1885 pp. 156 ff. pl. 8, 166 ff., Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 438 f.).

(7) The Attic Kharites Thallo, Auxo, and Karpo (*sic* M. Collignon *supra* p. 716 n. 2).

(8) Hestia with Aphrodite in the lap of Dione (H. Lechat *Phidias* Paris 1924 p. 117 f. fig. 42).

(9) Artemis with Aphrodite in the lap of Peitho (Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 86 ff.).

[1] The juxtaposition of these groups with Dionysos on the left and the Fates on the right was more or less defensible on religious grounds. Dionysos had points of contact with Helios (*supra* ii. 253 with n. 4), and the Fates were sometimes reckoned daughters of Nyx (*frag. lyr. adesp.* 140 Bergk[4], 5 Diehl, 70 Edmonds *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 5. 10—12, 6 f. p. 76, 14 ff. Wachsmuth Αἶσα <καὶ> Κλωθὼ Λάχεσίς τ' | εὐώλενοι Νυκτὸς κόραι). But the main idea was, no doubt, to provide the Olympian event with a cosmic setting.

[2] A. S. Murray *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 p. 32 f. 'An Athenian standing at dawn before the east front of the Parthenon and looking towards the pediment might see the sun rising from the sea on his left and the moon passing on his right away over the hills.... With equal justice to the natural phenomena the sculptor could have imagined himself facing in the opposite direction. The sun would then have been on his right hand and the moon on his left, as on a beautiful vase in the British Museum about contemporary with the Parthenon (E 466) [Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 33 ff. pl. 126].... It is true that the Greeks generally and Pheidias in particular regarded the east as on their left hand. On the base of his statue of Zeus at Olympia, representing the birth of Aphroditè, the sun was seen rising on the extreme left, the moon retiring on the right (Pausanias, v. 11, [8]), and on the base of his Athenè in the Parthenon itself the same phenomenon occurs, if we may judge from the Lenormant copy of the statue.... But granting that this was a mere habit on his part, we must still regard it as a happy coincidence that on the Parthenon the sun rises exactly as in the sky at Athens' See further Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 500 f. *s.v.* 'Himmelsgegenden,' T. D. Atkinson in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1918 x. 73[b] ff. *s.v.* 'Points of the Compass.'

A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 167, after quoting *Od.* 3. 1 f. 'Ἥλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε, λιπὼν περικαλλέα λίμνην, | οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φαείνοι κ.τ.λ. (cp. *Il.* 7. 421 ff.), adds 'Selene auf der anderen Seite versinkt in Nacht und Nebel, ohne eine Andeutung des Meeres, wie denn auch in den betreffenden Schilderungen der Dichter das Meer keine Rolle spielt; eher kann man sie sich hinter dem Berge verschwindend denken, wie auf dem schönen Krater Blacas.'

Selene look round towards the new-born goddess[1] and so reveal the full beauty of her face[2]. Here, however, a certain difficulty must be met. Scholiasts and lexicographers attempt to explain the ancient epithet *Tritogéneia*[3] by asserting that Athena was 'born on the third' day from the end of the month[4], which would be quite incompatible with a full moon. August Mommsen[5] held that the Pheidiac combination of rising sun with setting moon might have meant that Athena first saw the light on the morning of a 'setting day' (*phthinàs heméra*), *i.e.* a day towards the end of the month. August Mommsen was a learned man, but foolish at times. H. Nissen[6] would reject the testimony of the late grammarians as a worthless etymological speculation and accept Pheidias' grouping as evidence that Athena was born on the morning of a full-moon day. I incline to a modification of his view. We have seen reason to believe that the myth of Athena's birth presupposes some such rite as the Dipolieia; in fact we have derived thence the startling motive of Zeus struck on the head by a double axe[7]. Moreover we observe this: the ceremonies of the Dipolieia aimed at securing an adequate dewfall and rainfall at a critical time of year[8]; and the story of Athena's birth told how, at the moment when Hephaistos cleft the head of Zeus, a golden shower descended upon Rhodes[9].

[1] E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 107 'Selene wandte, wie noch am Ansatz des Halses zu erkennen, den Kopf um, wie um vor ihrem Scheiden noch einen Blick auf diese Welt zu thun, wohl ohne bestimmtes Ziel.' Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 465 'Even Nyx, who must withdraw before the rising Helios, turns back her head to look at the action in the centre.'

[2] *Supra* i. 738 n. 11.

[3] On which see *supra* p. 123 ff.

[4] Schol. B. L. T. V. *Il.* 8. 39 Τριτογένεια ἐκλήθη...ἢ ὅτι τρίτῃ φθίνοντος ἐτέχθη, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τριτογενής·... ἢ τρίτῃ φθίνοντος ὡς καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἄγουσιν (cp. Souid. *s.v.* Τριτογενής).

Other sources merely mention the 'third of the month': so Harpokr. *s.v.* τριτόμηνις· Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερείας (*frag.* 19 p. 266 Baiter—Sauppe). τὴν τρίτην τοῦ μηνὸς τριτομηνίδα ἐκάλουν. δοκεῖ δὲ γεγεννῆσθαι τότε ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. Ἴστρος δὲ (*frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 422 Müller)) καὶ Τριτογένειαν αὐτήν φησι διὰ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι, τὴν αὐτὴν Σελήνην νομιζομένην, Bekker *anecd.* i. 306, 32 Τριτόμηνις· ἑορτὴ ἀγομένη Ἀθηνᾶς (Jessen cj. Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγομένη) τῇ τρίτῃ (cp. Hesych. *s.v.* τριτόμηνις, Souid. *s.v.* τριτομηνίς), Orion p. 151, 10 ff. Τριτογένεια...ἢ ἐπειδὴ ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ τῇ σελήνῃ· αὕτη δὲ τριταία οὖσα φανερὰ γίνεται, τουτέστιν ὅτε τρίων δρόμων (F. G. Sturz cj. ὅτε τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐστι), *et mag.* p. 767, 40 ff. Τριτογένεια, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ·...ἢ ἐπειδὴ τριταία γέγονεν, οἱονεὶ ἡ φαινομένη τριταία· καὶ γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι τῇ σελήνῃ· καὶ τὴν τρίτην τοῦ μηνὸς τριτομηνίδα ἐκάλουν· δοκεῖ δὲ γεγεννῆσθαι τότε ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 504, 24 ff. Τριτογένεια...ἢ ὡς ἐν τρίτῃ μηνὸς γενομένη, *in Od.* p. 1473, 11 f. Τριτογένεια...ἢ ὡς ἐν τρίτῃ μηνός (*sc.* γεννηθεῖσα), Favorin. *lex.* p. 1775, 23 ff. Τριτογένεια...ὁ δὲ μῦθος οὕτω λέγει αὐτήν, ὡς ἐν τρίτῃ μηνὸς γεννηθεῖσαν.

[5] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 346 n. 1.

[6] H. Nissen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1885 xl. 336 f.

[7] *Supra* p. 661 f., cp. p. 688. [8] *Supra* p. 602 ff. [9] *Supra* p. 477.

We may, then, perhaps assume that the birth of Athena, whatever its original date, was early brought into connexion with the cult of Zeus and celebrated at the time of the Dipolieia, *i.e.* on the occasion of the last full moon in the Attic year[1]. But the ever-growing importance of the Great Panathenaia would predispose men to identify this festival rather than the obscure and old-fashioned Dipolieia with the real birthday of the goddess. And, since the Great Panathenaia was held on the third day from the end of Hekatombaion[2], the way was open for ingenious etymologists to explain the title *Tritogéneia.*

The rocky summit compassed about by the Sun and Moon is the Akropolis itself[3]: Athena must needs be born in Athens[4]. The local setting is further shown by the *personnel* of the assembled gods. The central group comprised Zeus the thunderer and Athena his armed daughter, together with Hephaistos and Poseidon the gods of fire and water. We think at once of Zeus *Polieús*, who

[1] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 513 'Wir entscheiden uns danach für den 14. [*sc.* of Skirophorion: *supra* p. 602]; die Dipolienfeier hat am letzten Vollmond des attischen Jahres stattgefunden; im Vollmond hat man auch zu Olympia den Zeus gefeiert.'

[2] Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 26, 18 f. Diehl.

[3] A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 166 f., after a review of previous opinions, concludes that the scene is laid ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο (*Il.* 1. 499). E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 110 ff. likewise argues for the rocky summit of the 'Götterberg,' Mt Olympos. C. Waldstein *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* Cambridge 1885 also assumes 'the summit of Mount Olympos' Others are less precise and incline to make Olympos mean, not the mountain, but the sky above it (*supra* i. 115). So *e.g.* Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 465 'The whole space enclosed within the border of the pediment is in fact Olympos' etc., Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 22 'Le lieu de la scène est le ciel des Olympiens,' H. Lechat *Phidias* n.d. p. 98, *ib.*[2] Paris 1924 p. 115 'alors, à ces pensées, comme la scène s'élargit! comme grandit ce fronton de moins de 30 mètres, qui contient tout l'Olympe peuplé de dieux, et à ses extrémités, en bordure de l'Olympe, l'Océan, et, sur la divine assemblée, la courbe lumineuse du ciel entier, de l'horizon du matin à l'horizon du soir!'

Dissent is expressed by that sturdy independent A. S. Murray *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 p. 31 f. Urging that the western pediment admittedly portrays the gods as 'invisibly present in the atmosphere of the Acropolis' and that the eastern frieze does much the same, he claims 'at least a strong presumption that the same principle had applied to the central deities of the east pediment....Let us call the invisible sphere where she was born Olympos, but define it as for the moment just over Athens.'

I would go even further in the same direction. If the olive-tree and the salt well were represented in the west gable, why not the hollowed theatre and the rocky stairway in the east? Many localities could boast their own Olympos (*supra* i. 100): was Athens unworthy of the like honour?

[4] No adverse argument can be based on the authority of *h. Ath.* 28. 4 ff., which may in fact be of very recent composition (W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 243 'ob der Dichter an die Bildwerke vom Ostgiebel des Parthenon gedacht oder der Künstler das Gedicht im Sinn gehabt hat oder ob beide von Stesichoros (fr. 62 B.) abhängen, ist nicht auszumachen').

stood beneath the open sky, of Athena *Poliás* in the neighbouring Erechtheion, and of Poseidon and Hephaistos with whom she shared her ancient dwelling. In a word, we have before us all the most important deities worshipped in the eastern half of the Akropolis.

Again, the same local significance attaches to the extreme figures on the south and on the north. On the south Dionysos sits at ease upon his rock spread with panther-skin and mantle, a spectator as it were in his own theatre[1]. Was it not hollowed out of the hill-side immediately below him? On the north the three Fates are seated on rocks, which—to quote A. H. Smith's description—are 'levelled on the top, and...cut in step form to suit the composition[2].' This surely suggests the ancient rock-cut steps leading down through the cave of Aglauros towards the Gardens[3], where the Fates were[4], and for that matter still are[5], worshipped.

[1] Cp. the fourth slab inserted in the stage of Phaidros (*supra* i. 710 pl. xl, 4).

[2] A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 113. *Id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 13 fig. 23 shows the Fates as seen from behind. So does M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1909—1912 pl. 51.

[3] Not, of course, the postern-steps of the Helladic fortress (L. B. Holland in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1924 xxviii. 143 ff. with pl. 7 and figs. 2 and 3, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] München 1931 pp. 118, 259), for that exit had been long since blocked and filled in, but the underground stairway by which the *Arrhephóroi* went down through the Aglaurion (*supra* p. 169 n. 1).

[4] Paus. 1. 19. 2 (cited *infra* p. 722 n. 3). P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3089 notes that these Moirai were associated in cult with Zeus Μοιραγέτης (*supra* ii. 231 n. 8 (*a*)).

[5] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 217 f. cites two items of evidence, which may refer to the same locality. (1) J. Galt *Letters from the Levant* London 1813 p. 109 f. an Athenian friar mentions that at Athens young girls, when they become anxious to get husbands, on the first evening of the new moon, put a little honey, a little salt, and a piece of bread on a plate in a certain spot on the bank of the Ilissos, near the Stadion, and on setting it down mutter some ancient words of forgotten meaning in which they beg Fate to send them 'a pretty young man': after this they return home and eagerly await the fulfilment of their charm. (2) F. C. H. L. Pouqueville *Voyage de la Grèce*[2] Paris 1827 v. 66 f. states that women at Athens who long to bear children and also those who are already pregnant come and rub themselves on a rock near Kallirhoe and invoke the Moirai to be gracious to them, using the formula Ἐλάτε, Μοῖραι τῶν Μοιρῶν, νὰ μοίρατε κ' ἐμένα (Schmidt cj. μοιράνετε for νὰ μοίρατε). See further N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1874 ii. 227 ('ἐν τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ σταδίῳ ἐν τῇ ὀπῇ τοῦ λόφου τοῦ λεγομένου "τρύπιο βουνό"'), J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 120 with n. 4 ('Apparently the old subterranean passage by which competitors entered the stadium'). Lawson *ib.* p. 130 notes the modern 'belief that the Fates invariably visit each child that is born in order to decree its lot,' adding: 'I do not wish to engage in the controversy which has raged round the identification of the figures in the east pediment of the Parthenon; but those who would recognise among them the three Fates may fairly draw a fresh argument from the strength of this popular belief.'

E. Petersen[1] and F. Studniczka[2] contend that the lovely reclining Fate of the Parthenon gable must be Aphrodite and none other. But close to the temple of Aphrodite in the Gardens stood a herm-like statue of Aphrodite *Ouraníα* with an inscription declaring that she was the eldest of the so-called Fates[3]. And, as Furtwängler[4] points out, the Fates are repeatedly represented with the *chitón* slipping from the shoulder—a motive manifestly Aphroditesque.

It seems probable that this principle of local significance applied not only to the central and side-figures of Pheidias' composition, but to the rest of it as well. Certainty is of course unattainable; yet a few tentative suggestions may be made.

The deities between Dionysos and Hephaistos were, from left to right, Demeter, Persephone, Eileithyia, Herakles(?), Hebe(?), and Hera(?). Demeter and Persephone represent the cult at Agra, where the Lesser Mysteries were celebrated[5]. Pheidias has made Persephone slightly larger in scale and decidedly more prominent in pose than Demeter. Why? Because the daughter, not the mother, was the chief goddess of Agra[6]. As such she appears, sceptre in hand, on the painted tablet of Ninnion (fig. 531)[7].

[1] E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 130 ff.

[2] F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix. 8 f.

[3] Paus. 1. 19. 2 *ἐς δὲ τὸ χωρίον ὃ Κήπους ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὸν ναὸν οὐδεὶς λεγόμενός σφισίν ἐστι λόγος· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἡ τοῦ ναοῦ πλησίον ἕστηκε· ταύτης γὰρ σχῆμα μὲν τετράγωνον κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς* (cp. *supra* ii. 854), *τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα σημαίνει τὴν Οὐρανίαν Ἀφροδίτην τῶν καλουμένων Μοιρῶν εἶναι πρεσβυτάτην. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης <τῆς* (*ins.* Dindorf)*> ἐν* [*τοῖς* (*om.* Schubart)] *Κήποις ἔργον ἐστὶν Ἀλκαμένους καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ὀλίγοις θέας ἄξιον.*

For the association of Aphrodite with the Fates cp. Epimen. *frag.* 19 Diels *ap.* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 42 and *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 406 *ἐκ τοῦ* (*sc.* Κρόνου) *καλλίκομος γένετο χρυσῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ | Μοῖραί τ' ἀθάνατοι καὶ Ἐρινύες αἰολόδωροι*, and also *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 602, 8 f. (near Sparta) *καὶ Μοιρῶν Λαχέσεων κ*[*αὶ*] | *Ἀφροδείτης Ἐνοπλίου* in a dedication assigned to the beginning of *s.* iii A.D.

[4] Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 466, citing A. Milchhöfer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii. 206 f.

[5] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 405 ff., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] München 1931 p. 420 f., L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 70.

[6] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 169, 242 f.

[7] A. N. Skias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1901 pp. 1—39, 163 ff. pl. 1, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 169 ff., 233 ff. pl. 10, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 557 ff. fig. 158, L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 74 pl. 5, 1. See also Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 653 f. no. 1968, H. G. Pringsheim *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults* München 1905 p. 64 ff.

This tablet of painted terra cotta (height 0·30^{m}, width 0·15^{m}) was found by Skias in 1895 during his excavations at Eleusis and is now in the Museum at Athens. Its lower edge bears, in lettering of *s.* iv B.C., the dedication *Νί(ι)ννιον τοῖν θε*[*οῖ*]*ν ἀ*[*νέθηκεν*]. Who Ninnion was, we do not know. Svoronos tries to identify her with the *hetaíra* Nannion (Athen. 567 E—F *Νάννιον*, 587 F *Ναννάριον*). But this—though Miss Harrison *op. cit.*[2]

p. 558 n. 2 agrees—is quite impossible, and very gratuitous. *Νίννιον* is the affectionate diminutive of *νίννη*, 'aunt' (F. Bechtel *Die Attischen Frauennamen* Göttingen 1902 p. 66), and nobody would have been more shocked at Svoronos' identification than 'Auntie' herself!

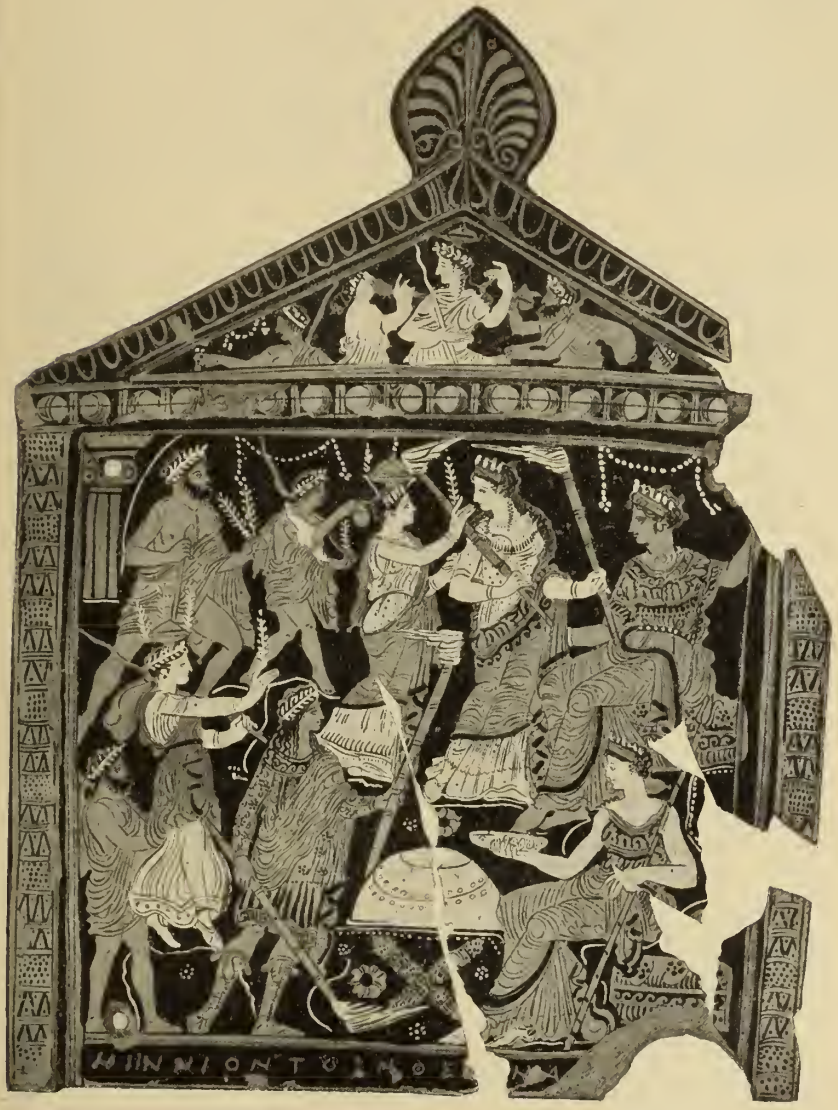


Fig. 531.

The tablet is shaped like a temple-front with pediment and *akrotérion*. The decoration of its pilasters and triglyph-frieze is peculiar and certainly symbolic: the pilasters suggest *βάκχοι*; the frieze, cymbals (?) or basins (?), hardly phases of the moon.

The main design has two registers. To the right of each is a seated goddess, towards

Eileithyia too had a sanctuary at Agra[1] and a couple of *Hersephóroi* for whom seats were reserved in the theatre[2]. These Agraean goddesses are admirably placed between Dionysos on the left and Herakles on the right. For on the one hand the Lesser Mysteries are described as 'a representation of Dionysos' story[3],' and on the other hand their first initiate is said to have been Herakles[4]. However, a more famous centre of Herakles-worship was that at Kynosarges in the north-easterly suburb Diomeia, where he had a temple and an altar[5]. His consort there was Hebe, daughter of

whom three and four figures respectively are advancing. Presumably the two seated goddesses are Demeter above, Persephone below, since Demeter is larger and coloured red, Persephone smaller and coloured white. If so, there is (*pace* M. P. Nilsson in *Archiv f. Rel.* 1935 xxxii. 93 f.) something to be said for Miss Harrison's suggestion that the upper register shows the mysteries of Eleusis, the lower those of Agra, which were a preliminary purification (*προκάθαρσις*) for the greater rites to follow. This agrees with the indications of landscape. Above we see the groundlines of a rocky floor and a pillar standing at the foot of a hill, suggestive of the *Telestérion* at Eleusis (cp. *supra* i. 218 pl. xviii, 221 fig. 164). Below we have again a hilly surface. The *omphalós* and the crossed *bákchoi* perhaps imply that at Agra the *omphalós* was deemed to be the grave of Dionysos (*supra* ii. 219 n. 4).

Demeter is approached by a female *daidoûchos*, who bears a couple of blazing torches, and a girl who carries the *κέρχνος* or *κέρνος*, a vessel containing lamps, fitted with a lid having apertures in it, decked with myrtle-twigs, and attached to the bearer's head by means of white ribbons (see the literature cited *supra* p. 248 n. 1, especially O. Rubensohn in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1898 xxiii. 295 f. with fig.). The *kernophóros* is followed by two men, big and little. The big man has a staff in his right hand, the little man has a jug. I take the scene to be the initiation of Herakles: the staff is his club, the jug hints at the banquet of the blest.

Persephone in like manner is approached by a male *daidoûchos* with two blazing torches, another *kernophóros*, and a bearded man with a staff over his shoulder—Herakles again.

Finally, in the pediment we see the same *personnel* in a scene of final felicity—the *kernophóros* in the centre, a flute-girl making music on the left, Herakles draining his jug on the right, with a couple of other feasters in the angles.

[1] Kleidemos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 359 Müller) *ap.* Bekker *anecd.* i. 326, 30 ff., *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1590 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 3 no. 4682 (on a small column of Hymettian marble, found on the bank of the Ilissos to the east of Kallirrhoe and assigned to *s.* iii B.C.) Εὐκολίνη (perhaps an appellative of Eileithyia (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1055), cp. *supra* ii. 118 n. 3 and 1114 n. 0 (4)) || Ἰλειθύαι | Φιλουμένη | Ἀμφιμάχου | γυνὴ ἀνέθηκε | ἐπ' Ἀρχιβίας | ἱερείας.

[2] *Supra* p. 168 fig. 73.

[3] Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* Ἄγρα καὶ Ἄγραι (quoted *supra* i. 692 n. 5).

[4] Diod. 4. 14 (probably following the *ἐγκώμιον* Ἡρακλέους by Matris of Thebes: E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 676, Hobein *ib.* xiv. 2296 ff.), schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 845, 1013, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1328. Note especially schol. *Plout.* 845 *μὴ ὄντων δὲ πρότερον μικρῶν* (*sc.* *μυστηρίων*), *ἐλθόντος Ἡρακλέους καὶ θέλοντος μυηθῆναι, ἐπειδὴ νόμος ἦν Ἀθηναίοις μηδένα ξένον μυεῖν, αἰδεσθέντες τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν καὶ ὅτι φίλος τε ἦν τῆς πόλεως καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ Διός, ἐποίησαν μικρὰ μυστήρια, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸν ἐμύησαν. ἦσαν δὲ τὰ μὲν μεγάλα τῆς Δήμητρος, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ Περσεφόνης τῆς αὐτῆς θυγατρός.*

[5] O. Gruppe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 926 ff.

Zeus, who had an altar of her own[1], and again special seats in the theatre[2]. Hera's temple stood somewhere on the road from Phaleron to Athens[3]. In the Parthenon pediment, as restored, she is turning round to encourage her timorous daughter Eileithyia, with whom indeed she was actually identified at Thorikos and Argos[4].

The deities between the Fates and Poseidon were, from right to left, Hermes(?), Artemis(?), Apollon(?), Eros(?) and Aphrodite. Hermes sets foot on a rock at the top of the stepped seats, on which the Fates are sitting. He presumably represents the oldest Hermes-cult of Athens, that of the Erechtheion[5], hard by the top of the Aglaurion staircase. Artemis will probably be Artemis *Agrotéra*, the divine huntress of Agra, whose statue was equipped with a bow[6]. Apollon the *kithára*-player is Apollon *Pýthios* of the Pythion adjoining the great Olympieion[7]. Finally, Eros and Aphrodite had a joint-sanctuary among the rocks on the north-east slope of the

[1] Paus. 1. 19. 3.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 370 (with facsimile on pl. 4) Ἥβης and no. 374 (with facsimile on pl. 5) Ἥβης = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 3 nos. 5150, 5154. For the exact position of these seats see the annotated plan in W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1 pl. 1.

[3] Paus. 1. 1. 5, 10. 35. 2.

[4] *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 367 f., where I have cited a boundary-stone found near Thorikos inscribed ὅρος τεμένους Ἥρ[ας] Εἰλειθ[υίας] (W. Vischer *Epigraphische und archäologische Beiträge aus Griechenland* Basel 1855 p. 58 no. 69 pl. vii, 2, *id. Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland* Basel 1857 p. 68, K. Keil in *Philologus* 1866 xxiii. 619 f.) and a gloss in Hesych. *s.v.* Εἰλειθυίας (so Abresch for Εἰληθυίας cod. 'ordine requirente') · ἐνίοτε μὲν τὰς θεάς, ἐνίοτε δὲ τὰς ὠδῖνας · ὁ ποιητὴς δὲ ἐνικῶς, Ἥρα ἐν Ἄργει. See further W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2076 and 2091 f.

[5] Paus. 1. 27. 1 κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα, ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνοπτον. I suspect that the original intention was, not so much to consult decency by the concealment of a rude feature, as to promote fertility by the application of leafage (*supra* ii. 244 n. 4) credited with quickening powers (*supra* ii. 1165 n. 1).

A. Frickenhaus in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1908 xxxiii. 172 holds, rather unnecessarily, that Kekrops' Hermes was nothing but a wooden *phallós*, like that on Mt Kyllene (Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 45, Paus. 6. 26. 5, 8. 17. 2, Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 42, Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 6. 20 p. 234 Kayser, Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 144 Duncker—Schneidewin: De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 93 § 101). For early types of herm see *supra* ii. 384 n. 0; for later types, R. Lullies *Die Typen der griechischen Herme* Königsberg Pr. 1931 pp. 1—90 with 9 pls.

[6] Paus. 1. 19. 6 with Sir J. G. Frazer's n., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] München 1931 pp. 416, 420.

[7] Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. 1. 19. 1 and on 1. 29. 1, G. Colin *Le culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes* Paris 1905 pp. 1—178 (mainly inscriptions), W. Judeich *op. cit.*[2] pp. 65, 386. For Apollon κιθαρῳδός on the bronze coinage of Athens see E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 388 fig. 2, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 145 pl. CC, 20 f., J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 93, 1—7.

citadel[1], and Aphrodite was also goddess of the Gardens, which are believed to have occupied the low ground on the right bank of the Ilissos[2].

On this showing every figure in the east pediment of the Parthenon corresponded with an actual cult, either on the eastward half of the Akropolis itself, or at any rate in some easterly suburb of Athens. The gods of the town had assembled, as it were, on their local Olympos to witness with joy and wonder the epiphany of the all-conquering goddess.

(*i*) Significance of the birth of Athena.

The myth represented in the Parthenon pediment is so peculiar in character that it has evoked a great variety of interpretations from critics both ancient and modern.

The Stoics of course allegorized[3]. Chrysippos[4] explained that Athena meant Wisdom, located her in the breast, and said that she issued from the head as Voice, being delivered by Hephaistos, since Wisdom was produced by Skill, and rightly named *Athenâ*, that is *Athrenâ*[5] 'Observation,' and *Tritonís* or *Tritogéneia* as comprising the triad of Physics, Ethics, and Logic. Diogenes the Babylonian[6],

[1] *Supra* p. 170 f. n. 0.

[2] Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. 1. 19. 2, W. Judeich *op. cit.*[2] p. 424.

[3] E. Zeller *The Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*[2] trans. O. J. Reichel London 1880 pp. 354—369 (*supra* ii. 855 n. 2).

[4] Chrysipp. *frag.* 910 von Arnim *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 16 = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 549 b 9 ff. *τινὰς δὲ τῶν Στωικῶν φάσκειν, ὅτι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἐν τῇ κ(ε)φαλῇ· φρόνησιν γὰ(ρ) εἶναι, διὸ καὶ Μῆτιν καλεῖσθαι· Χρύσιππον δ' ἐν τῷ στή(θ)ει τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν (ε)ἶναι κἀκεῖ τὴ(ν 'Αθ)ηνᾶν γεγονένα(ι) φρόνησιν οὖσαν, τῷ (δ)ὲ τ(ὴ)ν φωνὴν ἐκ τῆς (κ)εφαλῆς ἐκκρίνεσθαι (λ)έγειν ἐκ τῆς (κ)εφα(λ)ῆς, ὑπὸ δὲ 'Η(φ)αίσ(του, δι)ότι τ(έ)χνη(ι γί)νεθ' ἡ φρόνησις, καὶ 'Αθηνᾶν μὲν ο(ἶ)ον 'Αθ(ρη)νᾶν εἰρῆσθαι, (Τριτω)νίδα δὲ καὶ Τρ(ιτογέν)ειαν διὰ τὸ τὴν φρόνησιν ἐκ τριῶν συνεστηκέναι λόγων, τῶ(ν) φ(υσικῶ)ν καὶ τῶ(ν ἠ)θικῶ(ν κ)αὶ τῶν λογικῶν. κ.τ.λ.*

[5] So Herakleitos the Stoic *quaestt. Hom.* p. 30, 1 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn., *Et. mag.* p. 24, 43. Cp. Tzetz. *in* Hes. *o. d.* 76.

[6] Diog. Bab. *frag.* 33 von Arnim *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 15 f. = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 548 b 14 ff. *Δ(ι)ογένης δ' ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς τ(ὸ)ν κ(όσ)μον γράφει τῷ Δ(ὶ τ)ὸν αὐτὸν ὑπάρ(χει)ν ἢ περιέχε(ιν τὸ)ν Δία κ(αθ)άπε(ρ) ἄνθρωπ(ον ψ)υχή(ν·) καὶ τὸ(ν ἥλι)ον μ(ὲν) 'Απόλλ(ω, τ)ὴν δ(ὲ σε)λήνη(ν Ρ)τ(ε)μι(ν· καὶ) π(αι)δ(αριῶ)δες εἶν(αι) θε(ο)ὺς ἀ(ν)θρωποε(ι)δεῖς λ(έγει)ν καὶ ἀδύνατον. (εἶ)ν(αί) τε τοῦ Διὸς τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν διατετα(κ)ὸς Ποσειδῶνα, τὸ δ' εἰς τὴν γῆν Δήμητρα, τὸ δ' εἰς (τ)ὸν ἀέρα Ἥραν, καθάπερ κ(αὶ τὸν Πλά)τωνα λέγειν, ὥσ(τ' ἐ)ὰν πολλάκις 'ἀήρ' (λ)έγῃ τις ἐρεῖν '"Η(ρα')· τὸ δ' εἰς τὸ(ν) α(ἰθ)έρα 'Αθηνᾶν· τοῦτο γὰρ λέ(γε)σθαι τὸ 'ἐκ τῆς (κεφα)λῆς' καὶ 'Ζεὺς ἄρρην Ζεὺς θῆλυς.'* Cp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 41 quem (*sc.* Chrysippum) Diogenes Babylonius consequens in eo libro, qui inscribitur de Minerva,

a philosopher from Seleukeia on the Tigris[1], born *c.* 240 B.C.[2], identified Zeus with the universe or the universal soul and *Athenâ* with its highest part, the *aithér*, and was thus enabled to work in the Stoic *clichés* 'from the head' and 'Zeus male and female.' Lastly Cornutus[3] in his *Compendium of Theology* offered a blend of Chrysippos and Diogenes.

Aristokles[4] the historian, presumably in his *Theogony*[5], went off on a different tack. He declared that Athena was born in Crete, where she lay hidden in a cloud till Zeus cleft it and so brought her to light. This mention of the cloud recalls the Theogony of the Orphic Rhapsodies, in which the cosmic egg containing Metis was called 'the cloud'[6]; and it may be that Aristokles was here indebted to Orphism.

Where the ancients left off, the moderns began. P. Buttmann[7],

partum Iovis ortumque virginis ad physiologiam traducens disiungit a fabula, Min. Fel. *Oct.* 19. 12 Babylonio etiam Diogeni disciplina est exponendi et disserendi (K. F. Halm cj. disciplina eadem est exponenti et disserenti), Iovis partum et ortum Minervae et hoc genus cetera rerum vocabula esse, non deorum.

[1] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 106.

[2] H. von Arnim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 774.

[3] Cornut. *theol.* 20 p. 35, 6 ff. Lang ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ Διὸς σύνεσις, ἡ αὐτὴ οὖσα τῇ ἐν αὐτῷ προνοίᾳ, καθὸ καὶ Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱδρύονται (A. Nauck cj. ἵδρυνται) ναοί [On Πρόνοια as a tendentious alteration of the cult-title Προναία see Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 306—308, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 103, 1074 n. 6, 1096 n. 2, 1214 n. 4, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3114, 3119 ff.]. γενέσθαι δ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς λέγεται, τάχα μὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑπολαβόντων τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθ' εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόξασαν, τάχα δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἀνωτάτω μέρος τοῦ σώματος ἡ κεφαλή ἐστι, τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ὁ αἰθήρ, ὅπου τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν αὐτοῦ ἐστι καὶ ἡ τῆς φρονήσεως οὐσία· 'κορυφὴ δὲ θεῶν' κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην (*frag.* 919 Nauck[2]) 'ὁ περὶ (A. Meineke cj. πέριξ) χθόν' ἔχων | φαεννὸς (φαεινός codd. *c* G_2 F. H. Bothe cj. φαίδιμος J. Maehly cj. φαέθων) αἰθήρ.'...τὴν Μῆτιν οὖν καταπιὼν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐγέννησεν αὐτήν, ἐπειδὴ μητιέτης καὶ συνετὸς ὢν οὐδαμόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἐκ τῆς καθ' αὐτὸν (so Thomas Gale for καθ' ὁδὸν codd. F. Osann cj. καθ' ὅλου) βουλῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν ἔσχεν. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δυσετυμολόγητον διὰ ἀρχαιότητά ἐστι, τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθρεῖν πάντα οἷον Ἀθρηνᾶν αὐτὴν εἰπόντων εἶναι, τῶν δὲ κ.τ.λ.

[4] Aristokl. *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 330 Müller = *Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 258 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 66 b Ἀριστοκλῆς δὲ ὑφίσταται τὴν γένεσιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Κρήτῃ· νέφει γάρ φησι κεκρύφθαι τὴν θεόν, τὸν δὲ Δία πλήξαντα τὸ νέφος προφῆναι αὐτήν.

[5] Cp. Aristokl. *frag.* 1 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 257 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 29.

[6] *Supra* ii. 1024.

[7] P. Buttmann *Mythologus* Berlin 1828 i. 7 'Einige Haupt-Abstrakta jedoch, die sich sehr früh in der Sprache bilden, werden auch früh personificirt, und kommen daher fast bei allen Völkern als alte Gottheiten vor: *Klugheit*, *Sprache*, *Mannheit*, *Liebe*. Die Griechen haben dafür Pallas, Hermes, Ares, Afrodite,' 9 'Pallas, Klugheit,' 28 'Ist es nun nicht natürlich, dass die Nation welche den Verstand in der Pallas personificirte, und diese, als *göttlichen Verstand*, aus dem Haupte der obersten Gottheit entstehen liess, dass sie, sage ich, eben dieser Pallas den höchsten Rang nach Juppiter einräumte?'

E. Rückert[1], and G. Hermann[2] early in the nineteenth century, following the lead of the Stoics, accepted Athena as a personification of divine Wisdom and laid stress on the myth of Metis[3]. Dictionaries and handbooks spread the edifying doctrine, until no gentleman's library was complete without a bust of Pallas.

The second half of the century rebelled against excessive moralising and substituted a string of so-called 'physical' interpretations[4]. F. G. Welcker[5], like Diogenes, took Zeus to be the supreme spirit and equated *Athéne* with *aithér*, the divine effluence that issues forth from him as, in Philon's theology, the Logos proceeds from the Godhead. Others, obsessed by equally impossible etymologies, spent much eloquence in maintaining that Athena, daughter of the sky-god, must needs be the Dawn[6], or at least the Morning Twilight[7].

Such vagaries gradually gave way before the advance of another 'physical' school, the advocates of Storm-cloud and Lightning. They too founded upon classical lore, since they claimed the support

[1] E. Rückert *Der Dienst der Athena, nach seinen örtlichen Verhältnissen dargestellt* Hildburghausen 1829 pp. 63 'Athena ist ja die Klugheit, die Weisheit, Metis, des Vaters Zeus, und darum, nach der Theogonie, aus dessen Haupte entsprungen,' 193 'Dies aut Athenen angewendet, müssen wir es streng verneinen, dass in ihr irgend menschliche Weisheit, Klugheit oder Tapferkeit verehrt worden sei. Vielmehr, wenn wir die mannichfaltigen Formen ihres Kultus überblicken, werden wir zu der Ueberzeugung geleitet, dass es die allwaltende göttliche Macht, Weisheit und Güte, die göttliche Vorsehung gewesen sei, die man als die gewaltige, hochsinnige, huldreiche Tochter des Himmelsherrschers, als Pallas Athena anbetete.'

[2] G. Hermann *De Graeca Minerva* Lipsiae 1837 p. 11 (*id. Opuscula* Lipsiae 1839 vii. 271) cites Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 359 ἡ δὲ φρόνησις Ἀθηνᾶ ἐπίθετα ταῦτα κέκτηται· Βούδεια γὰρ ἡ φρόνησις, κ.τ.λ. (*supra* p. 608 n. 4).

[3] Cp. L.-F. A. Maury *Religions de la Grèce* Paris 1857 i. 425 ff. 'Dans le principe, personnification des eaux ou tout au moins des vapeurs qui, des eaux, s'élèvent dans l'air, elle n'est plus guère, à l'époque de Périclès, qu'une hypostase de la sagesse divine et de la providence de Zeus[1] ([1] Arnob., *Adv. gent.*, III, 31...). De déesse de l'élément humide, elle devient déesse de l'air pur, de l'éther, et par là elle se confond avec le roi des dieux, Zeus, qui personnifie le firmament... Athéné représenta en conséquence la sagesse, la pensée de Zeus... Déjà, dans Hésiode, on a vu Mêtis représenter, sous une forme analogue, la sagesse divine; mais, en passant dans Athéné, cette idée s'épure et s'agrandit. Toutes les vertus, toutes les perfections qui s'attachent à l'idée de l'intelligence suprême, servent à composer le personnage de la déesse... Telle est l'origine du mythe qui nous montre la déesse sortant tout armée de la tête de Zeus.'

[4] O. Gruppe *Geschichte der klassischen Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte während des Mittelalters im Abendland und während der Neuzeit* Leipzig 1921 p. 179 ff.

[5] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 300 ff.

[6] F. Max Müller *Lectures on the Science of Language* London 1864 ii. 503 (*id. The Science of Language* London 1891 ii. 622 ff.).

[7] C. Ploix *La nature des dieux* Paris 1888 pp. 213—215.

of Aristokles and his 'cloud.' J. F. Lauer[1] in 1853 was the first to characterize Athena as mistress of the Clouds. F. L. W. Schwartz[2] in 1860 elaborated the notion: he contended that the head of Zeus cleft by the axe of Hephaistos or Prometheus was the storm-cloud split by the lightning, Athena *Sálpinx*[3] being the trumpet-blare of the thunder[4]. T. Bergk[5] in 1860, W. H. Roscher[6] in 1886, and C. Robert[7] in 1894, with greater or less enthusiasm, rallied to the same standard. Even F. Dümmler[8] in 1896 was still largely under its spell. But in that year L. R. Farnell[9] showed convincingly that 'physical' explanations in general and storm-symbolism in particular must be abandoned in favour of some less arbitrary hypothesis.

Symbolism, however, dies hard. Birth from the heavenly height might be discredited; but birth from an earthly height took its place. O. Gruppe[10] suggested that the Argive cult of Athena *Akría*[11] perhaps gave rise to the myth that Athena sprang 'from the summit (*akrotátas*) of the head of Zeus[12].' U. von Wilamowitz-

[1] J. F. Lauer *System der griechischen Mythologie* Berlin 1853 p. 320 ff. ('Herrin der Wolken').

[2] F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 87.

[3] Paus. 2. 21. 3 (at Argos) Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ἱδρύσασθαι Σάλπιγγος ἱερὸν φασιν Ἠγέλεων. Τυρσηνοῦ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Ἠγέλεων, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι καὶ γυναικὸς λέγουσι τῆς Λυδῆς, Τυρσηνὸν δὲ σάλπιγγα εὑρεῖν πρῶτον, Ἠγέλεων δὲ τὸν Τυρσηνοῦ διδάξαι τοὺς σὺν Τημένῳ Δωριέας τοῦ ὀργάνου τὸν ψόφον, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπονομάσαι Σάλπιγγα, schol. T. *Il.* 18. 219 (copied by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1139, 54 ff.) σαλπίγγων δὲ εἴδη ἓξ. πρώτη ἡ Ἑλληνική, μακρὰ τὸ σχῆμα, ἣν Τυρρηνοῖς (G. Wentzel cj. Τυρρηνῷ) εὗρεν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ· διὸ καὶ 'Σάλπιγξ' παρὰ Ἀργείοις τιμᾶται, Hesych. *s.v.* σάλπιγξ·...ἐκδέχονται δὲ καὶ Σάλπιγγος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν παρὰ Ἀργείοις, *et. mag.* p. 708, 2 ff. Σάλπιγξ Ἀθηνᾶ· διὰ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὴν εὑρεῖν σάλπιγγα, καὶ ἱδρύσασθαι (*an leg.* ἱδρύσθαι?) Σάλπιγγος Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Ἄργει. Hence Lykophron twice uses Σάλπιγξ as a synonym of Ἀθηνᾶ (Lyk. *Al.* 915 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, 986). If Athena, as I conceive, was originally a mountain-mother (*supra* p. 224) of Pelasgian or Tyrsenian name (*supra* pp. 191 n. 8, 226), the Tyrsenian trumpet (A. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 522 ff., Maux in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2009) may well have been venerated as the very voice of the goddess.

[4] Cp. *Il.* 21. 388 f. ἀμφὶ δὲ σάλπιγξεν μέγας οὐρανός. ἄϊε δὲ Ζεὺς | ἥμενος Οὐλύμπῳ. More explicitly Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 557 f. προθεσπίζουσα δὲ νίκην | βρονταίοις πατάγοισι Διὸς μυκήσατο σάλπιγξ, 22. 284 ff. Κρονίων | οὐρανόθεν κελάδησε, καὶ Αἰακὸν εἰς φόνον Ἰνδῶν | βρονταίοις πατάγοισι Διὸς προκαλίζετο σάλπιγξ, Tryphiod. 326 f. οὐρανίη δὲ | ἐκ Διὸς ἑλκόμενον πόλεμον μαντεύετο σάλπιγξ.

[5] T. Bergk 'Die Geburt der Athene' in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1860 lxxxi. 303 ff. (*id. Kleine philologische Schriften* Halle a. S. 1886 ii. 651 ff.).

[6] W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 675 ff.

[7] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 188 ff.

[8] F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1987 f., 1991 f.

[9] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 280 ff.

[10] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1212 n. 2.

[11] *Supra* ii. 1156 n. 5.

[12] Eur. *Ion* 455 f. κατ' ἀκροτάτας | κορυφᾶς Διός (*supra* p. 661 n. 2). Cp. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 36 ff. πα|τέρος Ἀθαναία κορυφὰν κατ' ἄκραν | κ.τ.λ. (*supra* p. 200 n. 3).

Moellendorff[1], possibly taking a hint from T. Bergk[2], claims that in a pre-Greek myth Athena issued from the crest of Mount Olympos, the '*Götterberg*,' for which the head of Zeus was the later Hellenic equivalent. O. Weinreich[3] accepts Wilamowitz' view as well worthy of attention: F. Pfister[4] attends, but is non-committal. O. Kern[5] and A. H. Krappe[6] are frankly convinced.

Apart from these typical explanations we have to reckon with a few more isolated and individual conjectures. Thus W. Deonna[7], impressed by the fact that a Cycladic marble statuette at Karlsruhe

[1] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Athena' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* Phil.-hist. Classe 1921 p. 956 f. 'Ist es nicht eine grossartige und allem einfachen Denken entsprechende Vorstellung, dass die Göttin, die wir uns nur in ihrer vollen Rüstung denken können, einmal dem Gipfel der Götterberges entsprungen ist; Vasenbilder zeigen uns öfter ein solches Aufsteigen einer Göttin aus dem Boden. Darin würde liegen, dass der Gipfel des Berges Scheitel eines Gottes, hier also des höchsten Gottes gewesen ist. Eben dieses klingt mir gar nicht unglaublich, es weist aber in die Zeit, da Helikon, Kithairon und Parnes noch riesige Götter waren, wie sie bei Korinna erscheinen, da auch der Mimas ein Gigant war. Nicht ohne Grund sind die meisten Bergnamen vorgriechisch, der Olymp an der Spitze; Kultplätze auf den Höhen werden öfter erwähnt, und für die Kappadoker, also einen Stamm des Volkes, das den hellenischen Gebirgen ihre Namen gegeben hat, wird die göttliche Verehrung des Berges ausdrücklich bezeugt[1] ([1] Maximus Tyrius 8, 9 [*supra* ii. 978]). So bin ich geneigt, diesen Mythos für vorgriechisch zu halten, den Zeus in ihm für Ersatz des Olympos, der selbst einmal der Wolkensammler und Blitzeschleuderer gewesen ist.'

[2] T. Bergk 'Die Geburt der Athene' in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1860 lxxxi. 305 (*id. Kleine philologische Schriften* Halle a. S. 1886 ii. 653): 'Der Berggipfel, auf dem Athene geboren ward, ist der heilige Gotterberg selbst' with context.

[3] O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 62: 'Sehr beachtenswert ist übrigens seine Auffassung des (vorgriechischen) Mythos von der Geburt der Athena aus dem Haupt des Zeus: die Göttin entsprang gewappnet dem Scheitel eines jener Bergriesen, die als Höhenkultstätten ja bekannt sind, Zeus vielleicht "Ersatz des Olympos, der selbst einmal der Wolkensammler und Blitzschleuderer gewesen ist." Darf man einen Schritt weitergehen und sagen, der Mythos ist Reflex eines einstigen Palladion-Kults auf dem Bergscheitel?'

[4] Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 130.

[5] O. Kern *Die Religion der Griechen* Berlin 1926 i. 180: 'Denn nachdem Zeus den alten Berggott vom Olymp verdrängt hatte, wurde der Mythos erfunden, dass die alte vorgriechische Göttin Athene...gewappnet seinem Haupte entsprungen sei... Die Anthropomorphisierung war erfolgt: Zeus thronte auf dem Olympos, und aus dessen Gipfel wurde in der Sage von der Geburt der Göttin das Haupt.'

[6] A. H. Krappe in *Litteris* 1928 v. 63: 'Zeus is most convincingly shown [*sc.* by Kern] to have taken the place of a proto-Hellenic mountain divinity, and Athena was born from its top, later identified with Zeus' head, a truly admirable solution of one of the most puzzling of mythological problems,' *id. Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 272: 'Le lien entre Athéna et Zeus est secondaire. Il n'était possible qu'après l'identification du dieu du ciel indo-européen avec le démon de l'Olympe. C'est que l'ancienne déesse crétoise et l'Athéna originelle étant toutes les deux des déesses de la montagne, comme la Cybèle asiatique, on imagina le mythe d'Athéna née de la tête de Zeus, c'est-à-dire de la cime de la montagne.'

[7] W. Deonna 'La naissance d'Athéna' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1912 ii. 350—354, *id. Dédale* Paris 1930 i. 263 n. 5 with fig. 17, 4.

shows a nude female standing erect with a similar but smaller nude female on her head (fig. 532)[1], took this curious group to represent a mother-goddess and her daughter[2], compared the like arrangement of an Indo-Chinese father-god with his child (fig. 533)[3], and suggested that the same method of figuration—presupposing a

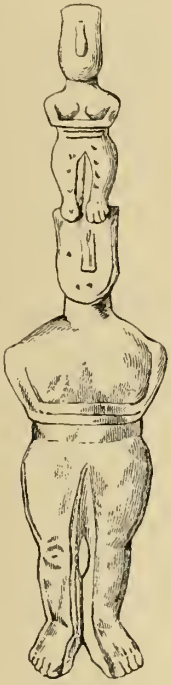


Fig. 532.

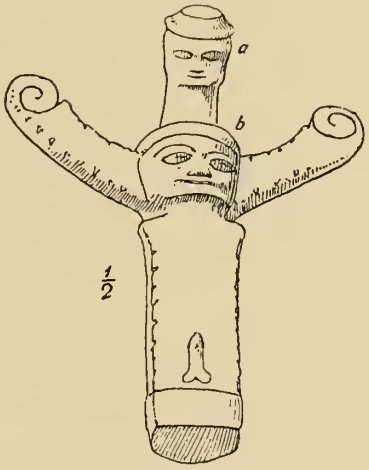


Fig. 533.

[1] E. Gerhard *Über die Kunst der Phönicier* Berlin 1848 pp. 14, 37 ('Vielleicht als Geburt einer Gottheit zu fassen,' etc.) pl. 4, 3=my fig. 532 (*id. Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen und kleine Schriften* Berlin 1868 ii. 13 pl. 44, 3), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 740 fig. 332 ('Ce que le sculpteur s'est proposé de montrer en disposant ainsi ses personnages, c'est que la déesse est une déesse mère; la figurine qui forme le sommet du groupe, c'est l'enfant par lequel se continuera la chaîne des générations'), H. T. Bossert *Altkreta* Berlin 1921 p. 30 fig. 116 (photo), *ib.*[2] Berlin 1923 p. 14 fig. 15 (photo), M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*[3] Wien 1925 p. 62 with fig. 8 on p. 60 ('wie an den Wappenpfählen der Indianer Nordwestamerikas und der Polynesier und an den Zauberstäben der Battaks. Der genealogische Charakter dieses barbarischen Bildwerkes ist vollkommen deutlich'), V. Müller *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien* Augsburg 1929 p. 14 n. 27, C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 95 fig. 13. From Paros. Height: 0·213^{m}.

[2] Cp. Gerhard and Perrot—Chipiez *locc. citt.*

[3] J. Deniker in *L'Anthropologie* 1890 p. 352 with fig. 14 on p. 358 (=my fig. 533) after E. Modigliani *Un Viaggio a Nías* Milano 1890 p. 245 fig. 48 'Un idolo' in the Museo di Leida.

primitive notion of paternity[1]—is to be found in the Greek type of Athena emergent from the head of Zeus (figs. 480, 484 ff., pls. liv, lv, lvi). The myth would then be of the purely iconographic sort, due, that is, to the misunderstanding of an early art-form[2]. Such cases no doubt occur, though they are exceptional[3]. It should, however, be observed that on this showing the relation of Zeus to Athena was primary, the intervention of Hephaistos secondary. But we have already seen strong reasons for regarding Hephaistos and Athena as the pre-Greek deities of the Akropolis[4], and Zeus as a later importation[5]. If therefore Deonna's view is to stand, we must at least assume—a not impossible assumption—that the art-type of Athena's birth denoted her conventional adoption[6] rather than her natural filiation.

That may be hazardous, but it is far less so than a rival explanation put forward the next year by G. Ancey[7]. He holds that Athena, who ended by becoming a divine Thought (*Mêtis*), began by being merely an oracular Voice or cephalic Sound. She was in effect the Big Noise, the awe-inspiring Sneeze of Zeus[8]! We are bidden to reflect that the Laconian form of her name, *Asána*, is obviously onomatopoeic, and that words connected with her—*kóre*, *kórre*, *kórys*—are suspiciously like *kóryza*, 'a catarrh[9].' Oddly enough, the learned author does not mention Athena *Sálpinx*[10], and fails to produce what might have been his trump card, the Aristotelian query 'Why do we regard a Sneeze as a deity?...Because, like reason, it issues from our head, the divinest part of us[11]?'

Having thus run through the whole gamut of explanations, from the sublime to the ridiculous, we are in a position to affirm that the

[1] See the list of abnormal births cited *supra* p. 95 n. 3.

[2] See W. Deonna *L'archéologie, sa valeur, ses méthodes* Paris 1912 i. 219 f., ii. 436 f., iii. 92 n. 11.

[3] Examples of the sort may be found in the myths of Chimaira (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 857, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 24 no. 183 pl. 4, p. 26 no. 208 pl. 5), Glaukos (*supra* i. 469 n. 7), Europe (*supra* i. 644), Talos (*supra* i. 723 f.), etc.

[4] *Supra* pp. 189 ff., 224 ff., 236. [5] *Supra* pp. 236, 598. [6] *Supra* pp. 80, 89.

[7] G. Ancey 'La naissance d'Athéna' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 209—211.

[8] *Id. ib.* p. 210 'Le *νεῦμα* célèbre qui devait inspirer Phidias [*supra* i. 2 f.] n'aurait pas suffi à "faire osciller le grand Olympe." Zeus a délivré un *πταρμός*: Zeus a éternué.' But see *supra* p. 20.

[9] G. Ancey *ib.* p. 210 'Athéna est la *κόρη κεκορυθμένη, κόρρης* (*ὑπὸ κόρου*) *ἐν κορύζῃ ἐκθορ-οῦσα.*'

[10] *Supra* p. 729 n. 3.

[11] Aristot. *probl.* 33. 7. 962 a 21 ff. *διὰ τί τὸν μὲν πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγούμεθα εἶναι, τὴν δὲ βῆχα ἢ τὴν κόρυζαν οὔ; ἢ διότι ἐκ τοῦ θειοτάτου τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὅθεν ὁ λογισμός ἐστι, γίνεται; κ.τ.λ.*

A

B

Pelike in the British Museum:
(*A*) Zeus and Nike. (*B*) Hera and Hebe (?).

See page 733 n. 5.

myth of Athena's birth as set forth in the Parthenon pediment admits of no single, satisfactory clue. So far we have recognised certain elements in the design as drawn from the ritual of the Dipolieia—Zeus *Polieús*, like his representative ox, struck with the double axe, the escape of the striker, the acquiescence of the bystanders, and the intent to safeguard the fertilising power of the sky-god[1].

But that is not all. The rites of the Dipolieia on the animal plane were in a sense paralleled by the rules of royal succession on the human plane. Sir James Frazer[2] has taught us that an early community is apt to regard its king as a god incarnate. Where this is the case, the king is not allowed to grow old, lest his divine powers should dwindle with the decay of their bodily vehicle. He must in fact—if society is still in a backward stage—be put to a violent death at the first symptom of physical decline: grey hairs may be his death-warrant. When he is slain, the immanent divinity, the potency that made him what he was, leaves his body to take up its abode in a younger and more vigorous frame. This rule is of world-wide validity, and the Greeks formed no exception to it. I have argued elsewhere[3] that early Greek kings, honoured as embodiments of Zeus and actually called by his name, were within traditional memory killed as soon as they began to exhibit the signs of old age. Further, I have pointed out that, when they were killed, the indwelling divinity was believed to quit their bodies in the form of a bird[4]. I am now emboldened to conjecture that the myth of Athena's birth reflects just this stage of social and religious development. At least it can be expressed in terms that are highly suggestive of the same. Zeus—say the vase-painters in effect—was king of the gods and sat, sceptre in hand, on a magnificent throne. But he had reached a mature age; indeed, according to Phrynos (*supra* p. 668 f. fig. 480) and the Villa Giulia Painter (pl. lix)[5], he was already a grey-beard. So another god

[1] *Supra* pp. 656 f., 661 f., 719.

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] ii. 1 ff., *ib.*[3]: The Dying God p. 14 ff., *id. Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 291 ff.

[3] In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 268 ff., 403 ff., *ib.* 1906 xx. 417, and especially in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 299—315, 369—385, 392—408.

[4] In *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 385—392.

[5] I am indebted to Mr C. D. Bicknell for the observation that Zeus on this important *pelike* is white-haired. The vase, which came from Athens and is now in the British Museum (95. 8—31. 1), is referred by Professor Beazley to his 'Villa Giulia Painter' (J. D. Beazley in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 288 no. 18, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 468 no. 21, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 351 no. 27), an artist of the 'early free style,' at work *c.* 460—450 B.C. (M. H.

drew near and smote him on the head with an axe. Whereupon a divine power conceived as resident in his head flew forth[1] and left him—Athena was born.

Yet a moment's reflection will convince us that, although the scene shown in the pediment corresponds well enough with the requirements of a royal succession, the correspondence is by no means absolute. Certain essentials are altogether missing. Had the situation been true to type, Zeus ought to have been killed, and the killer in virtue of marriage with the late king's daughter ought to have succeeded to her father's throne. Now it might indeed be claimed that Hephaistos mated, or attempted to mate, with Athena[2]. But we never hear that Zeus was killed by Hephaistos, or that Hephaistos succeeded to the throne of Zeus. Why is this?

Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 192 f.). Previous illustrations being inadequate (O. M. von Stackelberg *Die Graeber der Hellenen* Berlin 1836 p. 16 pl. 18, 2, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 28 pl. 14, 75 ff. pl. 30), I publish it here from the official photographs. Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* i. 75 f. comment quaintly: 'Peut-être Zeus figure-t-il ici comme un dieu-montagne, dont le sommet est couvert de neige; c'est ce que semblent indiquer sa chevelure et sa barbe blanches. Ainsi, Jupiter est identifié avec le mont Olympe, où il fait sa demeure, ou avec telle autre montagne sur laquelle il est l'objet d'un culte particulier. Mais comme il s'agit ici d'une peinture attique, le nom de *Jupiter Hymettius* nous semble devoir être préféré. D'un autre côté, la chevelure blanche (πολιός, *blanchi par l'âge*), qui, sur ce vase, distingue Jupiter, nous fait souvenir encore du surnom Πολιεύς, *le protecteur de la ville*, que Jupiter portait à Athènes, et cette particularité si rare sur les monuments antiques, de voir Jupiter avec des cheveux blancs, puisque nous n'en connaissons pas d'autre exemple, tend également à faire accepter ici le dieu comme une divinité locale.' But, if justification were needed, the contrast with Hebe would suffice.

Mr Bicknell further notes Raphael's design of a white-haired Iupiter for the frescoes of the Villa Farnesina at Rome (A. P. Oppé *Raphael* London 1909 p. 172 f. pls. 121 and 123 ff.), which however was very possibly inspired by Dan. 7. 9 or Rev. 1. 14.

The worried, white-haired Zeus of the *philyakes* is, of course, ἄλλος λόγος. See the South-Italian bell-*kratér* in the Vatican (M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 140 no. 101 pl. 76 (=my fig. 534), Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 182, 189 f. fig. 95. Earlier literature in W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 316 f. no. 510), which shows with considerable humour a love-adventure of the elderly but amatory god. Wearing a trumpery crownlet and carrying a ladder, he advances from the left, while Hermes on the right holds up an absurd little lamp. The young woman, prinked and preened, awaits her lover at the window, and betrays her eagerness by the finger-tips already resting on its sill.

[1] The owl clinging to the sceptre of Zeus on a black-figured *amphora* from Caere (*supra* p. 667 n. 2 pl. liii) or perched on his wrist on a black-figured *amphora* at Münich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 207 no. 645, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 202 ff. pl. 60) is—as Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) suggested (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 176 f.)—perhaps significant. But we can hardly say the same of the soul-birds on another from Orvieto (*supra* p. 681 ff. fig. 492), nor of the bird between Hephaistos and Hera on a fourth from Vulci (*supra* p. 700 n. 3 (1) fig. 517). nor yet of the eagle behind Thalna on the mirror from Arezzo (*supra* ii. 709 ff. pl. xxix).

[2] *Supra* p. 218 ff.

The fact is, the myth represented in the pediment was a myth of accommodation[1]. At this vital focus of Athenian worship allowance had to be made for the racial and religious changes through

Fig. 534.

[1] The only critic who has perceived this important point with adequate vision is Professor H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 50 f.: 'The close connexion between Zeus and Athena is probably due to historical causes. The chief god of the invaders must come to some sort of terms with the powerful and well-established

which the worshippers had passed. If the results of our somewhat scattered enquiry may be gathered up in the form of a diagram,

3	**ZEUS** storm-god	thunderbolt and eagle	**Attic** *from Eleusis*
2	**POSEIDON** (by-form of Zeus) god of streams, lakes, sea	(lightning-fork) trident fishing-spear	**Ionian** *from Boiotia* (?)
1	**HEPHAISTOS** lightning-god fire-god	double axe hammer	**Pelasgian or Tyrsenian** *from Asia Minor*
	ATHENA rock-goddess	olive, snake, owl	**Pelasgian or Tyrsenian** *from Asia Minor*

I should maintain that the cults of the Akropolis can be arranged chronologically in a threefold stratification[1]. Athena and Hephaistos came first, being a pre-Hellenic pair, the rock-goddess and the fire-god of an Anatolian people best called Pelasgian or Tyrsenian[2]. The next to arrive, perhaps *viâ* Boiotia[3], was the Ionian Poseidon, originally a lightning-god to judge from his trident[4], though later taken to be a sea-god with a fishing-spear[5]: at first in conflict with

Minoan-Mycenaean goddess; but he cannot be her husband, since she, like the rest of her kind, has either no consort or an insignificant one; therefore he must be her father. But she can have no mother, for that would subordinate her to some other goddess, such as Hera or Persephone, and she is far too important for that. Hence her miraculous birth, which represents, if we could but recover the details, an interesting chapter in early diplomacy and ecclesiastical polity.'

[1] I first put forward this scheme in a course of Lectures on *The Gods of Athens, their Significance and Stratification*, which was given at Cambridge on the J. H. Gray Foundation, Feb. 14, 21, and 28, 1936.

A curious, but of course quite fortuitous, result of my arrangement is that we thus obtain deities of earth (Athena), air (Zeus), fire (Hephaistos), and water (Poseidon) comparable with the personified elements of Empedokles (*supra* i. 31).

[2] *Supra* pp. 189 ff., 224 ff., 236.

[3] On Boiotia as an early centre of Poseidon-worship see *supra* ii. 583 n. 3. If Boeotian Δάν = 'Zeus' (*supra* ii. 342 n. 0, 344 n. 0), then ποτει-Δάν = 'Lord Zeus' (*supra* ii. 583), cp. πότνια Ἥρη = 'Lady Hera' (*supra* i. 444 n. 5, 456 n. 8).

Poseidon, though coming from Boiotia, may still have been Ionian by descent. For Boiotia, as Professor Myres has recently proved, was overrun by Ionians in pre-Dorian days (J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Univ. of California Press 1930 pp. 158, 561 n. 133).

[4] *Supra* ii. 789 ff., 850.

[5] *Supra* ii. 786, 790 f., 850.

Athena, he was ultimately identified with her *protégé* Erechtheus, the 'Cleaver,' and accommodated in the Erechtheion[1]. Last came the Attic storm-god Zeus, introduced by the clan Kerykes from Eleusis[2], and worshipped in his festival the Dipolieia[3] with rites that go far towards explaining the pedimental design[4]. The divine ox was struck with the double axe in order that he might come to life again with vigour unimpaired and work for his people as of old. Zeus is hit over the head for much the same purpose. The blow releases Athena, a further manifestation of his might. Three *strata*: but from the lowest to the highest it is Athena who really dominates the scene. Zeus himself lives on in her younger, fresher life.

If this sequence be conceded, several disturbing features in the pediment find a ready explanation. Room must be made in the central group for the predecessors of Zeus—Athena, Hephaistos, and Poseidon. At the same time Athena and Hephaistos cannot be regarded as the next occupants of the divine throne. And that for two reasons. On the one hand, as the original divinities of the Akropolis they were pre-Zeus and could not well be represented as post-Zeus. On the other hand, religious thought was beginning to outgrow its primitive phases and had by now reached a stage in which Zeus, as power supreme, could not conceivably be superseded by any other deity. Nor again could Zeus be affiliated to Athena, who, though originally a mother-goddess[5], had long since come to be viewed as a Virgin[6]. It remained for Athena, by a daring device, to be affiliated to him. We must not, however, assume that the myth of Dionysos sprung from the thigh of Zeus[7] here furnished the model; for in all probability the myth of Athena was the older[8]. In any case the choice of the head rather than the thigh for this simulated birth involves the archaic belief that an indwelling spirit may be forcibly delivered by a timely crack on the crown[9].

[1] *Supra* ii. 793 f.

[2] *Supra* p. 598. Zeus Ὀλύμπιος, however, came from Mt Olympos to the north bank of the Ilissos (*supra* p. 236). The Zeus-cults of Athens call for careful distinction.

[3] *Supra* p. 574 ff. [4] *Supra* pp. 656 f., 661 f., 720, 733.

[5] *Supra* p. 224 ff. [6] *Supra* p. 224 with n. 3. [7] *Supra* p. 79 ff.

[8] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 301 rightly stresses the epic epithet ὀβριμοπάτρη (*Il.* 5. 747, 8. 391, *Od.* 1. 101, 3. 135, 24. 540—always at the end of a line) as implying 'Dass sie keine Mutter habe, sondern nur den Vater, aber den Gewaltigen,' and notes that Ares is even more explicit (*Il.* 5. 872 ff. Ζεῦ πάτερ...σοὶ πάντες μαχόμεσθα· σὺ γὰρ τέκες ἄφρονα κούρην, | οὐλομένην, ἣ τ' αἰὲν ἀήσυλα ἔργα μέμηλεν).

[9] On the head as the seat of the soul see *supra* ii. 290 n. 0.

Sir A. J. Evans in *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 476 n. 5 remarks: 'The Tibetans think that the soul issues from the top of the head, and that the cutting off of the hair there facilitated its escape on death. So, too, the Kânikârs, a mountain tribe of

The ancients, like ourselves, found the idea entertaining—witness a delightful parody of the Athena-myth on a *phlýax*-vase at Bari (fig. 535)[1]. Leda's egg has been set carefully in a basket to hatch. But Zeus, who knows from experience what Hephaistos' double axe

Fig. 535.

Travancore, cut off the top-knot of the deceased (see Frazer, *Burial Customs*, p. 83, note).' But when Sir Arthur quotes (*op. cit.* p. 476) as a classical parallel Numa's words to Iupiter in Ov. *fast.* 3. 341 'Summos, ait ille, capillos,' he is relying on a worthless variant. The better manuscripts read '"sumes" ait ille "capillos"'—a very different story (*supra* p. 433 n. 0).

This releasing of the spirit from the head is an immemorial usage, which explains many things from the trepanning of neolithic skulls (K. Sudhoff *s.v.* 'Trepanation' in Ebert *Reallex.* xiii. 430—432 with bibliography) to 'The Holy-mawle' described by Aubrey, 'w^{ch} (they fancy) hung behind the Church dore, w^{ch} when the father was seaventie the sonne might fetch, to knock his father in the head, as effœte, & of no more use' (*supra* ii. 703 n. 2).

[1] M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 145 no. 110 pl. 80, 2 (=my fig. 535), Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 598, 718, iii. 361 fig. 805.

A more brainless bit of bogus mythology based on the myth of Athena's birth may be found in schol.(B.)T. *Il.* 19. 126. When Zeus in anger seizes Ate κεφαλῆς λιπαροπλοκάμοιο and flings her down from heaven to earth, the nitwit scholiast comments: οἱ μὲν 'ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς τῆς λιπαροπλοκάμου εἶλε τὴν Ἄτην'· φησὶ γοῦν "κράατα βαίνει" (*Il.* 19. 93)...οἱ δὲ τὸ "κεφαλῆς λιπαροπλοκάμοιο" ἐπὶ τῆς Ἄτης ἤκουσαν.... See W. Leaf *ad loc.*

can effect, sends him to crack the shell. Out pops Helen to the amazement of Tyndareos, while Leda herself, mindful of the celestial swan, peeps shyly through the doorway.

(κ) The superannuation of Zeus.

If the foregoing analysis be sound, one element in the complex myth of Athena's birth was the primitive persuasion that Zeus, king of the gods, must like all other kings in due course be superseded by a stronger than he. But—it will be said—what right have we to speak of Zeus being superannuated? Was he not looked upon as a power permanently supreme[1]? To this the true answer is both Yes and No[2]. Philosophical and *quasi*-philosophical writers certainly regarded Zeus as eternal, or at least everlasting, ruler of the universe. But the populace, heirs of the mythopoeic age, did not[3]. Even Aischylos, who in his moments of deepest insight approximates to the philosophers' view, speaks of succession to the divine throne as the prize of a grand Olympian wrestling-match, and tells how Ouranos was overthrown by Kronos, and Kronos in turn by Zeus:

> He who of yore was great
> And boldly challenged all
> Hath lost his former state
> Nor cometh at the call.
> And he who thereupon
> Rose in his stead is gone—
> He too hath met his fall.
> But if a man with glad triumphant cries
> Hail Zeus as victor, verily he is wise[4].

[1] Soph. *O. T.* 903 ff. ἀλλ', ὦ κρατύνων, εἴπερ ὀρθ' ἀκούεις, | Ζεῦ, πάντ' ἀνάσσων, μὴ λάθοι | σὲ τάν τε σὰν ἀθάνατον αἰὲν ἀρχάν is typical.

[2] Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11 has a trenchant passage on the subject of Zeus being superseded: 'atquin divinum imperium aut semper inmutabile est aut si est mutabile, quod fieri non potest, semper utique mutabile est. potest ergo Iuppiter regnum amittere, sicut pater eius amisit? ita plane.'

[3] I am not here concerned with the progressive senescence of art-types—a matter interestingly handled by E. Pottier 'La vieillesse des dieux grecs' in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (*Mélanges Bidez*) 729—743. In a few well-put paragraphs (pp. 730—733) he traces the gradual change that comes over Zeus as conceived by sculptors etc. from early Hellenic to late Hellenistic times. We see successively a warrior brandishing his bolt or a king sitting on his throne, a man of fine physique attacking his foes or pursuing his amours, the more mature and pacific ruler imagined by Pheidias, the ideal of philosophers and poets, and the anxious thinker portrayed by the Otricoli bust. In short, brute force, youthful vigour, active benevolence, moral grandeur, providence, and at the last pensiveness deepening into melancholy. 'C'est un Zeus vieilli, en qui l'on aurait peine à reconnaître l'époux triomphant qu'Homère nous dépeint dans les bras de Héra, sur un lit de lotus et d'hyacinthes.'

[4] Aisch. *Ag.* 167 ff.

Moreover, Aischylos is aware of the popular belief that Zeus holds his throne upon the same precarious tenure as his predecessors. That belief is involved in the plot of *Prometheus Bound*. Prometheus there says to Io:

> But now no limit is appointed me
> Of torment, till Zeus fall from his high throne.
> *Io* Zeus fall! Comes there a time when that may be?
> *Prom.* 'Twould gladden thee, I trow, to see that day.
> *Io* Most surely, since from him are all my woes.
> *Prom.* Then be assured the very truth is so.
> *Io* What hand shall wrest from him the staff of power?
> *Prom.* His own vain counsel, lorn of wisdom's light.
> *Io* In what wise? tell me, so it bring no harm.
> *Prom.* Winning a bride, whose wedding he shall rue.
> *Io* Of Heaven or Earth? If not forbidden, tell.
> *Prom.* Inquire no more. 'Tis not to be revealed.
> *Io* Shall his new consort oust him from his throne?
> *Prom.* Their son shall be more puissant than his sire.
> *Io* And may he not avoid that overthrow?
> *Prom.* Only when I, delivered from my bonds—[1]

But the sentence is broken off, and Prometheus does not reveal how Zeus may escape the impending doom. Later in the same play he reverts to the subject in the presence of the Ocean nymphs:

> *Prom.* Yet Zeus himself, though stubborn be his will,
> Shall be brought low at last, through the marriage-bond
> He purposeth. For it shall hurl him down
> From power supreme to nothing. Then shall come
> To pass the curse his father Kronos cried
> In that same hour when driven from his throne
> Of primal sovereignty. To avert this doom
> No god but I can point him the sure way.
> I know each turn thereof. Then let him reign
> Securely, trusting to his thunder's noise
> And wielding there aloft his lightning brand!
> Naught shall they warrant him from that sure fall,
> Intolerable, unhonoured, unreprieved.
> So dire a wrestler he himself provides
> Against himself, a portent huge in might,
> The weapons of whose forging shall o'er-blaze
> His lightning and out-blare his thunder-blast.
> And the new sea-god's spear, the trident dread,
> Poseidon's arm that plagues the stricken lands
> With earthquake, shall be shattered by his power.
> Zeus, foundering on that rock, shall fathom then
> What space divides the ruler from the slave.

[1] Aisch. *P.v.* 755 ff. trans. L. Campbell.

Cho. Thou word'st thy wishes against Heaven's high king.
Prom. My wishes, and the truth of what shall be.
Cho. Must we then look for one to master Zeus?
Prom. Yea, with a yoke yet heavier than mine.
Cho. How can'st thou talk so rashly, and not fear?
Prom. Why should I fear, whose fate is not to die?
Cho. He might decree some doom more painful still.
Prom. Let him! Naught can surprise me, who foreknow.
Cho. Wisdom bids bow before Necessity.
Prom. Ay, bend and worship, fawn upon the strong!
Less than the least care I for Zeus's will.
Let him employ his strength even as he may,
For this brief hour. His reign will soon be o'er[1].

But despite this attitude of defiance and exultation the Titanic sufferer in the following play, *Prometheus Unbound*, consents at length to give up his secret—the oracle concerning Thetis—and thereby obtains release from his bondage[2]. Thus in the end Zeus is saved by Prometheus, and Thetis the fateful bride is bestowed upon Peleus[3].

The myth is set out more lucidly by Aischylos' contemporary Pindar:

These things the immortals planned,
When Zeus for Thetis' hand
With great Poseidon strove,
And either suitor vied
To have her as his own, his comely bride,
So learnt the power of love.
Howbeit their deathless wisdom did not take
The prize they purposed; for, lo, Themis spake
And gave unerring counsel for their sake,
How that by Fate's decree
The mistress of the sea
Should bear her lord a prince more potent yet—
One who should launch a shaft
By his consummate craft
Swifter than lightning-flash,
Fiercer than trident's dash—
If she with Zeus or with Zeus' brethren met.

[1] Aisch. *P.v.* 907 ff. trans. L. Campbell (with a few alterations).

[2] Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* p. 39 Gomperz *Αἰσχύλος ἐν τῷ* Λ(υο)*μέν(ῳ* Π*ρ)ομηθεῖ*..... *(ὑπ)ὸ Διὸς δεδ(έσθαι), ἰὸ.* p. 41 *καὶ τὸν (*Π*ρομη)θέα λύεσθαι (φησὶν) Αἰσχύλος δ(τι τὸ* Λ*)όγιον ἐμή(νυσε)ν τὸ περὶ Θέ(τιδο)ς, ὡς χρε(ὼ)ν εἴ(η) τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεν(ν)ηθέντα κρείτ(τ)ω κατα-σ(τῆν)αι (τ)οῦ πατρός· (ὅθεν κ)αὶ θνητ(ῷ συνοικί)ζουσιν α(ὐτὴ)ν ἀ(νδρί).* See further *Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 63 Nauck[2].

[3] Schol. vet. Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 57 (ii. 495 f. Abel, iii. 273, 21 ff. Drachmann) *ὁ Ζεὺς βουλόμενος Θέτιδι πλησιάσαι ἐκωλύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ* Π*ρομηθέως· εἶτα* Π*ηλεῖ ἔδοξεν αὐτὴν*

'Nay, strive not,' Themis said,
'But let some mortal bed
Receive her that she may
Behold a son to perish in the fray,
His hands like Ares' own,
His feet like lightning flown.
I counsel you to give
This guerdon that a god might gain
To Peleus, who as Aiakos' son doth reign,
The holiest man of all the men that live
On Iaolkos' plain[1].'

Pindar, it will be observed, speaks of two competitors for the hand of Thetis, Zeus and Poseidon[2]. Tzetzes adds a third, Apollon[3]. It is, however, probable that the original story recognised but one, Zeus himself[4], and that his mythical association with Thetis arose

ἐγγυῆσαι. τεθρύλληται δὲ ἡ ἱστορία παρά τε συγγραφεῦσι καὶ ποιηταῖς, ἀκριβῶς δὲ κεῖται καὶ παρὰ Αἰσχύλῳ ἐν Προμηθεῖ Δεσμώτῃ. J. Resler *Ultimae Pindari Isthmiae...<scholia>* Vratislaviae 1847 p. 22 f. pointed out that Δεσμώτῃ must be a mistake for Λυομένῳ, since nowhere in the extant play are we told that Zeus was prevented from marrying Thetis by Prometheus. The blunder has affected Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 178 Πίνδαρος δὲ λέγει Ποσειδῶνα Ἀπόλλωνα Δία περὶ γάμων τῆς Θέτιδος ἐρίσαι, κωλυθῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς κατά τινας τῶν ἱστορικῶν ὑπὸ Θέμιδος κατὰ δὲ Αἰσχύλον ὑπὸ Προμηθέως· φησὶ γὰρ followed by the quotation of Aisch. *P.v.* 766 and Apollod. 3. 13. 5 ἔνιοι δέ φασι, Διὸς ὀρμῶντος ἐπὶ τὴν ταύτης συνουσίαν, εἰρηκέναι Προμηθέα τὸν ἐκ ταύτης αὐτῷ γεννηθέντα οὐρανοῦ δυναστεύσειν may be based on Aisch. Προμ. Λυόμ. The same is probably true of later references such as Hyg. *fab.* 54, Myth. Vat. 2. 65, 3. 11. 20 (where *a Proteo* is by confusion for *a Prometheo*).

[1] Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 60 ff.

[2] So does Apollod. 3. 13. 5, probably following Pindar.

[3] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 178 (cited *supra* p. 742 n. o), where E. Scheer regards the word Ἀπόλλωνα as an interpolation on the part of Tzetzes from the myth of Orion (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 328 Τριεὺς Κλονίαν ἔχων γυναῖκα ἅπαις ἐτύγχανε. ποτὲ γοῦν Ζεὺς καὶ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ἀπόλλων τῷ Τριεῖ τούτῳ ἐπεξενώθησαν καὶ ὃς βοῦν θύσας αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέξατο, οἱ δ' ἔφασαν αἰτεῖν αὐτόν, ὃ βούλοιτο. ὡς δὲ παιδίον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ἠτήσατο, οἱ τρεῖς τῇ τοῦ σφαγέντος βοὸς βύρσῃ ἐνούρησαν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Ὠρίων ἐγένετο, Ὠρίων κληθεὶς ὡς ἐκ τῶν οὔρων τεχθείς, ὅθεν καὶ τρίπατρον τοῦτον καλεῖ, cp. schol. Nik. *ther.* 15, schol. A.D. *Il.* 18. 468, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1535, 42 ff., Ov. *fast.* 5. 495 ff., Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 34, *fab.* 195, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 535, 10. 763, Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 96 ff., Arat. Lat. p. 248 f. Maass, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* pp. 386, 2 ff., 413, 11 ff. Eyssenhardt, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 3. 27, 7. 256, myth. Vat. 1. 32, 2. 129, 3. 15. 8, *et. mag.* p. 823, 58 ff. with the comments of Küentzle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1028 ff. and Sir J. G. Frazer on Ov. *fast.* 5. 494).

For three as a typical plurality see *supra* ii. 893 n. o.

[4] Schol. vet. Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 57 b (ii. 496 f. Abel, iii. 273, 25 ff. Drachmann) διαφωνεῖται δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς καὶ ἰδιαζόντως ὁ Πίνδαρος καὶ Ποσειδῶνά φησιν ἀμφισβητῆσαι περὶ τοῦ γάμου· ἢ ζητητέον, τίνι κατηκολούθησεν ὁ Πίνδαρος. The vulgate, then, recognised Zeus alone: cp. Ov. *met.* 11. 221 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 54, myth. Vat. 2. 65, 2. 205, 2. 206, 3. 11. 20 f. In the *Kypria* it is Momos who suggests to Zeus τὴν Θέτιδος θνητογαμίαν (*frag.* 1 Kinkel *ap.* schol. *Il.* 1. 5 f.).

at some Thessalian[1] cult-centre where Zeus and Thetis chanced to be worshipped side by side[2].

Different in origin, but similar in development, was the myth of Metis, which may be regarded as a Boeotian doublet of the Thessalian story. The Hesiodic, like the Homeric, Zeus is *metíeta*[3], *metióeis*[4], the 'Magician[5].' But, whereas *mêtis* in Homer was merely abstract 'prudence' or concrete 'counsel[6],' *Mêtis* in Hesiod is a full-blown personality. She ranks as one of the many daughters borne by Tethys to Okeanos[7], for supernatural wisdom belongs to the deities of the deep[8]. If now we ask how Zeus came to be so full of *Mêtis*, Hesiod[9] is ready with a naïve explanation. Metis, the

[1] On Thetis as 'Thessalische Seegottheit' see M. Mayer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 206—208.

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1168 n. 3: 'Auf eine andere Kultverbindung weist vielleicht die Sage von der Liebe des Zeus zu Thetis.'

[3] Hes. *o.d.* 104, *theog.* 56, 520, 904, 914, *sc. Her.* 33, 383.

[4] Hes. *o.d.* 51, 769, *theog.* 286, 457.

[5] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1, ii. 1147.

[6] H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 1101. The *formula* Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος is used of Odysseus (*Il.* 2. 169, 407, 636, 10. 137) and Hektor (*Il.* 7. 47, 11. 200) in the *Iliad*, but does not occur in the *Odyssey*.

[7] Hes. *theog.* 358.

[8] *Id. ib.* 352 Ἰδυῖα as another of the Ὠκεανῖναι. Cp. *ib.* 233 ff. Νηρέα δ' ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα γείνατο Πόντος | πρεσβύτατον παίδων· αὐτὰρ καλέουσι γέροντα, | οὔνεκα νημερτής τε καὶ ἤπιος, οὐδὲ θεμιστέων | λήθεται, ἀλλὰ δίκαια καὶ ἤπια δήνεα οἶδεν. See further, on Nereus, Proteus, and the like, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 554 ff., 609 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 415, 429 n. 2, and especially M. Ninck *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten* Leipzig 1921 pp. 47—99 ('Wasser und Weissagung').

Much the same idea underlies the negro plantation-song *Old Man Ribber*, the refrain of which runs: 'Old Man Ribber, | He must know somethin', | But don't say nothin', | He just keeps rollin' along.'

[9] Hes. *theog.* 886 ff. See also the fragment of an epic Theogony quoted by Chrysipp. *frag.* 908 von Arnim *ap.* Galen. *de Hippocratis et Platonis placitis* 3. 8 (v. 351 f. Kühn) ἐκ ταύτης <δ' (*ins.* R. Peppmüller)> ἔριδος ἡ μὲν τέκε φαίδιμον υἱὸν | Ἥφαιστον τέχνῃσιν ἄνευ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο | ἐκ πάντων παλάμῃσι κεκασμένον (so D. Ruhnken for κεκλημένον cod.) Οὐρανιώνων. | αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος ἠυκόμοιο | κούρῃ νόσφ' Ἥρης παρελέξατο καλλιπαρῄῳ (so D. Ruhnken for κάρηνι...παρεδέξατο καλλιπαρῄου cod.) | ἐξαπαφὼν Μῆτιν καίπερ πολυδήνε' ἐοῦσαν (so T. Bergk for πολὺ δινεύουσαν cod.). | συμμάρψας δ' ὅ γε χερσὶν ἐὴν ἐγκάτθετο νηδὺν | δείσας μὴ τέξῃ κρατερώτερον ἄλλο Κεραυνοῦ (so H. Weil and H. Usener for κεραινοῦ: *supra* ii. 12). | τοὔνεκά μιν Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος αἰθέρι ναίων | κάππιεν ἐξαπίνης· ἡ δ' αὐτίκα Παλλάδ' Ἀθήνην | κύσατο· τὴν μὲν ἔτικτε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε | πὰρ κορυφὴν Τρίτωνος ἐπ' ὄχθῃσιν ποταμοῖο. | Μῆτις δ' αὖτε Ζηνὸς ὑπὸ σπλάγχνοις λελαθυῖα | ἧστο, Ἀθηναίης (so D. Ruhnken for ἀθηναίη cod.) μήτηρ, τέκταινα δικαίων, πλεῖστα θεῶν τε ἰδυῖα (so G. F. Schoemann for εἰδυῖα cod.) καταθνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων. | κ.τ.λ. H. Usener 'Eine Hesiodische Dichtung' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1901 lvi. 174—186 attributed this excerpt to an earlier form of Hesiod's *Theogony*. But see A. Rzach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1192 and G. Kruse *ib.* xv. 1409 f. The latter follows U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* Phil.-hist. Classe 1921 p. 957 ff., *id. Die Heimkehr des Odysseus* Berlin 1927 p. 190 n. 1) in rejecting Hes. *theog.* 891—899 as an interpolation and regarding the epic fragment cited by Chrysippos as 'eine ganz späte Dublette,' both being condemned as the products of mere

first[1] wife of Zeus, surpassed in wisdom all mortals and immortals, and was fated to bear children exceeding wise—Athena equal to her father in might and counsel, and after Athena a son of such prowess that he should become king of gods and men. Hence Gaia and Ouranos advised Zeus to deceive Metis with crafty words and swallow her, lest another god should arise and deprive him of his kingly honours. Zeus accordingly did so, and himself bore Athena from his head[2]. Others add some details that belong to the same context. It appears that Metis was wont to change her form with a view to escaping the embraces of Zeus[3]: consequently he waited until she was small enough and then swallowed her[4]—a barbaric expedient clearly copied[5] from the ugly habits of Kronos[6].

theological speculation. F. Jacoby in his edition of the *Theogony* (Berlin 1930 pp. 37, 186, 188 f.) takes the same view. And F. Schwenn *Die Theogonie des Hesiodos* Heidelberg 1934 p. 50 is inclined to acquiesce, though he objects that Zeus' marriage with Metis would then be left without offspring. But to assume that the swallowing of Metis by Zeus must necessarily be a late invention is quite unjustifiable. The episode in itself is thoroughly consonant with primitive thought (see *e.g.* S. Thompson *Motif-index of Folk-literature* (*FF Communications No. 107*) Helsinki 1933 ii. 276 D 1793 'M[agic] results from eating or drinking'), and Zeus may well have been early credited with rivalling the digestive feats of Kronos. If it be borne in mind that the *μῆτις* of the *μητίετα* was magical wisdom or cunning, theological speculation is seen to be out of place.

[1] According to Hes. *theog.* 886 ff., Zeus wedded (1) Metis, whom he swallowed before producing Athena; (2) Themis, who bore the three Horai, Eunomia, Dike, Eirene, and the three Moirai, Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos; (3) Eurynome daughter of Okeanos, who bore the three Charites, Aglaïa, Euphrosyne, Thalia; (4) Demeter, who bore Persephone; (5) Mnemosyne, who bore the nine Muses; (6) Leto, who bore Apollon and Artemis; (7) Hera, who bore Hebe, Ares, and Eileithyia.

I have discussed the marriage of Zeus and Hera in two articles published in the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 365—378 and 416—419 under the title 'Who was the Wife of Zeus?'

[2] Hes. *theog.* 924 ff.

[3] Apollod. 1. 3. 6 *μίγνυται δὲ Ζεὺς Μήτιδι, μεταβαλλούσῃ εἰς πολλὰς ἰδέας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνελθεῖν, καὶ αὐτὴν γενομένην ἔγκυον καταπίνει φθάσας, ἐπείπερ ἔλεγε γεννήσειν παῖδα μετὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννᾶσθαι κόρην, ς οὐρανοῦ δυνάστης γενήσεται. τοῦτο φοβηθεὶς κατέπιεν αὐτήν· κ.τ.λ.* Cp. schol. B. L. T. V. *Il.* 8. 39.

[4] Schol. Hes. *theog.* 886 *λέγεται ὅτι ἡ Μῆτις τοιαύτην εἶχε δύναμιν ὥστε μεταβάλλειν εἰς ὁποῖον ἂν ἐβούλετο. πλανήσας οὖν αὐτὴν ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ πικρὰν* (F. A. Paley would read *μικρὰν*. I suspect that the scholiast meant *πίκραν*, the antidote 'higry-pigry' (*ἱερὰ πίκρα*), which would suit *κατέπιεν* A. B. C.) *ποιήσας κατέπιεν.*

Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 283 says: 'According to a later legend she complacently took the shape of a fly.' But he quotes no authority for the statement, and I am not aware of any such legend—unless indeed Farnell was confusing Metis with Periklymenos, son of Neleus and Chloris (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 156 *ἀνῄρηκεν δὲ αὐτὸν Ἡρακλῆς εἰς μυῖαν μεταβληθέντα ἐν τῷ πρὸς Πυλίους πολέμῳ κατὰ συμβουλὴν Ἀθηνᾶς τῷ ῥοπάλῳ αὐτὸν πλήξας κ.τ.λ.*).

[5] F. Schwenn *Die Theogonie des Hesiodos* Heidelberg 1934 p. 50 cp. *theog.* 888 with 468, 891 with 463, 892 f. with 461 f.

[6] *Supra* i. 154 (note that the myth is localised in Boiotia), 181 n. 0, 299, 520 n. 2, ii. 191 n. 10, 549, 928 n. 0, 933 n. 0. See now the careful treatment of the theme by M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1991 ff.

The general resemblance between the myths of Metis and Thetis is unmistakable. Metis, like Thetis, was a sea-power. Metis, like Thetis, was a shape-shifter. Metis, like Thetis, was loved by Zeus. Metis, like Thetis, was destined to bear a son that should oust his father—a danger averted in either case by an oracular utterance and consequent guile. But the Metis-myth is more than a mere parallel to the Thetis-myth. For it definitely associates—at least in its present Hesiodic form[1]—the birth of Athena with the superannuation of Zeus, and so justifies us in claiming[2] that the superannuation-*motif* may be detected in the art-types of the birth.

The subsequent history of the Metis-myth is curious. In the Theogony of the Orphic Rhapsodies[3] Metis is one of the names borne by the bisexual Phanes who, emerging from the cosmic egg, begat and consorted with Nyx, thus becoming the parent of Gaia and Ouranos, Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus. This first creation was followed by a second creation. Zeus at the advice of Nyx leapt upon Phanes and swallowed him whole. Zeus was thus enabled to make afresh within himself the world and all its contents, gods and goddesses included: Athena, for example, in full armour sprang from his head. Zeus therefore as a pantheistic god comprises—

> Fire and water and earth and *aithér*, day too and night;
> Metis the first forefather and Eros of much delight[4].

Mêtis is here boldly made masculine, perhaps as tantamount to *metíeta*, the epic appellative of Zeus[5]. But the license offended the neo-Platonist Syrianos, who quotes the same line with one small correction—

> Metis the first foremother and Eros of much delight[6].

Apion in the Clementine *Homilies*[7] sets forth a somewhat

[1] *Supra* p. 744 n. 2. It remains possible, and even probable, that a pre-Hesiodic form of the myth represented Zeus as swallowing Metis simply in order to acquire her magic, but that later, owing to some social or political exigency (*supra* p. 737) room had to be found for Athena, goddess of the old Pelasgian *stratum*. The *Theogony*, as it stands, is certainly a patchwork.

[2] *Supra* p. 739.

[3] *Supra* ii. 1024 ff. (conspectus on p. 1034).

[4] *Supra* ii. 1028 πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἡμαρ, | καὶ Μῆτις πρῶτος γενέτωρ καὶ Ἔρως πολυτερπής.

[5] *Supra* ii. 1025.

[6] Orph. *frag.* 169 Kern *ap.* Aristokrit. Manich. in the *Theosoph. Tubing.* 50 (K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 110, 4) καὶ Μῆτις, πρώτη γενέτις, καὶ Ἔρως πολυτερπής. For γενέτις cp. *Wisdom* 7. 12 εὐφράνθην δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἡγεῖται σοφία, ἠγνόουν δὲ αὐτὴν γενέτιν εἶναι τούτων.

[7] Orph. *frag.* 56 Kern *ap.* Clem. Rom. *hom.* 6. 5—9 (ii. 200 C—204 B Migne).

similar Theogony, which may be described as a *quasi*-Orphic account with a strong etymological colouring. When the bisexual Phanes emerged from the cosmic egg, the rest of its material contents sorted themselves out. The heavier dregs subsided in time (*chrónos*) and so were said to have been swallowed by Kronos: their abundance (*plêthos*) caused them to be called Plouton. The fluid floating on the surface of this sediment got the name Poseidon. The highest and purest portion, consisting of translucent fire, was termed Zeus by reason of its heat (*zéousa*). This was not swallowed by Kronos, but in virtue of its own warmth drew upwards the finest and most divine element left in the fluid layer, a spirit named Metis. Absorbed by the *aithér* and passing through its upper part or head, this spirit set up a perpetual agitation (*palmós*), in short produced Understanding or Pallas[1].

In Platon's *Symposium*[2] Diotima of Mantineia[3] has a tale to tell about the parentage of Eros. When Aphrodite was born, Poros son of Metis ('Way' son of 'Wisdom') was feasting with the other gods. Being drunk with nectar[4]—it was before the days of wine—he betook himself to the garden of Zeus[5] and there fell asleep. Meantime Penia ('Poverty') got wind of the feast and came begging at the door. Anxious to cure her distress (*aporía*), she lay with Poros and became by him the mother of Eros, who is attached to Aphrodite because he was begotten on her birthday. He is poor (*pénes*) and homeless like his mother, but eager, ingenious, and fertile in resource (*pórimos*) like his father. As a *daímon*, he is neither mortal nor immortal[6], but in a single day will live and die

[1] *Ib.* 7—8 (ii. 201 B—204 A Migne) τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τρίτον τὸ καθαρώτατον καὶ κορυφαιότατον ἄτε διαυγὲς ὂν πῦρ Ζῆνα ὠνόμασαν διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ζέουσαν φύσιν· ἀνωφερὲς γὰρ ὂν τὸ πῦρ πρὸς μὲν τὰ κάτω ὑπὸ χρόνου τοῦ Κρόνου οὐ κατεπόθη, ἀλλ', ὡς ἔφην, ἡ πυρώδης οὐσία ζωτική τε καὶ ἀνωφερὴς οὖσα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνέπτη τὸν ἀέρα, ὃς καὶ φρονιμώτατός ἐστι διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα. τῇ οὖν ἰδίᾳ θερμότητι ὁ Ζεύς—τοῦτέστιν ἡ ζέουσα οὐσία—τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἐν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ὑγρῷ τὸ ἰσχνότατον καὶ θεῖον ἀνιμᾶται πνεῦμα, ὅπερ Μῆτιν ἐκάλεσαν. κατὰ κορυφῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐλθὸν τοῦ αἰθέρος καὶ συμποθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ ὑγρὸν θερμῷ μιγέν, τὸν ἀεικίνητον παλμὸν ἐμποιῆσαν, γεννᾷ τὴν σύνεσιν, ἣν καὶ Παλλάδα ἐπονομάζουσι διὰ τὸ πάλλεσθαι, τεχνικωτάτην οὖσαν φρόνησιν, ᾗ χρώμενος τὸν πάντα ἐτεχνήσατο κόσμον ὁ αἰθέριος τεχνίτης.

[2] Plat. *symp.* 203 B—E.

[3] *Supra* ii. 1167. W. Kranz 'Diotima von Mantineia' in *Hermes* 1926 lxi. 437—447 argues that Diotima was historical and was in Athens to stay the plague by sacrifice (Plat. *symp.* 201 D) about the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (*Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 209).

[4] An Orphic touch? Cp. *supra* ii. 448 n. 1, 1027.

[5] Orphic again? Cp. *supra* ii. 1021 (but also 1119).

[6] For Eros as belonging to this category of betwixt-and-between see E. Hoffmann 'Methexis und Metaxy bei Platon' in the *Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin* 1919 xlv. 53 f. (at end of *Sokrates* 1919 vii).

and rise again thanks to his father's nature. This transparent little allegory may or may not have been invented by Platon[1]. In any case it offered possibilities to the allegorists of a later age[2], and was obviously susceptible of a Christian re-interpretation. A. von Sallet[3] first drew attention to the fact that a medallion, finely struck by Giovanni Cavino 'the Paduan' (1500—1570 A.D.) in dark copper with a border of brass (fig. 536), has for obverse design a head of Christ inscribed PORVS CONSILII FILIVS, and acutely recognised in this legend the Latin rendering of the Platonic 'Poros son of Metis[4].'

Fig. 536.

So in the long run the oracle concerning Metis came true, and Zeus, despite his most desperate shifts, found himself superseded by a Son of divine 'Wisdom,' One who was indeed the 'Way'—and the Truth, and the Life.

(λ) The attributes of Athena.

The affiliation of the pre-Hellenic Athena to the Hellenic Zeus produced a goddess whose powers, as evidenced by her attributes,

[1] Recent literature includes J. A. Stewart *The Myths of Plato* London 1905 p. 428, W. Willi *Versuch einer Grundlegung der platonischen Mythopoiie* Zurich 1925 pp. 26 ff., 32 ff., K. Reinhardt *Platons Mythen* Bonn 1927 p. 68 ff., P. Frutiger *Les mythes de Platon* Paris 1930 pp. 113 n. 2, 116, 198, 240.

Poros is as old as Alkm. *frag.* 23. 13 ff. Bergk[4], 1. 13 ff. Diehl, 1. 13 ff. Edmonds [κράτησ]ε γὰρ Αἶσα παντῶν | [καὶ Πόρο]ς γεραίτατοι | [σιῶν· ἀπ]έδιλος ἀλκά with the marginal gloss ὅτι τὸν Πόρον εἴρηκε τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου μεμυθευμένῳ Χάει, on which see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2775—2778.

[2] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 57 (ὁ γὰρ Πόρος οὐχ ἕτερός ἐστι τοῦ πρώτου ἐραστοῦ καὶ ἐφετοῦ καὶ τελείου καὶ αὐτάρκους κ.τ.λ.), Plotin. *enn.* 3. 5. 5 ff. (λόγος δὲ ἐλέγετο τῶν πάντων ὁ Πόρος with context, in which Zeus is νοῦς, Aphrodite is ψυχή, Penia is ὕλη). Cp. Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 16.

[3] A. von Sallet in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1881 viii. 118—120 with fig. (=my fig. 536), W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2941.

[4] Plat. *symp.* 203 B ὁ τῆς Μήτιδος υἱὸς Πόρος.

belonged partly to the old order, partly to the new, but contrived to reconcile both in the brilliance of a fresh and vivid personality.

The said attributes can best be understood as the direct outcome of certain conclusions already reached. The Akropolis, I have said[1], was originally called *Athéne*, a place-name whose locative **Athenai* occasioned the plural *Athênai* habitual in later Greek[2]. Homer[3]—be it observed—in the *Odyssey*, when speaking of Athens, can still use the singular form:

'She came to Marathon and wide-wayed Athene.'

I further insisted[4] that the goddess was named *Athéne*, like the rock, simply because at the outset she *was* the rock[5], a mountain-mother of the Anatolian kind.

No doubt objections will be brought against both these points of view. I shall be told that to use the same word *Athéne* at one moment of the goddess, at the next of her rocky abode, would have been intolerably confusing. Homer thought otherwise. The immediate context[6] of the line quoted above tells how 'Athene...left lovely Scherie, and came to Marathon and wide-wayed Athene.' So Athene came to Athene! The poet is serenely unconscious of anything amiss.

Others may demur to Athena being treated as a mountain-mother. She was so notoriously a Virgin that to call her a Mother at all borders on the blasphemous. But we are apt to forget that in early illogical days the status lost might by appropriate means be regained. Pausanias[7], for instance, informs us that Hera recovered her virginity every year by bathing in the spring Kanathos near Nauplia. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that the same

[1] *Supra* p. 224.

[2] F. Matz in A. Mau *Katalog der Bibliothek des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom*[2] Berlin—Leipzig 1932 ii. 2. 1026 cites R. Nadrowski 'Der Städtenamen 'Αθῆναι in seinem Verhältnis zum Götternamen 'Αθηνᾶ' in 'Επιστημ. 'Επετηρίς 1908—1909 v. 199—203.

[3] *Od.* 7. 80 ἵκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρυάγυιαν 'Αθήνην. But 'Αθῆναι in *Il.* 2. 546, 549, *Od.* 3. 278, 307, 11. 323.

[4] *Supra* p. 224.

[5] Dr B. F. C. Atkinson has suggested to me that a masculine parallel might be found in "Αθως, a mountain which bore a name of Anatolian type (cp. Κέως, Κῶς, Τέως), was addressed by Xerxes as "Αθω δαιμόνιε (Plout. *de cohib. ira* 5), was later personified as a giant (H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 704, K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2065 and 2069), supported a population of Macrobii (Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 37: cp. *supra* ii. 500 n. 4), and down to the present day is regarded as a "Αγιον "Ορος of the utmost sanctity (*supra* ii. 906 n. 1).

[6] *Od.* 7. 78 γλαυκῶπις 'Αθήνη, 80 εὐρυάγυιαν 'Αθήνην—both at the end of the line and all the more likely to catch the eye.

[7] *Supra* p. 224 n. 3.

thing happened to Athena, both in Argos and at Athens. The Argive women once a year took the image of Athena and washed it in the river Inachos[1]. At Athens it was the old wooden statue in the Erechtheion that had the annual bathe. It was escorted down to Phaleron by the *épheboi*, dipped in the sea by two *loutrídes* or 'bathing-women,' and brought back in the evening with a torch-light procession—the whole business being termed the Plynteria or 'Washing Day[2].' Now we may be very sure that it was some strong religious reason—godliness rather than cleanliness—which prompted the Greeks to bathe their goddess in river or sea. And, if we may argue from what is told us of Hera, the object was to transform the Mother into a Maiden once more. Of course to all and sundry in up-to-date Athens Athena was *Parthénos*. But the women of Elis, country folk who clung to archaic beliefs, had a sanctuary of Athena *Méter*[3], a mother-goddess confessed.

I take it, then, that Athena was the pre-Greek mountain-mother of the Akropolis rock. As such she would stand in specially close relation to the rock-products, whether vegetable or animal. Any life issuing from crevices or holes in the rock would be *her* life. The flora and fauna of the place would be venerated as divine manifestations of herself. And of these manifestations there are three that claim our special attention.

(1) The olive of Athena.

Only one tree, so far as we know, grew on the Akropolis—the famous olive in the Pandroseion[4] (fig. 537)[5]. The antiquary Philochoros[6] mentions it in connexion with a curious happening of 306 B.C. He says:

'This year had ended and another begun, when the following portent took place on the Akropolis. A bitch got into the temple of the *Poliás* and, diving into the Pandroseion, mounted the altar of Zeus *Herkeîos*, which stands under the olive tree, and there lay down, though it is an old-established custom at Athens that dogs[7] are not allowed on the Akropolis.'

[1] *Ib.*

[2] G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 440 f., Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 7 f., 10 f., 491—504, L. Couve in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 799—801, E. Pfuhl *De Atheniensium pompis sacris* Berolini 1900 pp. 89—92, L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 pp. 17—22.

[3] *Supra* p. 224 f. [4] *Supra* p. 243.

[5] I reproduce the restoration of M. Schede *Die Burg von Athen* Berlin 1922 p. 105 fig. 25 (=*id. The Akropolis of Athens* trans. H. T. Price London (1927) p. 105 fig. 25).

[6] Philochor. *frag.* 146 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 408 f. Müller) *ap.* Dion. Hal. *de Dinarch. iud.* 3.

[7] Cp. Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 90 with H. J. Rose *ad loc.* See further O. Keller *Die*

One fancies the scene—the dog dodging pursuit, the horrified bystanders, the fattish sacristan in full cry, but balked of his prey as the creature leapt into safety beneath the shade of Athena's olive!

This was the tree said to have been planted by Athena as

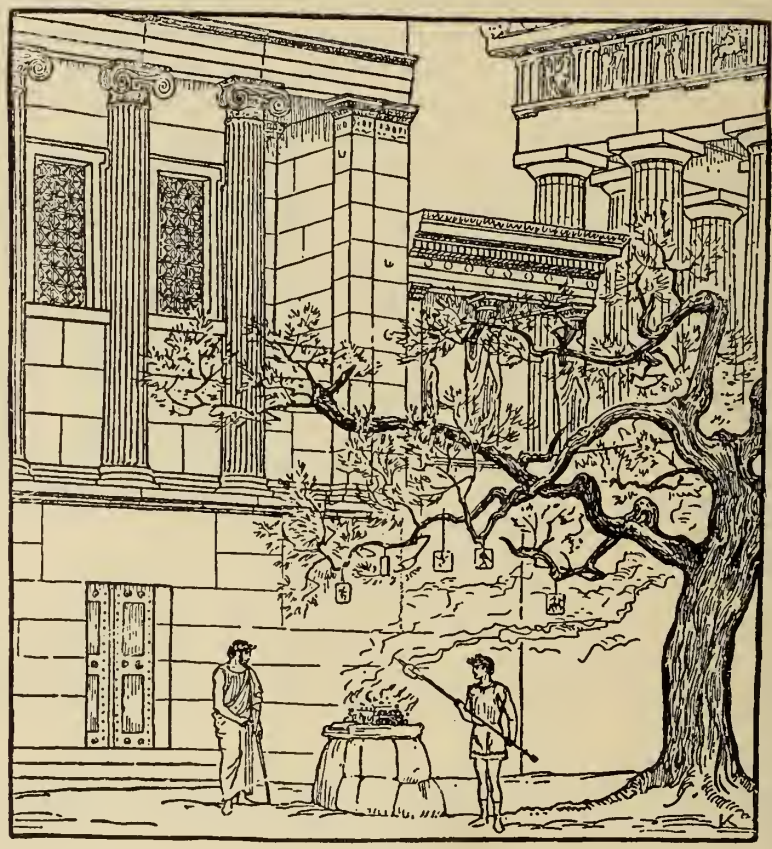


Fig. 537.

evidence that the Akropolis belonged to her and not to Poseidon. Apollodoros[1] tells the tale:

'Poseidon...with a blow of his trident on the middle of the Akropolis produced a sea, which they now call Erechtheïs. After him Athena, having summoned Kekrops as witness of her right, planted an olive-tree, which is still shown in the Pandroseion. But when the two strove for possession of the place, Zeus[2] parted

antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1909 i. 136, 139, F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2574 f., H. Scholz *Der Hund in der griechisch-römischen Magie und Religion* Berlin 1937 p. 49.

[1] Apollod. 3. 14. 1.

[2] *Supra* i. 147.

them asunder and appointed as arbiters...the twelve gods. By their verdict the land was adjudged to Athena, because Kekrops bore witness that she had been the first to plant the olive. Athena, therefore, called the city Athens after herself, while Poseidon[1] in hot anger flooded the Thriasian plain and laid Attike under the sea.'

The story is related by Greek and Roman writers with some variety of detail[2]. But the main points are sufficiently clear. And it is the unanimous, or all but unanimous, opinion of modern scholars that this legend covers a historic fact—the attempted supersession of Athena-cult by Poseidon-cult[3]. Or, as I should venture to put it, the intrusion of the Ionian god upon the Pelasgian goddess[4].

And here we must take into account the western pediment of the Parthenon, about which Pausanias[5] says simply: 'The back gable contains the strife of Poseidon with Athena for possession of the land.' This pediment at once met the eye of all visitors to the Akropolis, and in ancient times lent dignity to a somewhat barren

[1] Poseidon, despite his stormy strength, really seemed born to lose lawsuits! Similar legends told how he strove with Hera for Argos, lost his case, and in anger first drained the country of water and then swamped it with a flood (Paus. 2. 15. 5, 2. 22. 4); how he contended with Zeus for Aigina and again lost (Orph. *frag.* 335 Kern *ap.* schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 92 ἢ ὅτι ἐφιλονείκησαν Ποσειδῶν τε καὶ Ζεὺς περὶ Αἰγίνης, ὅτε καὶ μεταβαλεῖν δοκεῖ τὴν νῆσον Ποσειδῶν, καθὰ ἄλλοι τέ φασι καὶ Πυθαίνετος (an *addendum* to *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 487 Müller) προσαγόμενος Ὀρφέα. See further J. P. Harland *Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 pp. 52, 81 ff.); how he disputed the possession of Trozen with Athena, but was forced to go shares, and vented his spleen by flooding the land with salt water (Paus. 2. 30. 6, 2. 32. 8). But, so far as Athens is concerned, notice the orderly and decorous nature of the proceedings—the two litigants, the rival claims, the production of evidence and material exhibits, the peaceful settlement by adjudicators on the ground of well-attested priority. I should infer that the legend took shape in comparatively recent times, and I should be disposed to conjecture that the original dispute was a fight, not a lawsuit at all.

[2] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 203 n. 1, F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1951, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 270 ff., G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1919, Sir J. G. Frazer on Apollod. 3. 14. 1, H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 pp. 68, 76 f.

Monographs include L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1872 pp. 5—142 Atlas pl. 1, C. Robert 'Der Streit der Götter um Athen' in *Hermes* 1881 xvi. 60—87 (see *infra* p. 753 n. 2), E. Petersen '"Der Streit der Götter um Athen"' *ib.* 1882 xvii. 124—133, C. Robert 'Das Schiedsgericht über Athena und Poseidon' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 48—58 pls. 1, 2 and 2, E. Petersen 'Der Streit des Poseidon und der Athena' in *Wiener Studien* 1883 v. 42—51, W. Amelung 'Schiedsgericht zwischen Poseidon und Athene' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1898 xxiii. 235—241.

A conspectus of literary variants is given in *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 32.

[3] To quote but one recent judgment, Prof. H. J. Rose *op. cit.* p. 68 sees here 'a local Attic legend, which perhaps reflects the contests between a Greek (Ionian?) people, coming, it may be, by sea, and the natives of the place with their ancient cult of a Minoan goddess.'

[4] *Supra* p. 736 f.

[5] Paus. 1. 24. 5.

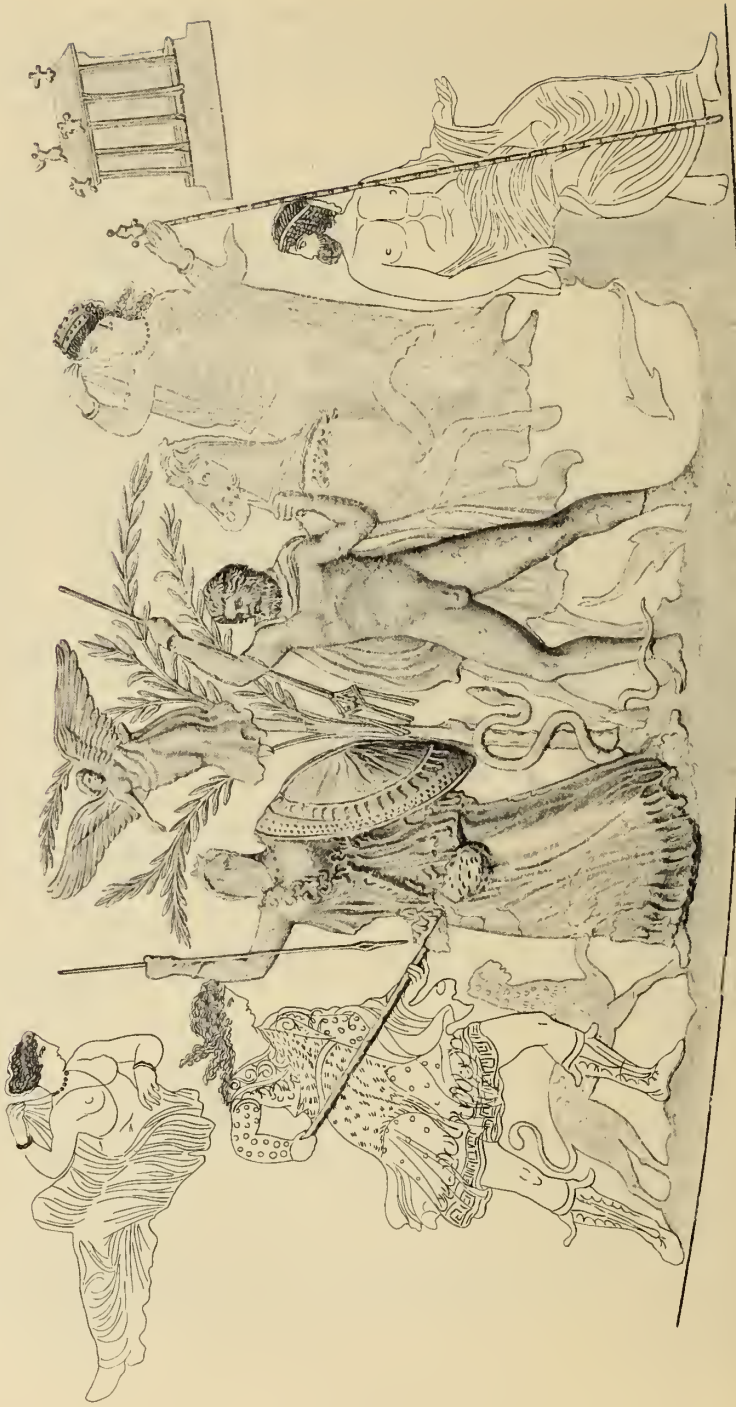


Fig. 538.

rock by representing it as a bone of contention between two major deities. Nowadays the sculpture has almost completely vanished from the pediment-floor; but, so far as the principal antagonists are concerned, extant fragments suffice to prove[1] the general trustworthiness of the fourth-century *hydría* from Pantikapaion, which gives us in gilded relief a close copy of the central group (fig. 538)[2]. Both claimants are in strenuous action, Athena striking downwards with her lance, Poseidon with his trident. Beside the former is her olive[3] with a snake twined about it and a Nike hovering in the branches. Beside the latter is his sea with a couple of dolphins plunging in it. And the vase-painter has acknowledged his debt to the sculptor by adding a small temple in the top right-hand corner, as who should say 'I owe my inspiration to the Parthenon[4].' Sir Cecil Smith[5] in 1907 was able to show that the existing portions[6] of Athena and Poseidon could be aptly superposed on the corresponding vase-figures. That is reassuring. But sundry difficulties remain. Why after producing their tokens are the gods depicted as

[1] Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1907 xxvii. 245 ff. with fig. 2.

[2] L. Stephani *loc. cit.* Atlas pl. 1 (=my fig. 538), A. Conze *Wien. Vorlegebl.* vi pl. 9, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 221, iii. 1394 f. fig. 1542, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 441 f. fig. 44, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 37, 1 f., H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 24 pl. 50, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 713 fig. 604, M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 357 with fig. 476. The olive-tree is completely gilded. Athena (head broken away) and Poseidon are in high relief. The goddess wears a green *péplos* and carries a yellow shield, but her lance and adornments are golden. The god is brown-skinned and has a reddish *chlamýs*, a gilded trident, and a white horse.

C. Robert in *Hermes* 1881 xvi. 60—87 argues that the scene shows Poseidon attempting to destroy with his trident the newly created olive-tree, which is protected both by the snake Erichthonios and by Dionysos Δενδρίτης (Plout. *symp.* 5. 3. 1), while Athena raises her lance to attack Poseidon himself. The remaining figures, from left to right, will be Pandrosos, Amphitrite, Kekrops The vase, like the pediment, thus depicts the actual ἔρις, of which no literary description has come down to us.

[3] Two fragments of the tree are at Athens (A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 201 no. 339, 17 twigs of olive (height 0·17^{m}) and 18 part of stem and sprays of olive (height 0·41^{m}), *id. A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 120 no. 339, 17 and 18, *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 25 *frag.* 148 pl. 14 D and *frag.* 149 pl. 14 D. The latter already in A Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 199 pl. 8, 15). See also A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 200 f. no. 339, 16, *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 23 *frag.* 25 pl. 14 A.

[4] C. Robert *loc. cit.* p. 67 thought 'dass der kleine Tempel mit Stephani als Erechtheion, oder um es ganz correct zu sagen, als der Palast des Kekrops...zu erklären ist.'

[5] Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1907 xxvii. 245 fig. 2.

[6] A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 124 ff. no. 304, L and M, *id. A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 40 ff. no. 304, L and M, *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 18 f. figs. 31—33 pl. 10, 1 and 2, M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1909—1912 pl. 58, L and M.

striking downwards? Studniczka[1] suggested that to drive a spear into the ground was to claim possession of the soil—a piece of symbolism current in antiquity, like the modern hoisting of a flag. But the examples of the alleged custom quoted by him are not very convincing[2]. More often we are told that Athena strikes the rock with her lance and so creates the olive, Poseidon strikes it with his trident and so makes the salt well. The action and its immediate result are combined in one simultaneous scene. That may be so. Only, it is *not* what Apollodoros said. According to him[3], Athena never struck the rock at all! Poseidon with a blow of his trident on the middle of the Akropolis produced his sea, but Athena merely planted her olive-tree. What, then, are we to make of her action with that spear? It looks to me as though Pheidias or whoever designed the western pediment of the Parthenon had taken an old combat-*motif*, two people fighting one another, and modified it to suit a new situation—the more peaceable producing of proofs, right rather than might.

Fig. 539.

Fig. 540.

Imperial bronze coins of Athens (figs. 539, 540)[4] are often cited in illustration of the pediment. But I doubt their relevance. For one

[1] F. Studniczka in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2863.

[2] Studniczka (after W. Judeich) quotes Diod. 17. 17 (Alexander from his ship hurled a spear at the Troad and *ἀπεφαίνετο τὴν* Ἀσίαν *δέχεσθαι δορίκτητον*) and Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 46 (Romulus, captato augurio, hastam de Aventino monte in Palatinum iecit: quae fixa fronduit et arborem fecit). But how far was the hurling of the spear an essential part of the symbolism (cp. *supra* ii. 703 n. 2)? The Centumviral *hasta* (B. ten Brink *De hasta praecipuo apud Romanos signo, imprimis iusti dominii* Groningae 1839 pp. 1—116) may or may not be in point (see É. Cuq in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 41 ff. and M. Wlassak in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1935 ff.).

[3] *Supra* p. 750 f.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 98 pl. 17, 4, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 130 f. pl. Z, 11, 12, 14, 16, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 89, 1—15 (of which no. 3 Vienna = my fig. 539 and no. 14 Athens = my fig. 540). A specimen in my collection is shown *supra* p. 187 fig. 96.

Mrs J. P. Shear in *Hesperia* 1936 v. 296 connects the contest-type of Athena *v.* Poseidon (her fig. 8, 1—11) with the Athenian festival of freedom, the Niketeria (L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 235 n. 2).

thing, Poseidon and Athena are to the left and right of the tree: in the pediment their position was the reverse. Again, the coins put an owl on the tree, where the pediment had a hovering Nike. And lastly, the coins make Poseidon strike the rock, but Athena merely point to her tree: on no specimen known to Svoronos has she a lance. The inference is clear. The coins are presenting the myth as told by Apollodoros, not the myth as represented in the pediment.

Pausanias[1], when he visited Athens, noticed yet another memorial of the famous Strife. On the summit of the Akropolis, at a point closely adjoining the altar of Zeus *Polieús*, he saw 'Athena exhibiting the olive-plant and Poseidon exhibiting a wave.' It is commonly, but with no great certitude[2], maintained that the type of this group is attested by a series of minor antiquities[3] including a silver buckle from Herculaneum (fig. 541)[4], an imperial bronze coin of Athens

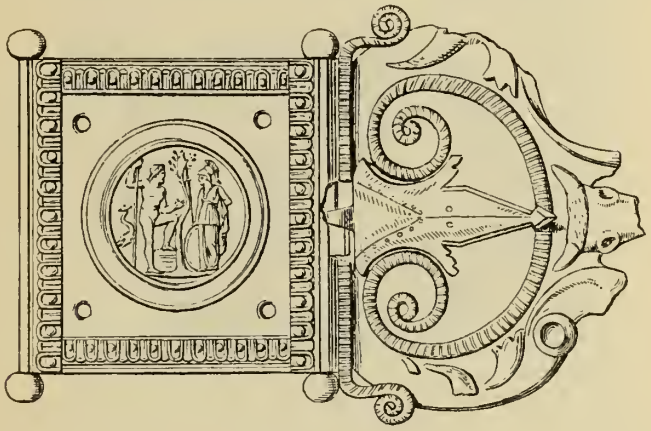


Fig. 541.

[1] Paus. 1. 24. 3 *πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἐλαίας Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ κῦμα ἀναφαίνων Ποσειδῶν* with H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*

[2] Protests were raised by B. Sauer *Die Anfänge der statuarischen Gruppe* Leipzig 1887 p. 65 n. 233 (the Smyrna relief presupposes *post*-Lysippean statuary types, but not necessarily a statuary group; and the same is true of the minor antiquities in general) and in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 pp. 96—113 (the Smyrna relief is abbreviated from the eastern frieze of Athena Nike: but see *supra* p. 581 n. o).

My own feeling is that the minor monuments in question do not illustrate the group described in Paus. 1. 24. 3. 'Athena exhibiting the olive-plant' suggests rather such a pose as she takes *infra* fig. 549, *a*. And 'Poseidon exhibiting a wave' sounds like a misunderstood *motif*—Poseidon holding a curled *áphlaston* as *e.g.* on a silver coin of Hadrian (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Poseidon p. 295 Münztaf. 6, 6).

[3] C. Robert in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 53 ff.

[4] G. Finati in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1831 vii pl. 48, (1) (= my fig. 541), Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 169 f. pl. 22, 234, Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* vii Bronzes 3e Série p. 196 ff. pl. 95, 1.

(fig. 542)[1], bronze medallions struck by Hadrian[2] and Marcus Aurelius (fig. 543)[3], together with sundry gems[4] of which the most important is a late (*c.* 300 A.D.) cameo of sardonyx formerly owned by Prince Nikolas Gagarin (fig. 544)[5]. There is here no sign of

Fig. 542.

Fig. 543.

Fig. 544.

[1] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1872 pp. 5 fig. 2, 134 f. (Hermitage), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 131 pl. Z, 17, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 89, 16 Berlin, 17 J. Anderson (=my fig. 542), 18 Petrograd.

[2] Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 20 no. 100 pl. 146, 8 (Rome) and 9 (Vienna).

[3] Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 131 pl. Z, 17 Provinzial-Museum Bonn (=my fig. 543).

[4] (1) A small cornelian in the Dutch collection (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1872 pp. 5 fig. 4, 140 f.).

(2) A large sardonyx-cameo at Naples (E. Gerhard—T. Panofka *Neapels antike Bildwerke* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1828 i. 395 no. 5, A. Gargiulo *Intorno la tazza di pietra sardonica orientale nel R. Museo Borbonico breve ragionamento* Napoli 1835 pl. 2, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* pp. 136—138).

(3) A large sardonyx-cameo in Paris (C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 146 no. 1 pl. 52, 1, A. Chabouillet *Catalogue général et raisonné des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Impériale* Paris (1858) p. 7 no. 36, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* pp. 138—140).

[5] L. Stephani *loc. cit.* pp. 221 fig. (=my fig. 544); 222 ff. This large sardonyx-cameo of three layers supplements the central group of Poseidon and Athena with two flanking

hostility. Athena's snake no longer hisses defiance, and Poseidon leans quietly on his trident. The two might be arranging, amicably enough, some *modus vivendi*. It was said that during the dispute Athena begged Zeus to give his vote for her, promising that, if he did so, a victim should for the first time be sacrificed on the altar to him as Zeus *Polieús*[1]. A marble relief at Smyrna (fig. 545)[2] and

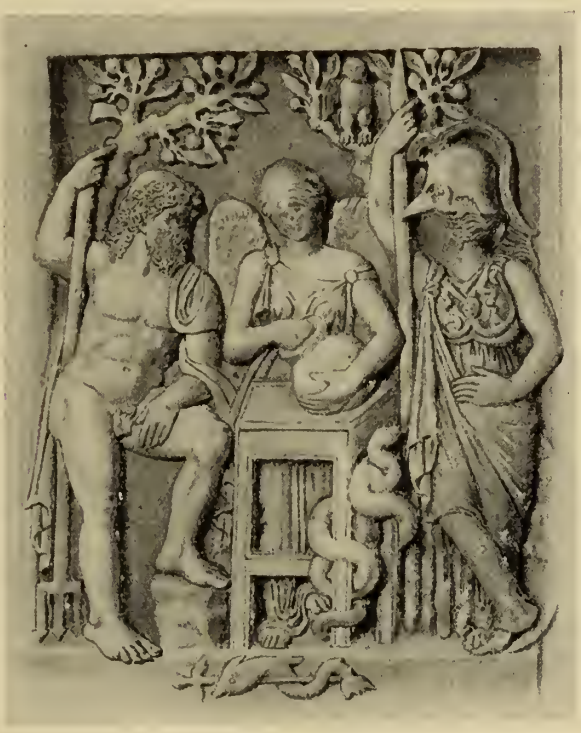


Fig. 545.

figures—on the left Apollon (Δελφίνιος (?)), who rests one hand with his lyre on a tripod and holds the other with a wreath (?) towards a swan; on the right Dionysos, who rests one hand with his *thýrsos* on a short pillar and holds the other with a cup (?) or grape-bunch (?) towards a panther. Clumsy, but symmetric.

[1] Hesych. *s.v.* Διὸς θᾶκοι καὶ πεσσοί· τινὲς γράφουσι ψῆφοι. φασὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Αθηναίων διαψηφίσει, ὅτε ἠμφισβήτει Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν Διὸς δεηθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὴν ψῆφον ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι ἀντὶ τούτου τὸ τοῦ Πολιέως ἱερεῖον (so L. Küster for ἱερὸν cod.) πρῶτον θύεσθαι ἐπὶ βωμοῦ, Souid. *s.v.* Διὸς ψῆφος· οὕτως καλεῖται, ἐν ᾧ Αθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐκρίθησαν. Κρατῖνος Ἀρχιλόχοις (*frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 18 f. Meineke)). ἔνθα Διὸς μεγάλου θᾶκοι πεσσοί τε καλοῦνται. ὁ γὰρ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ ἐκρίθησαν, Διὸς ψῆφος καλεῖται. τάττεται δὲ ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἀθίκτων. *Supra* i. 147 with fig. 109 f.

[2] C. Robert 'Die Schiedsgericht über Athena und Poseidon' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 48—58 pl. 1, 2 (=my fig. 545) a relief in greyish marble (0·83^{m} high, 0·70^{m} wide)

another in the Villa Carpegna[1] repeat the scene with the addition of Nike, who is drawing out the votes from the voting-urn. And a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius (fig. 546)[2] plays a variation on the same triumphant theme.

Fig. 546.

Athena had indeed won her victory, and henceforward Poseidon, abating his claim to sole possession, must be content with a very subordinate *rôle*, that of a mere lodger in the ancient temple of Athena *Poliás*. To effect an entry into that august abode, he had to become as like as possible to Erechtheus, the acknowledged *protégé* of the goddess. The 'strong house of Erechtheus' seems to have had a rock-cut cistern, which would serve as his 'sea' under the respectable old name Erechtheïs[3]. Above this 'sea,' which could be seen and heard through an opening in the pavement, was the west chamber of the later Erechtheion, and here stood three altars fortunately described by Pausanias[4]. 'On entering the building,' he says, 'you find three altars, one to Poseidon on which at the bidding of a certain oracle they sacrifice also to Erechtheus, a second to the hero Boutes, a third to Hephaistos.' Now Hephaistos we can understand: he was the original husband of Athena[5]. Boutes too had a right to be there: he was the ancestor of the Eteoboutadai, hereditary priests of the Erechtheion[6]. But Poseidon and Erechtheus must make do with a single altar. The fact is, Poseidon had long since been officially identified with Erechtheus[7]. As early as the

from Aphrodisias in Karia, now in the Evangelical School at Smyrna. The olive, here duplicated for symmetry's sake, accommodates Athena's owl. The dolphin, coiled about an anchor, betokens Poseidon's 'sea.'

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 50 ff. pl. 2 a rough Roman relief, probably a sarcophagus-lid, in the Villa Carpegna (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Poseidon p. 306 fig. 8, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 17 f. no. 3495), which on the extreme right includes part at least of the scene more completely shown on the slab at Smyrna.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 9 no. 12 (wrongly described) pl. 10, 3, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 18 no. 79 (wrongly described) pls. 51, 1 (Bologna) and 52, 5 (Paris) (=my fig. 546).

[3] J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Harvard Univ. Press 1927 pp. 169—171 with figs. 68 (plan), 106 (photo) and pls. 1 (plan), 15 (sections) identifies the 'sea' with a shaft about 0·90^{m} square, sunk in the rock about 1·75^{m}, within the extreme south-west corner of the building, but admits that the original Erechtheïs may have been a natural hollow in the rock still visible below the floor of the large mediaeval or Turkish cistern.

[4] Paus. 1. 26. 5.

[5] *Supra* p. 188 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 589.

[7] *Supra* ii. 793.

fifth century B.C. we have a dedication 'to Poseidon Erechtheus[1],' and plenty of later inscriptions and texts bear witness to the blend[2]. Now and again there is some consciousness that the two were not really one, as when in the first half of the fourth century the tribe Erechtheïs sacrifices a bull 'to Poseidon *and* to Erechtheus[3].' But then, after all, the tribe Erechtheïs would naturally be jealous for the credit of its namesake Erechtheus. For the most part, the populace acquiesced in this slight simplification of theology. Peaceful penetration had as usual succeeded.

The actual olive, token of Athena's triumph, rose from a cleft in the rock beside the altar of Zeus *Herkeîos* (figs. 547, 548)[4]. A tree of immemorial sanctity would presumably be thick-stemmed and bent with age[5]; and as such it is represented on Athenian coins of

Fig. 547.

Fig. 548.

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 387 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 580 (cited *supra* p. 12 n. 3).

[2] *Supra* ii. 793 n. 12, iii. 12 n. 3. See also Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 469 no. 268 with n. on p. 473, E. H. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2849, Escher in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 405.

[3] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 556*c*, 1 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 1146, 1 ff. (cited *supra* p. 12 n. 3).

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 111 no. 815 lighted altar with one olive-tree on its left, no. 816 pl. 19, 10 altar between two olive-trees, on it a *bucranium* filleted, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 87, 38 Athens, 39 Berlin, 40 London (=my fig. 547), 41 Petrograd, 42 Berlin (=my fig. 548), 43 London?, Anson *Num. Gr.* iv. 16 no. 143 London, no. 144 pl. 3 London. Svoronos' description of the lighted altar as 'la fontaine de l'Erechthéion' is ludicrous.

[5] Theophr *hist. plant.* 4. 13. 2 *τὴν δὲ μακροβιότητα μαρτυροῦσιν ἐπί γέ τινων καὶ ἡμέρων καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ αἱ παραδεδομέναι φῆμαι παρὰ τῶν μυθολόγων· ἐλάαν μὲν γὰρ λέγουσι τὴν Ἀθήνησι, κ.τ.λ.*, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 234 durant in Liternino Africani prioris manu satae olea, etc.

H. O. Lenz *Botanik der alten Griechen und Römer* Gotha 1859 p. 15 n. 57 'Von einigen uralten, von einem Mäuerchen umgebnen Olivenbäumen am Oelberg zu Jerusalem, behaupten, wie Dr. Bagge erzählt, die dortigen Mönche, sie stammten noch aus der Zeit des Heilands.' T. v. Heldreich in A. Mommsen *Griechische Jahreszeiten* Schleswig 1877 v. 573 f. 'Besonders grosse und alte Bäume sind bei Amarussi und Kephissia zu finden; mehrere davon haben nach Jul. Schmidt's [J. F. Julius Schmidt *Beiträge zur physikalischen Geographie von Griechenland* Athen 1861 i. 291 f.] Messungen an ihrer untern Basis bis 15,55 Meter und der Stamm in einiger Höhe über dem breiten Fundamente noch 6 bis 8 Meter im Umfang. Auch an vielen andern Orten giebt es sehr grosse Oelbäume in Attica; so mass ich in der mesogäischen Ebene Lamprica kürzlich einen Baum, dessen Stamm ganz unten an der Basis 12,85 Meter und bei 0,50 M. über der Oberfläche des Bodens noch 7,40 M. im Umfang hatte. Solche Bäume müssen bei dem langsamen Wachsthum des Oelbaums ein sehr hohes Alter haben, leider ist es sehr schwierig oder fast unmöglich,

imperial date[1]. In popular parlance it was dubbed sometimes 'the Stunted or Writhen Olive[2],' but sometimes also 'the Citizen Olive[3]'—a very notable name, since it assured the citizens that the Olive was one of themselves. They were *astoí*: it, or rather she, was *asté*. But this sympathy between tree and townsfolk went further than that. There is reason to think that the Olive of the Erechtheion was regarded as the life-tree[4] of Athens, on whose preservation the very existence of the state depended. When the Persians sacked the Akropolis, this all-important tree was burnt. 'But,' says Herodotos[5], 'on the day after its burning, when the Athenians bidden by the king to sacrifice went up to the sanctuary, they saw a shoot of about a cubit's length sprung from the stump and duly reported the matter.' Pausanias[6] tells the same tale, except that his olive, instead of one cubit in two days, grows two cubits in one day. Stories can grow as well as olives!

Clearly the tree was a hardy perennial, and the Athenians were well advised when they took twelve slips of it and planted them in the Akademeia. The resultant trees furnished the sacred oil for the Panathenaic victors and were known as *moríai*[7], not because they

dasselbe zu bestimmen, und wohl noch niemals ist die Dauer eines jener uralten Stämme direct bestimmt und nachgewiesen worden. Die alten Oliven haben meist einen hohlen Stamm, es fehlt meist der Holzkörper mit den Jahresringen, öfters theilen sie sich dann auch in mehrere Stämme durch natürliche Spaltung. Mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit wird angenommen, dass die Oliven auf dem Oelberge bei Jerusalem—acht an der Zahl—noch dieselben sind, welche einst zu Christi Zeiten dort standen: sie hatten, als Bové [N. Bové 'Relation abrégée d'un voyage botanique en Égypte, dans les trois Arabies, en Palestine et en Syrie' in the *Annales des sciences naturelles* 1834 i. 173] sie mass, "wenigstens 6 Meter" im Umfange; unsere attischen sind aber zum Theil noch viel dicker und wenn man daraus auf ihr Alter schliessen darf, müssen diese lebenden Denkmäler aus der hellenischen Vorzeit noch beträchtlich älter sein.' C. Neumann—J. Partsch *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Alterthum* Breslau 1885 p. 416 f. 'Solcher uralter Oelbäume, von denen mancher vielleicht noch die Blüthezeit Athens gesehen hat, giebt es in Attika noch mehrere; Stämme von 1—1½ m Durchmesser sind nicht selten; im Oelwalde am Kephissos kommen Stämme von 2—3 m Durchmesser vor; die Höhenentwickelung ist indess nie sehr bedeutend, auch bei den schönsten nur 7—10 m.' See further A. Coutance *L'olivier, l'olive et l'huile des olives* Paris 1877 pp. 1—456 with figs., H. Köbert *Der zahme Oelbaum in der religiösen Vorstellung der Griechen* München 1894 pp. 1—48, and L. Weniger *Der heilige Ölbaum in Olympia* Weimar 1895 p. 3.

[1] *Supra* p. 187 figs. 98 and 99.

[2] Ἡ πάγκυφος ἐλαία (*supra* p. 187 n. 2).

[3] Ἡ ἀστὴ ἐλαία (*ib.*).

[4] On life-trees in general see Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 163 ff. ('Schikksalsbäume'), Mrs J. H. Philpot *The Sacred Tree* London 1897 p. 84 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 159 ff., E. S. Hartland in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 44[b] ff., H. Marzell in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 956, Boette *ib.* 1933 v. 960 ff.

[5] Hdt. 8. 55. [6] Paus. 1. 27. 2. [7] *Supra* p. 187 n. 2.

b

a

Fig. 549.

were fractions (*mére*) of the original stock, but because on them depended the fate (*móros*) of the people. A similar life-tree was the wild olive in the market-place at Megara: an oracle had announced 'that, if this were cut open, the city would be taken and plundered; which'—adds Theophrastos[1]—'came to pass when Demetrios took it.' Athena herself, as mistress of the fateful olives, bore the title *Mórios*[2], therein resembling Zeus *Mórios*[3]. A red-figured *amphora* published by Gerhard[4] (fig. 549) shows the goddess holding out her

Fig. 550.

Fig. 551.

Fig. 552.

Fig. 553.

[1] Theophr. *hist. plant.* 5. 2. 4, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 199.

[2] Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 269 Ἐπίθετα Ἀθηνᾶς (21) μορίου. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1197 n. 5 'Die Olive ist der Lebens- und Schicksalsbaum [*ib.* p. 879 ff.], und zwar gilt dies insbesondere auch von den der Athena heiligen Oelbäumen, ja diese Göttin heisst selbst wie die Schicksalsoliven Μορία.' Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 307 gives Athena's appellative more correctly as Μόριος.

[3] *Supra* i. 196 n. 6, ii. 20, 502 n. 2. See also Kruse *loc. cit.*, who notes that L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1872 p. 33 n. 2 would identify Zeus Μόριος with Zeus Ἐλαίους (Hesych. Ἐλαίους· ἐν Κύπρῳ ὁ Ζεύς. Musurus cj. Ἐλαιοῦς. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2228 would emend another Hesychian gloss Ἐλαθύσ.· Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ into Ἐλαιοῦς or Ἐλαιούσιον). But Zeus Ἐλαίους may be an attempt to extract Greek sense from a Semitic name. R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1889 ii. 208 thought to find the Phoenician Ἔλ [more correctly *Ēl*] in a whole group of Cypriote names, including Hesych. Εὐελίδης· αὐθάδης. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ (cp. Hesych. Ἐλιεύς· Ζεὺς ἐν Θήβαις) and such titles as Εἰλήτι (*supra* i. 527 n. o) and Εἰλαπιναστής (*supra* i. 654 n. 4, iii. 652 n. o). He related Zeus Ἐλ-*αίους* to Ἐλ-*αία* a headland of south-eastern Kypros (Ptol. 5. 14. 3). H. Lewy in *Philologus* 1892 li. 745 and in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 186 cp. the Phoenician deity Ἐλιοῦν mentioned in Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 567 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 14 Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὕψιστος (context quoted *supra* ii. 886 n. o (30)).

[4] Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 12 f. pl. 245 (=my fig. 549) a red-figured *amphora* formerly with the dealer Basseggio at Rome.

olive, while a priestess(?) or worshipper(?) extends an *oinochóe* towards her[1].

But the exact nature of the relationship between goddess and tree (figs. 550, 551)[2] is nowhere recorded. Jane Harrison[3], never lacking in courage, and impressed by the fact that the olive is called *Athenaïs*[4], the 'Athena-tree,' roundly declared 'that at Athens... Athene herself at one period of her development was' *Athenaïs*, 'the sacred olive tree.' Miss Harrison went on to observe: 'The image of the goddess was made of her olive-tree.... But this is a second step on from the time when the goddess *was* the tree, dwelt in the tree, her life and that of the people intimately bound up, practically identical with it.' Those lines were written over forty years ago, and today they may stand in some need of revision. Personally I would

[1] Gerhard *loc. cit.* notes that the two sides of the vase must be regarded as forming a single picture, in which Athena and her priestess or worshipper face each other. He cp. Achilles and Briseïs on the *amphora* by Oltos figured in his pl. 187 (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 195 f. no. E 258). In both cases the composition is illogical.

[2] For Athena standing beside her olive see *e.g.* J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 87, 15—32 (of which 15 Athens = my fig. 550 and 25 J. Anderson = my fig. 551).

For Athena seated beside her olive see *e.g.* Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 87, 33—37 (of which 34 Athens = my fig. 552). Fig. 553 is from a specimen in my collection (same dies as Svoronos pl. 87, 36 J. Anderson).

On a silver *statér* of Aphrodisias (?) or Nagidos (?) in Kilikia, struck in the time of Pharnabazos (379—374 B.C.), the local copy of Athena *Parthénos* appears. She rests her right hand, bearing Nike, on an olive-tree, which stands in place of the Athenian pillar (*supra* ii pl. xlv), and her left on a shield, of which the inside and snakes fringing the *Gorgóneion* on the outside are seen. Three specimens of the coin are known to exist in London (P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 170 f. pl. 10, 28, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. xlii n. 4, 112 pl. 19, 14, K. Regling *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* Berlin 1924 p. 132 pl. 29, 609, Head *Coins of the Greeks* p. 35 pl. 19, 48), Paris (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 126 pl. Y, 22 (= my fig. 554), W. Lermann *Athenatypen auf griechischen Münzen* München 1900 p. 78 n. 1 pl. 2, 6), and Turin (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 372 ff. no. 76 pl. G, 15).

Fig. 554.

[3] J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 89.

[4] Hesych. Ἀθηναΐς· ἡ ἐλαία ἡ καὶ ἀστή (so M. Schmidt[1] suggests for Ἀθῆναι—Ἀθῆναι, ἄστυ cod. But M. Schmidt[2] is content to print Ἀθηναΐς· ἡ ἐλαία. καὶ Ἀθῆναι· ἄστυ), *et. mag.* p. 24, 57 Ἀθηναΐς· ἡ ἐλαία. καὶ Ἀθηναία· ἡ ἀγριελαία, Favorin. *lex.* p. 51, 2 Ἀθῆνα (*sic*), ἡ ἐλαία.

The last gloss recalls a curious passage of Nonnos, in which apparently Athena's name is used as a simple equivalent of ἐλαία (Nonn. *Dion.* 15. 111 ff. of a sleeping Indian τὸν δὲ βαρὺ κνώσσοντα βαθυστρώτων ἐπὶ λέκτρων | ἀκροκόμου φοίνικος ἡ εὐώδινος Ἀθήνης | ῥιπίζων ἀνέμοισιν ἕλιξ ἐπεσύρισεν ὄρπηξ). Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1198 n. o comments: 'Εὐώδιν Ἀθήνη, die Bezeichnung des Oelbaums bei Nonn. *D* 15 112 ist vielleicht ein alter formelhafter Ausdruck, der sich ursprünglich auf solchen Zauber bezogen haben könnte.' But, in place of ἀθήνης codd., H. Köchly cj. 'ἐλαίης?'—a reading since confirmed by the papyrus (Berolinensis P. 10567), which has ελαιη[ς].

rather put it thus. Athena was the mountain-mother of the Akropolis. Everything that issued from its rocky surface was instinct with her vitality and must be accepted as a manifestation of herself. The rock is primary, the tree is secondary: it is the divinity of the former that makes the latter also divine.

(2) The snake of Athena.

But life emerging from the surface of the Akropolis might be animal as well as vegetable. There was a widespread belief in antiquity that snakes were the children of Mother Earth. Herodotos[1] makes the Lycian priests tell Kroisos that the snake is the child of Earth. Centuries later the same thing is said by Artemidoros[2]: 'A child of Earth he is, and in the earth he dwells.' Pliny[3] too remarks: 'Some creatures will not harm natives, though they kill strangers. This is the case with the small serpents at Tiryns, which are said to be sprung from the earth.'

Now the Akropolis, since it abounds in crevices and holes, must in early days have harboured plenty of these reptiles, especially the *Tarbophis fallax*, a species that still haunts the rocks and ruins of Greece[4]. A *pelike* from Kameiros already figured[5] shows two such snakes, apparently male and female[6], creeping out of the Akropolis rock to protect the infant Erichthonios, who sits up in his basket and takes notice of Athena. The basket-lid has been lifted off by the disobedient sisters Aglauros and Herse. Scared by the snakes, they flee for dear life and are represented on the other side of the vase hurrying off to their death[7].

[1] Hdt. 1. 78 λέγοντες ὄφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα.

[2] Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 13 γῆς γάρ ἐστι καὶ αὐτὸς παῖς καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ ποιεῖται.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 229 iam quaedam animalia indigenis innoxia advenas interimunt, sicut serpentes parvi in Tirynthe (so J. Dalechamps for *mirinthe* codd. Salmasius cj. *Myunte*), quos terra nasci proditur.

[4] My colleague Dr J. A. Ramsay kindly refers me to G. A. Boulenger *The Snakes of Europe* London 1913 pp. 217—219 fig. 32 (a poisonous species of the genus *Tarbophis*, which 'grows to a length of 2 feet 10 inches.... The names Katzenschlange and *Ailurophis*, translated Cat-snake, probably originated from the way in which this snake stalks its prey, and suddenly pounces upon it.... Stony localities, old walls, and ruins, are the favourite abodes of this snake, which does well in captivity').

[5] *Supra* p. 248 n. 6 with pl. xxix and fig. 154.

[6] One bearded (!), the other beardless. For bearded snakes cp. *e.g. supra* ii. 1060, 1061 fig. 914, 1128 n. 0 fig. 956. See further the interesting observations of Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 326—328, with the criticisms of E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 76 n. 2.

[7] *Supra* p. 239 f.

The scene recalls an early passage in the *Ion*[1]:

> To earth-born Erichthonios Zeus' daughter
> Assigned as watchful guards a pair of snakes,
> And bade the Aglaurid maidens keep their trust.
> Wherefore Erechtheus' sons in Athens still
> Are wont to rear their babes 'mid snakes of gold.

The sequel makes it clear that the last couplet alludes to prophylactic snakes hung round the necks of infants (*peridéraia*[2]). For the mutual recognition of mother and son at the close of the play turns largely on the preservation and production of such a gaud[3]:

> *Ion* Is there aught else,—or canst thou guess but once?
> *Kreousa* Snakes all of gold, the custom of my race.
> *Ion* Athena's gift, and used by her command?
> *Kreousa* Copied from Erichthonios of yore.
> *Ion* How is the trinket used and worn? Explain.
> *Kreousa* As necklace for a new-born babe, my child.
> *Ion* The snakes are here!

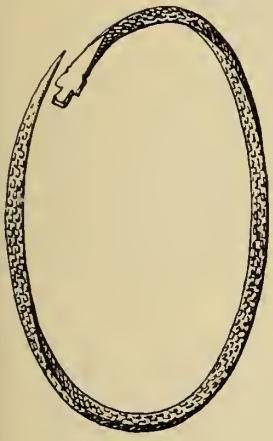


Fig. 555.

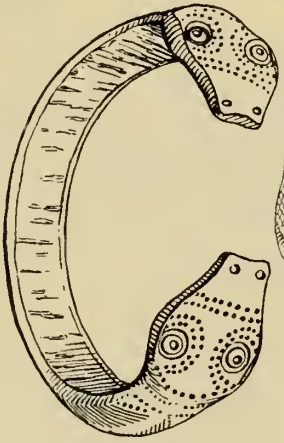


Fig. 556.

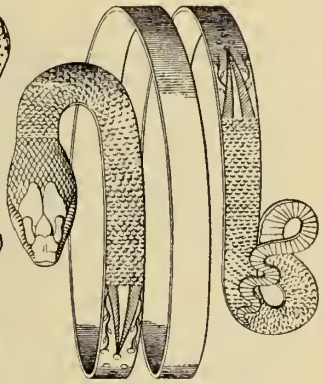


Fig. 557.

No necklace of the sort, so far as I know, has come down to us. Anguiform bracelets (figs. 555, 556, 557)[4], ear-rings (fig. 558)[5], finger-

[1] Eur. *Ion* 20 ff. [2] *Supra* ii. 699.

[3] Eur. *Ion* 1426 ff. trans. A. W. Verrall (adapted).

[4] Two specimens in my collection will serve: Fig. 555 is a slender bronze bracelet, of unknown *provenance* but exquisite Greek workmanship, representing a single snake complete from head to tail.

Fig. 556 is a thick silver bracelet, one of a pair found in a fourth-century grave at Sinope. Each bracelet ends in two snake-heads (*ἀμφίσβαινα*) with neck-markings roughly rendered.

Fig. 557 is an armlet of solid gold, one of a pair from Pompeii (Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* vii Bronzes 3e Série p. 190 f. pl. 92, 1 = my fig. 557 (scale ½)). Each elastic spiral is a single snake with garnets serving as eyes and a thin metal tongue inserted in the mouth.

[5] Fig. 558 is a bronze ear-ring in my collection. It was found in Syria together

rings (figs. 559—562)[1], etc., which served the same apotropaeic purpose, are common enough[2]. But gold jewellery of the sixth and

Fig. 558.

Fig. 559.

Fig. 560.

Fig. 561.

Fig. 562.

with a small hoard of silver coins ranging in date from Seleukos i (312—280 B.C.) to Demetrios ii (146—142, 128—125 B.C.).

[1] Figs. 559—562 are gold finger-rings in the British Museum. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 150 no. 929 pl. 24 (=my fig. 559) is a Graeco-Roman ring showing a single snake coiled. *Ib.* pp. xlvi, 151 no. 935 fig. 122 (=my fig. 560) is another of the same period showing a single snake partially uncoiled. *Ib.* pp. xlv, 41 f. no. 241 fig. 49 (=my fig. 561) pl. 6 is a third of similar date, ending in busts of the two human-headed snakes Isis and Sarapis (cp. *supra* i. 360).

Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings pp. xlvi, 180 no. 1135 fig. 139 (=my fig. 562) is a Graeco-Roman ring of penannular shape, ending in two snake-heads. The whole hoop is silver, but the eyes are pellets of gold.

[2] Examples abound in all Museums. The texts include *Anth. Pal.* 6. 206. 7 f. (Antipatros of Sidon) *τὸν εὐσπειρῆ δὲ δράκοντα, | χρύσειον ῥαδινῶν κόσμον ἐπισφυρίων*, 6. 207. 7 (Archias) *καλὸν σπείραμα περισφυρίοιο δράκοντος*, Loukian. *amor.* 41 *τοὺς περὶ καρποῖς καὶ βραχίοσι δράκοντας· ὡς ὤφελον ὄντως ἀντὶ χρυσίου δράκοντες εἶναι*, Moiris *s.v.* *ὄφεις*, *Ἀττικῶς· τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι ψέλλια*, Poll. 5. 99 *περὶ δὲ τοὺς καρποὺς περικάρπια καὶ ἑλίνους καὶ ἀμφιδέας καὶ ὄφεις καὶ ψέλλια καὶ χλιδῶνας καὶ βουβάλια, ὧν ἔνια καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπονομάζουσι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς πόδας, μάλιστα δὲ τὰς ἀμφιδέας καὶ τοὺς χλιδῶνας*, Philostr. *epist.* 22 (40) *καὶ οἱ ἐπικάρπιοι ὄφεις καὶ αἱ χρυσαῖ πέδαι*, Clem. Al. *paed.* 2. 12. 123. 3 p. 231, 15 ff. Stählin *ὡς γὰρ τὴν Εὔαν ὁ ὄφις ἠπάτησεν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας ὁ κόσμος ὁ χρυσοῦς δελέατι προσχρώμενος τοῦ ὄφεως τῷ σχήματι ἐξέμηνεν εἰς ὕβρεις, σμυραίνας τινὰς καὶ ὄφεις ἀποπλαττομένας εἰς εὐπρέπειαν. λέγει γοῦν ὁ κωμικὸς Νικόστρατος, 'ἀλύσεις, καθετῆρας, δακτυλίους, βουβάλια, ὄφεις, | περισκελίδας, ἑλλέβορον'* (Nikostr. *inc. fab. frag.* 7 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 289 Meineke)), Tert. *de cor. mil.* 15 quid caput strophiolo aut dracontario damnas, diademati destinatum? Hesych. *s.v.* *ὄφεις· τὰ δρακοντώδη γινόμενα ψέλλια. Μένανδρος Παρακαταθήκῃ 'τοὺς ὄφεις' λέγει 'καλῶς γέ μοι | ἠγόρασας'* (*frag.* 8 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 184 Meineke)), Aristain. *epist.* 1. 15 *οὐχ ὅρμος, οὐχ ἑλικτῆρες, οὐκ ὄφεων* (so J. Pierson for *οὐ πόλεων* cod.) *τὸ πολύτιμον, οὐ περιδέραιον*, Isid. *orig.* 19. 31. 12 monile...hoc etiam et serpentum dicitur quia constat ex amphorulis quibusdam aureis gemmisque in modum facturae serpentis, Phot. *lex. s.v.* *ὄφεις· ψέλια δρακοντωτά.*

fifth centuries is notoriously scarce[1]. However, it is certain that Euripides, an antiquarian at heart, is here giving the *aition* of an actual custom, which placed the young Athenian under the protection of Athena's snakes[2].

It is tempting to recognise the same two guardian snakes in a couple of fragmentary reptiles found in 1888 to the east and south-east of the Parthenon[3]. They are the angle-figures of a pedimental group executed in painted *pôros* between 580 and 560 B.C.

[1] See F. H. Marshall in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. xxix f.

[2] J. Maehly *Die Schlange im Mythus und Cultus der classischen Völker* Basel 1867 p. 22 f., cp. A. Nagele 'Der Schlangen-Cultus' in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* 1887 xvii. 264—289 (especially p. 282 on Germanic parallels).

E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 113 n. o put forward an interesting but perhaps over-venturesome conjecture (quoted *supra*

Fig. 563.

p. 239 n. 1), *viz.* that the Athenian custom and its aetiological myth presuppose a primitive belief 'wonach eigentlich zwischen Schlange und dämonischem Kind kein grosser Unterschied besteht.' He adduced *inter alia* the modern Greek practice of calling an unbaptised infant δράκος, δράκαινα, or the like. His Excellency Mr D. Caclamanos assures me (6 June 1936) that this practice still obtains in Greece, but he inclines to accept my suggestion that, in the Greek view, 'the old serpent' (Rev. 12. 9, 20. 2), the Devil, has not yet been expelled from the child by baptism. For the Devil as a serpent see N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1871 i. 165 ff.

Possibly the myth of the infant Herakles and the two snakes, familiar to us both in literature (Pherekyd. *frag.* 28 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 77 Müller)=*frag.* 69 a, b (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 79 f. Jacoby) *ap.* Apollod. 2. 4. 8 and schol. Pind. *Nem.* 1. 65, Pind. *Nem.* 1. 33 ff., Eur. *H. f.* 1266 ff., Theokr. 24. 1 ff., Plaut. *Amph.* 1121 ff., Diod. 4. 10, Verg. *Aen.* 8. 287 ff., Paus. 1. 24. 2, Hyg. *fab.* 30) and in art (*e.g.* the decorative bronze (height $0{\cdot}07^{m}$) at Vienna published by von Sacken *Ant. Bronzen Wien* i. 96 pl. 49, 3 (=my fig. 563), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 238 no. 2, or the Pompeian wall-paintings noted in Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 186 nos. 3—5) implies the existence of a Theban custom comparable with that of the Athenians. A body-guard of snakes might easily be taken for foes, not friends. But see E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 108.

[3] G. Dickins *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1912 i. 74 f. figs.

T. Wiegand[1] held that they came from the eastern gable of the old Hekatompedon, and thought to combine them with a central trio, of which he claimed to identify two figures—Athena seated full-front and Zeus seated in profile beside her (fig. 564)[2]. But Wiegand's arrangement of the centre, though accepted by H. Lechat[3], is rejected by more recent critics. R. Heberdey[4] assigned this Zeus and the seated goddess, whom he calls Hera, to a smaller pediment, 6·60m long, representing the introduction of Herakles to Olympos. In this he is followed by G. Dickins[5], M. Schede[6], and the majority

Fig. 564.

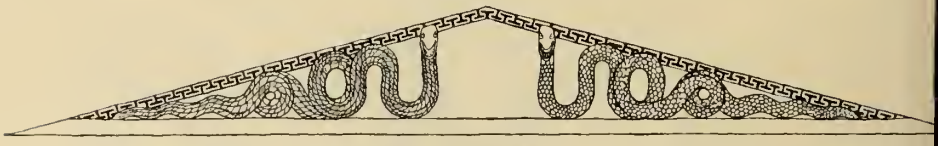


Fig. 565.

of archaeologists. Heberdey then attempted to pack into the western Hekatompedon gable a central group of lion, lioness, and bull, flanked by the two big snakes, but later realised that the presence of a step in the gable left insufficient space for this menagerie[7], and was content to assume a single lion holding down a hypothetical stag[8]. E. Buschor[9], dissatisfied with Heberdey's results, combined the snakes with yet another leonine group, comprising an extant big lioness and a *non*-extant big lion, each at work on the body of a bull: this imposing circus he would regard

[1] T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 90 ff. with fig. 109 (=my fig. 564) and col. pl. 5, A and B.

[2] *Supra* i. 2 n. 2, ii. 757 n. 1, iii. 688 n. 4.

[3] H. Lechat *La sculpture attique avant Phidias* Paris 1904 pp. 53—58.

[4] R. Heberdey *Altattische Porosskulptur* Wien 1919 pp. 29—46 with col. pl. 1.

[5] G. Dickins *op. cit.* p. 62 ff. fig.

[6] M. Schede *Die Burg von Athen* Berlin 1922 col. pl. 1.

[7] G. Dickins *op. cit.* p. 86.

[8] R. Heberdey *op. cit.* pp. 109—113.

[9] E. Buschor *Grössenverhältnisse attischer Porosgiebel* Athen 1924 p. 4 f. fig. 2 =*Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii. 74 fig. 21.

as the front gable of an early apsidal Parthenon! H. Schrader[1] is much better advised when he reaffirms Heberdey's contention that the snakes belong to the second gable of the Hekatompedon, but makes no attempt to fill the space between them (fig. 565). Dickins[2] had already drawn the sound conclusion: 'At present...the central group of this pediment is unidentified.' And here, at the risk of making confusion more confounded, I cannot help remarking that snakes in the angles of a pediment, though mythological in origin, may be merely decorative in usage—a feature due ultimately to

Fig. 566.

Egyptian influence[3]. On this showing one might suppose that the blank between the pedimental snakes was originally occupied by some simple solar device, a disk or *phiále* or *Gorgóneion*.

More certainly connected with Athena is the pair of snakes, which on a red-figured *pyxís* at Copenhagen (fig. 566)[4] are drawing

[1] H. Schrader in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii. 75 pl. 3, 2 (=my fig. 565) after a drawing by K. Ostertag.

[2] G. Dickins *op. cit.* p. 86.

[3] *Supra* i. 205 f., 293 ff.

[4] *Supra* i. 231 n. 8. My fig. 566 reproduces part of A. Dumont—J. Chaplain—E Pottier *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* i pl. 10.

the goddess in her chariot to face the judgment of Paris[1]. A later vase, a gilded *arýballos* at Athens (fig. 567)[2], shows the judge, here lettered *Aléxandros*, considering his verdict in much perplexity. On the one hand, a seductive Eros points out to him that Helen[3] is already approaching from the left with open arms. On the other hand, between him and his promised bride is set the small but threatening figure of the *Palládion*, while from the right comes an indignant Athena accompanied by a single gigantic snake with forked and flickering tongue. Jane Harrison[4] *more suo* observes: 'The artist seems dimly conscious that the snake is somehow the double of Athene

Fig. 567.

At Athens the relation of snakes to the city-goddess was emphasised, not only by myth, but also by cult. Kekrops the earth-born, who is at least half a snake (figs. 93[5] and 95[6]), was buried in

[1] *Supra* i. 125 f. pl. xi, iii. 67 f. pl. xi. The theme is handled at large by P. Gardner (*supra* p. 68 n. 2) and, far more thoroughly, by Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1586—1592 and 1607—1631 figs. 3—10.

[2] Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 635 f. no. 1942. The older publication by J. de Witte in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1867 xxv. 64 pl. 224, 2 (Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 402, 3 f.) is of course superseded by that of E. Pernice in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi Arch. Anz. pp. 36—38 with a careful drawing by E. Gilliéron (=my fig. 567).

[3] The letters ΗΓ visible above the maiden are taken by Pernice to be the start of ΗΕλένη—a piece of old-fashioned orthography still possible at the end of *s.* v B.C. The completion "ΗΡα is possible, but less probable (Collignon—Couve *op. cit.* p. 636). C. Robert's conjecture ΠαρΗΓορος (*ap.* Pernice *loc. cit.* p. 38 n. 1, cp. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1578 f., v. 477 ff.), a goddess of Persuasion akin to Peitho (Paus. 1. 43. 6), fails to persuade me.

The choice between the claims of passion (Eros) and those of honour (Athena) is all the more piquant, if the third claimant (Hera) is suppressed.

[4] Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 306.

[5] *Supra* p. 182.

[6] *Supra* p. 186.

the Kekropion at the south-west corner of the Erechtheion[1], 'close up against the *Polioûchos* herself,' as Theodoret[2] puts it. Here he had a *hierón*[3] and a hereditary priesthood[4]. Erichthonios, another 'son of the soil[5],' was represented sometimes as an infant mothered by Athena[6], sometimes as a snake held by her in a basket[7]—a pose suggestive of ritual usage[8]. Again, there was the nameless snake,

[1] M. Collignon 'L'Emplacement du Cécropion à l'Acropole d'Athènes' in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions* 1920 xli. 1—17 (p. 13 ff. '1° Il y avait, contre le mur Ouest, entre la porte du Pandroseion et le soubassement, un petit édifice dont la place est nettement déterminée par la niche qui s'ouvre obliquement dans le mur Ouest.... 2° A défaut d'autres renseignements sur le petit édifice, nous en connaissons au moins la hauteur...on peut l'évaluer à 3 mètres environ. Nous savons aussi...que le monument était de biais par rapport au mur Ouest, et qu'il s'engageait en partie sous le portique des Corés. Il est donc permis de songer à une construction basse et rectangulaire....3° Le nom de Cécropion désignait à la fois le petit édifice et l'enceinte comprise entre le mur Sud du Pandroseion et le soubassement de l'Hécatompédon...rien n'empêche de croire qu'il y avait là, tout près de l'Érechtheion, un tombeau remontant à une haute antiquité, et contemporain des vestiges de l'époque mycénienne retrouvés sur l'Acropole[(2)] ([(2)] PETERSEN, *Die Burgtempel der Athenaia*, p. 36. M. E. A. Gardner suppose que c'était un tombeau voûté de petites dimensions (*Ancient Athens*, p. 361))'). J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Harvard Univ. Press 1927 pp. 127—137 (p. 136 f. 'On the north side of the Old Temple was a terrace or precinct having at its eastern end something which was later believed to be the tomb of Cecrops. The appearance of this monument is unknown, but it can hardly have been of stone on the outside, since it is improbable that the Erechtheum would have been so planned as to bring its corner on a spot already occupied by a solid structure of so sacred a character. It seems more likely that only a mound of earth was visible and that it was not until an attempt was made to lay foundations that something more solid was discovered—perhaps a corner of the old "Mycenaean" palace,' etc.). Older views in W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] München 1931 p. 282 n. 3.

[2] Theodoret. *Graecarum affectionum curatio* 8. 30 (lxxxiii. 1017 C Migne) καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν, ὡς Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῇ ἑνάτῃ γέγραφεν ἱστορίᾳ, ἄνω γε ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπός ἐστι τάφος παρὰ τὴν Πολιοῦχον αὐτήν, cp. Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 45. 1 p. 34, 10 f. Stählin Ἀθήνησιν δὲ ἐν ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπος (*sc.* τάφος ἐστίν), ὥς φησιν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῷ ἑνάτῳ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν (*frag.* (15) (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 184 Müller)=*frag.* 2 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 213 Jacoby)) = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 6. 2, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 6 in historiarum Antiochus nono Athenis in Minervio memorat Cecropem esse mandatum terrae.

[3] *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 1156, 34 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 957, 59 f. on the base of an offering dedicated by the *éphebοi* of the tribe Kekropis in 334/3 B.C. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή[φι]|σμα ἐν στήληι λιθίνηι καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Κέκροπος ἰε[ρῶι].

[4] *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 2338, 1 ff. in a list of the Amynandridai, between 27/6 and 18/7 B.C. ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ ἐπὶ Ἀρείου τοῦ Δωρίωνος Παιανιέως | ἄρχοντος τῆς πόλεως ἄρχων τοῦ γένους | τοῦ Ἀμυνανδριδῶν Ἄρειος Δωρίωνος Παι|ανιεὺς τούσδε ἀνέγραψεν γεννήτας ἐπιδεξά|μενος τὸ δαπάνημα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | ἄρχων τοῦ γένους | [Ἄρειος] Δωρίωνος Π[αι]α[νι]εύς ἰε[ρ]εὺς Κέκρο[π]ος | κ.τ.λ., cp. Hesych. Ἀμυνανδρί(δ)αι· γένος, ἐξ οὗ ἱερεῖς Ἀθήνησιν. J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2003.

[5] *Supra* p. 181.

[6] *Supra* p. 218 n. 5 with fig. 140.

[7] *Supra* p. 218 n. 4 with fig. 139.

[8] *Supra* i. 425 fig. 307 (Demeter). See further R. H. Kennett in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 791[b]—793[a], E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 147 ff., Harrison *Themis*[2] p. 265 f.

which actually lived in the Erechtheion. Herodotos[1], describing the eve of Salamis, writes as follows:

The Athenians say that a great snake dwells in their sanctuary[2] and guards the Akropolis. So they say and in proof of their words set out for it a monthly offering, to wit a honeycake. This cake had always before been consumed, but was now left untouched. When the priestess made that known, the Athenians were more willing to leave their city, because they deemed that the goddess too had deserted the Akropolis.

Plutarch[3] tells the same tale, except that he regards the whole business as a ruse on the part of the artful Themistokles. Other authors add nothing of importance, and the common assumption that the snake was Erechtheus or Erichthonios is a probability rather than a certainty. At most we know that Aristophanes[4] called it 'the house-keeping snake,' masculine in gender and therefore not to be identified with the goddess herself.

The original significance of the snakes that figure so frequently in the myths and rites of Athens is by no means easy to determine. In view of the curious[5] belief that the spinal cord of a dead man turns into a snake[6]—a belief still current in Palestine[7]—it would

[1] Hdt. 8. 41.

[2] On the actual haunt of this reptile see *supra* ii. 1148 n. 2, J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Harvard Univ. Press 1927 pp. 435 n. 3, 456, 486 n. 1 (3), 491 n. 1 ('It is perhaps allowable to see in the crypt beneath the North Portico and in its probable extension along the inside of the north wall the reputed dwelling-place of the sacred serpent...if indeed the serpent had any real existence, and was not a mere hypostasis of the chthonic divinity, Erechtheus (Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 61—93)'). The obscure word δράκαυλος throws little or no light on the situation: see A. C. Pearson's excellent note on Soph. *frag.* 643 Jebb.

[3] Plout. *v. Them.* 10.

[4] Aristoph. *Lys.* 758 f. ἀλλ' οὐ δύναμαι "γωγ' οὐδὲ κοιμᾶσθ' ἐν πόλει | ἐξ οὗ τὸν ὄφιν εἶδον τὸν οἰκουρόν ποτε with schol. *ad loc.* τὸν ἱερὸν δράκοντα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸν φύλακα τοῦ ναοῦ and Hesych. οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν· τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος φύλακα δράκοντα. καί οἱ μὲν ἕνα φασίν, οἱ δὲ δύο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως. τοῦτον δὲ φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλεώς φασι(ν), ᾧ καὶ μελιτοῦτταν παρατίθεσθαι, Phot. *lex. s.v.* οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν· τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος φύλακα· καὶ Ἡρόδοτος· Φύλαρχος δὲ αὐτοῦ δύο (F. Creuzer cj. καὶ Ἡρόδοτος <μὲν ἕνα φησὶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, > Φύλαρχος δὲ αὐτοῦ δύο) (Phylarch. *frag.* 74 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 355 Müller) = *frag.* 72 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 186 Jacoby), cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1423, 8 ff.

[5] Not so very curious, either. For there is, of course, a rough resemblance between the cord with its tapering end and the snake with its tapering tail, as my friend and colleague Dr F. Goldby assures me. The likeness of the vertebral column to a snake's skeleton is less pronounced.

[6] Ail. *de nat. an.* 1. 51 ῥάχις ἀνθρώπου νεκροῦ φασιν ὑποσηπόμενον τὸν μυελὸν ἤδη τρέπει ἐς ὄφιν· καὶ ἐκπίπτει τὸ θηρίον, καὶ ἕρπει τὸ ἀγριώτατον ἐκ τοῦ ἡμερωτάτου· καὶ τῶν μὲν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν τὰ λείψανα ἀναπαύεται, καὶ ἔχει ἆθλον ἡσυχίαν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τῶν τοιούτων τὰ ᾠδόμενά τε καὶ ὑμνούμενα ἐκ τῶν σοφῶν· πονηρῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ῥάχεις τοιαῦτα τίκτουσι καὶ μετὰ τὸν βίον. ἢ τοίνυν τὸ πᾶν μῦθός ἐστιν, ἤ, εἰ ταῦτ' ἀψευδῶς πεπίστευται, πονηροῦ νεκρός, ὡς κρίνειν ἐμέ, ὄφεως γενέσθαι πατὴρ τοῦ τρόπου μισθὸν ἠνέγκατο.

[7] J. E. Hanauer *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land* London 1907 p. 283 'According to

not be unreasonable to regard the single male snake as the soul of a buried king[1]. The pair of snakes, male and female, would then be the souls of the ancestral couple[2]. In the case of Kekrops[3] and, according to some late authorities, in that of Erichthonios[4] the half-snake would imply the tail-end, so to speak, of the snaky tradition[5]. Even so it must be admitted that these Akropolis-snakes are a terrible tangle, and raise problems to which at present no sure solution has been found. Who or what, for example, was the bearded[6] snake that Pheidias set beside Athena? Pausanias[7] says 'He might be Erichthonios.' But was Pausanias right[8]? Again,

Jewish notions, "the spinal cord of a man who does not bend his knees at the repetition of the benediction, which commences with the word 'Modim,' after seven years becomes a serpent".'

[1] *Supra* ii. 1061, 1087, 1111 f., 1148, 1152 ff., 1174.

An amusing account of Herakleides Pontikos is preserved by Diog. Laert. 5. 89 f. *δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τυραννουμένην ἐλευθερῶσαι, τὸν μόναρχον κτείνας, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν ὁμωνύμοις* (on this work see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 429). *ὃς καὶ τοιόνδε ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ· "θρέψαι αὐτὸν δράκοντα ἐκ νέου καὶ αὐξηθέντα, ἐπειδὴ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλε, κελεῦσαί τινι τῶν πιστῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατακρύψαι, τὸν δὲ δράκοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης θεῖναι, ἵνα δόξειεν εἰς θεοὺς μεταβεβηκέναι. ἐγένετο δὲ πάντα. καὶ μεταξὺ παραπεμπόντων Ἡρακλείδην τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ εὐφημούντων, ὁ δράκων ἀκούσας τῆς ἐπιβοῆς ἐξέδυ τῶν ἱματίων καὶ διετάραξε τοὺς πλείστους. ὕστερον μέντοι ἐξεκαλύφθη πάντα καὶ ὤφθη Ἡρακλείδης οὐχ οἷος ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἷος ἦν." καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον· Ἤθελες ἀνθρώποισι λιπεῖν φάτιν, Ἡρακλείδη, | ὥς ῥα θανὼν ἐγένου ζωὸς ἅπασι δράκων. | ἀλλὰ διεψεύσθης, σεσοφισμένε· δὴ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θὴρ | ἦε δράκων, σὺ δὲ θήρ, οὐ σοφὸς ὤν, ἐάλως. ταῦτα (an ταὐτὰ legendum?) δέ φησι καὶ Ἱππόβοτος* (W. Christ *op. cit.*[6] ii. 1. 85). Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 474 asks 'ist das etwa eine boshaft erfundene Parallele zu dem, was H. selbst von Empedokles' Ende vorgetragen hatte?... Mekler Add. zu Acad. ind. x 10' (W. Christ *op. cit.*[6] München 1912 i. 621).

[2] The same variation between one snake and two (*supra* p. 772 n. 4) may be seen in the wall-paintings that decorate the *lararia* of Pompeii (collected conveniently by Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* pp. 102 no. 6 (one), no. 7 (two), 103 no. 3 (one), nos. 5 and 6 (two), 104 no. 1 (one), no. 2 (two), nos. 3 and 8 (one), cp. J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 942 fig. 4343).

[3] See *e.g.* O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1022 ff., L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 120 ff.

[4] Schol. Plat. *Tim.* 23 D p. 948 a 17, *et. mag.* p. 371, 47, *append. narr.* 3 (p. 360, 7 f. Westermann) *δρακοντόπους*. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 13 anguina tantum crura, *fab.* 166 inferiorem partem draconis habuit, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 113 draconteis pedibus, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 113 anguinis pedibus.

[5] Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 169.

[6] The Varvakeion and Lenormant statuettes of the *Parthénos* both show a bearded snake (hence my restoration *supra* ii col. pl. xlv), as does Sir W. Gell's drawing of the lost Ambelokipi relief (P. Wolters in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 488 fig., W. Amelung in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi. 187 f. fig. 69), which—unless I am mistaken—represents the Athena *Areia* of Pheidias at Plataiai (Paus. 9. 4. 1).

[7] Paus. 1. 24. 7 *καὶ πλησίον τοῦ δόρατος δράκων ἐστίν· εἴη δ' ἂν Ἐριχθόνιος οὗτος ὁ δράκων.*

[8] Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 169 'He may well have been right' (on the assumption that Erichthonios and Erechtheus 'were originally identical.' But see *supra* p. 181 n. 1). I should rather suppose that the snake beside the goddess was the animal form of her *protégé* Erechtheus.

what are we to make of a white-ground *lékythos* from Gela, now in the British Museum (fig. 568)[1]? A female figure is seen standing by a column with a *phiále* in her right hand and a snake in front of her. H. B. Walters[2] thought her perhaps a priestess of Athena accompanied by the Erechtheion-snake. A. Fairbanks[3] suggested 'a simple scene of libation' and equated the woman with Artemis. But deities are rare on vases of this class, and Mr C. D. Bicknell[4] is content to

Fig. 568.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 396 f. no. D 23, A. S. Murray—A. H. Smith *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum* London 1896 p. 36 pl. 26, A (=my fig. 568), A. Fairbanks *Athenian Lekythoi with outline drawing in glaze varnish on a white ground* New York 1907 i. 39 f. Group A, Class ii, no. 4. Inscribed ΗΟΓΑΙϟ ΚΑΛΟ[ϟ].

[2] H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 397.

[3] A. Fairbanks *op. cit.* i. 39.

[4] So he tells me (29 June 1936).

suppose that we have here a dead woman ready to receive offerings in the presence of her ancestral snake. Of course the early date of our vase, *c.* 470 B.C., rules out any attempt to interpret the subject as Athena *Hygieia* beside the corner column of the Propylaia[1] or Hygieia herself arriving with the divine snake in the newly-built Asklepieion[2]. But why, by the way, did Asklepios ever come to dwell on the southern slope of the Akropolis? Had the snakes of the rock anything to do with it (fig.)[3]? A final puzzle: what did Cyprian[4], bishop of Antioch in the third century after Christ, mean by stating that as a boy of ten he had 'performed the liturgy of Pallas' snake on the Akropolis'? The empress Eudokia[5] hitched into hexameters the recital of his various initiations and makes him say:

Fig. 569.

I wrought the snaky rites
Of Athenaia on the citadel.

But what exactly were these rites? We are reduced to blank conjecture[6].

The fact is, snake-myths and snake-cults of every kind fairly cluster round the Akropolis-rock, almost all of them in close association with Athena the rock-mother. Is it not fair to infer that

[1] *Supra* i. 727.

J. Tambornino in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 94 concludes that Hygieia 'schon vor der Zeit des Peloponnesischen Krieges in Athen verehrt wurde, zu einer Zeit also, wo Asklepios in Athen noch eine unbekannte Grösse war. Die Zeit, wann H. zur persönlichen Gottheit ausgebildet wurde, lässt sich selbstredend nicht genau angeben. Wir müssen uns mit der Tatsache begnügen, dass die Entwicklung im 5. Jhdt. ihren Abschluss erreicht hat.'

[2] A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 245 ff. and E. Preuner in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1894 xlix. 313 ff. fix the date in 420 B.C. on the strength of *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 3 no. 4960, 2 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no 88, 2 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1529, 2 ff. [.....ἀ]νελθὼν δὲ θ[εὸ][ς μυστηρί]οις τοῖς μεγά[λοις κατ]ήγετο ἐς τὸ Ἐλ[ευσίνιο]ν καὶ οἴκοθεν | [μεταπεμ]ψάμενος δρά[κ][οντα ἤγ]αγεν δεῦρε ἐφ' [ἅ][ρματος] Τηλ[ε]μάχο [ἀπ]α[ν]|[τήσαντο]ς· ἅμα ἦλθεν Ὑγ|[ίεια καὶ] οὕτως ἰδρύθη | [τὸ ἱερὸ]ν τόδε απαν ἐπὶ | [Ἀστυφί]λο ἄρχοντος Κυ[δαντίδο]. I follow the text of Dittenberger.

[3] Sundry small bronze coins of late date have *obv.* the head of Athena, *rev.* ΑΘΗ and a rearing snake (J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 98, 17 Berlin (=my fig. 569), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 102 no. 740). Is this the snake of Athena or that of Asklepios?

[4] *Confessio S. Cypriani* (*supra* i. 110 n. 6) 1 καὶ ὡς Ἀθηναῖος ἐπήλυτος ὤν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν γεννησάντων με διὰ σπουδῆς πολίτης γενόμενος, ἔτι ὢν δέκα ἐτῶν, ἐδᾳδούχησα τῇ Δημήτρᾳ καὶ τῆς Κόρης τὸ λευκὸν πέπλος ὑπέμεινα καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Παλλάδος τῷ δράκοντι ἐλειτούργησα, εἰς προκοπὴν νεωκόρου καταστάς.

[5] Eudok. *de s. Cyprian.* 2. 20. f. Ἀθηναίης δ', ἥτις πόλιν ἐστὶν ἐς ἄκρην, | ῥέξα δρακοντείους τελετάς.

[6] Possibly we should compare ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός (*supra* i. 393 n. 0, 394).

these daemonic powers drew their vitality from her? We must not, I suppose, at this stage prematurely assert that Athena herself was conceived as a snake at Athens, though I for one should not deny that elsewhere such may have been the case. An Orphic hymn does address her definitely as *Drákaina*, the 'She-Snake[1].' And on the road from Sparta to Arkadia Pausanias saw standing in the open an image of Athena *Pareía*[2]. That surely can mean one thing, and one thing only, Athena the 'Adder.'

(3) The owl of Athena.

But snakes are not the only living things that slip silently out of holes in the Akropolis rock. Of an evening the owls come out. I have seen them in the dusk, and I dare say my readers have too, flitting with low undulatory flight across the roads and gardens to the south of the Akropolis. In antiquity their number gave rise to the proverb 'an owl to Athens[3]' in the sense of 'coals to Newcastle[4].' Another proverb, 'an owl on the citadel,' was explained as alluding to an owl dedicated by Phaidros on the Akropolis[5]. Ausonius[6] describes it as 'that owl on the citadel painted with colours of such magic power that it lures birds of all sorts and destroys them by its stare.' A colossal owl of white marble has in fact been found on the Akropolis (fig. 570)[7] together with a couple of pillars bearing

[1] Orph. *h. Ath.* 32. 11 *αἰολόμορφε, δράκαινα, φιλένθεος, ἀγλαότιμε.*

[2] Paus. 3. 20. 8 *τὴν δὲ ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἰοῦσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀθηνᾶς ἕστηκεν ἐπίκλησιν Παρείας ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ.*

[3] This proverb occurs in various forms: *γλαῦκ' Ἀθήναζε* (Aristoph. *av.* 301, Hesych. *s.v.*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 88, 1 f., Apostol. 5. 46, Arsen. p. 162 Walz, *append. prov.* 2. 33), *γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας* (Loukian. *Nigrin. praef.*, cp. schol. Aristoph. *av.* 301 *τίς εἰς Ἀθήνας γλαῦκ' ἐνήνοχεν;*) or *γλαῦκα εἰς Ἀθήνας* (Gregor. Kypr. 2. 11, Apostol. 5. 55, Arsen. p. 164 Walz, cp. Diogeneian. 3. 57 *γλαῦκας εἰς Ἀθήνας ἄγεις*, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1093 *γλαῦκας ἐς Ἀθήνας*), *γλαῦκα Ἀθηναίοις* (Apostol. 5. 46, Arsen. p. 162 Walz), *γλαὺξ εἰς Ἀθήνας* (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 87, 45, Zenob. 3. 6, Diogeneian. 3. 81, cp. Diogeneian. Vindob. 2. 13 *γλαῦξ εἰς Ἀθήνας*).

[4] W. G. Smith—J. E. Heseltine *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* Oxford 1935 p. 503 (first in 1661 A.D.).

[5] Hesych. *γλαῦξ ἐν πόλει· παροιμία. ἀνέκειτο γὰρ ὑπὸ Φαίδρου* (*append. prov.* 1. 76 *Φαίδου* Meursius cj. *Φειδίου*) *ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει.*

[6] Auson. *Mos.* 308 ff. vel in arce Minervae | Ictinus, magico cui noctua perlita fuco | adlicit omne genus volucres perimitque tuendo. The owl was tantamount to a *Gorgóneion*.

[7] L. Ross in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 28 pl. C, 3 = *id. Archäologische Aufsätze* Leipzig 1855 i. 205 pl. 14, 3, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 62 no. 111, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 221 ff. pl. IE′ (= my fig. 570), S. Casson in the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1921 ii. 252 f. no. 1347 fig. Svoronos *loc. cit.* p. 221 states that the upper part of the bird was found in 1840 on the 'Erganeterrase,' the lower part in 1889 near the north-west angle of the Parthenon. Material: Pentelic marble. Height: 0·91^{m}.

Plate LX

Amphora from Nola, now at Berlin:
a spectator stands before the Owl on the Akropolis.

See page 781 *n.* 1.

early inscriptions[1]: the carving of the bird is slight and must have

Fig. 570.

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 351, Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 437 no. 188, *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 579 Εὅρτιος καὶ Ὀφσιάδες ἀνεθέτεν | ἀπαρχὲν τἀθενάαι.
Corp. inscr. Att. i no. 393, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1252, Dittenberger *Syll.*

been eked out by painting. L. Ross[1] held that this owl was originally perched on the pillar that bears the name 'Timotheos of Anaphlystos' and has on its upper surface two bronze dowels run

Fig. 571.

Fig. 572.

inscr. Gr.[3] no. 50, *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 651 Τιμόθ[ε]ος [Κόνονος] | Ἀναφλύστιος. Before *c.* 450 B.C. This Timotheos was probably the father of Konon, the famous Athenian general.

[1] L. Ross *locc. citt.* This conjecture has been widely accepted, and is consistent with the known facts. Was Phaidros (*supra* p. 776 n. 5) a local sculptor? Diog. Laert. 7. 1. 12 mentions a possible descendant in one Φαῖδρος Ἀναφλύστιος, who helped to build the tomb of Zenon in the Kerameikos.

J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.* fancied that the marble owl was perched on the olive-tree in the centre of the west pediment of the Parthenon and quoted in support the bronze coins, which certainly show such an owl (*supra* figs. 96, 539, 540). But I have already argued that these coins do *not* represent the said pediment at all (*supra* p. 754 f.). Besides, owl-on-column was a familiar type in connexion with Athena. Ross *locc. citt.* justly compares a Panathenaic *amphora*, on which Athena is flanked by two Ionic columns with an owl on each (E. Gerhard *Etruskische und kampanische Vasenbilder des Königl. Museums zu Berlin* Berlin 1843 pl. B, 29. My fig. 571 is from Ross pl. 14, 5), and the Roman mural relief, in which Athena as she superintends the building of the Argo has at her back an owl on a round pillar (Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 12 ff. distinguish

with lead (fig. 572). S. Casson[1] agrees that the owl was probably

(1) an older and better type in Louvre no. 4144 (G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842 p. 39 ff. pl. 5, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 416 with fig. 504, Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* iv. 1. 13 fig. 14, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 250 no. 4) and (2) a later, less satisfactory version of it in Villa Albani no. 181 (G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti*[2] Roma 1821 i p. (ix) with pl. on title-page, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 133 no. 1) and British Museum no. D 603 (K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 526 with fig. on p. 502, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 400 f. no. D 603 pl. 43, Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* iv. 2 pl. 32)). To these should be added the owl-on-column that appears before Athena in the Lansdowne relief (*Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 31 f. no. 50 pl. 35 (=my fig. 576), H. Schrader in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1911 xiv. 68 ff. fig. 73, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 519 no. 2) and behind her on sundry imperial bronze coins of Athens (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 133 pl. AA, 1 Naples, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 84, 9 Berlin, 10 Athens (=my fig. 573), 11 Athens, 12 f. Berlin, 14 J. Anderson, *id.* in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 278 fig. 23 Athens), on a bronze medallion struck by Commodus in 191 A.D. (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* iii. 129 pl. Z, 13 British Museum (*supra* p. 695 n. 5), J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 275 f. pl. IS′, 5 British Museum; Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* 137 f. fig. (=my

Fig. 573.

Fig. 574.

Fig. 575.

fig. 574) Paris, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 57 no. 47 pl. 81, 6 Paris), and on one of the gold medallions from Abukir (H. Dressel *Fünf Goldmedaillons aus dem Funde von Abukir* (*supra* i. 59 n. 6) Berlin 1906 pp. 15 f., 55, 74 f. pl. 3, 3 (=my fig. 575), J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.* 1912 xiv. 278 ff. fig. 24. The column is inscribed ΟΛVM | ΠΙΑ | ΔΟC, which, as R. Mowat saw, must be read Ὀλύμπια δος' *i.e.* the Olympic games held in the year 274 of the Actian era (=242/3 A.D.)). Cp. *supra* p. 388 fig. 254. These examples of owl-on-column recall the description in Longfellow's *Hyperion* Liverpool 1848 p. 79: 'the owl is a grave bird,—a monk, who chants midnight mass in the great temple of Nature,—an anchorite—a pillar saint—a very Simeon Stylites of his neighbourhood.'

[1] S. Casson in the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1921 ii. 37, 253. My fig. 572 is from L. Ross *Archäologische Aufsätze* Leipzig 1855 pl. 14, 2.

fixed on one or other of the pillars. And what Casson regards as probable is, I think, susceptible of proof. An unpublished *amphora*

Fig. 576.

at Berlin dating from the latter part of the fifth century (pl. lx)[1] shows a worthy citizen of Athens obviously fascinated by the uncanny bird! And well he might be, for the owl was the goddess herself in animal form—*theà glaukôpis Athénе*[2]. Whatever that phrase denoted or connoted to the readers and even to the writers of the Homeric poems[3], it was certainly a line of pre-hexameter verse[4] describing Athena in all probability as a 'goddess with the eyes, or face, or aspect, of an owl.' On this showing it points backwards to a time when it was believed that Athena could take shape as a bird. Homer makes her appear on sundry occasions as a pigeon[5], a hawk[6], a kite or a shearwater[7], a vulture[8], a

[1] Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 836 no. 2993 from Nola. Height 0·33m. Furtwängler notes: 'L. eine eigentümliche Säule ohne Kapitell (Holz-Pfeiler); davor r. ein niederer Pfeiler, darauf eine Eule (Anathem?). R. gegenüber ein bärtiger Mann im Mantel nach l., mit Stock.' I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for the photograph reproduced in my pl. lx. He tells me that the vase belongs to a group of local Campanian imitations of Attic ware, for a list of which see J. D. Beazley *Greek Vases in Poland* Oxford 1928 p. 77 n. 5.

[2] The tags γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη and θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη are both frequent, alike in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but always at the end of the hexameter and normally in the nominative case. On occasion we find the accusative γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην (*Od.* 1. 156, *h. Ap.* 314, *h. Aphr.* 8) or γλαυκώπιδ' Ἀθήνην (*h. Ap.* 323), the genitive Ἀθηναίης γλαυκώπιδος (*Il.* 6. 88, *h. Heph.* 2), the dative Ἀθηναίῃ γλαυκώπιδι (*Il.* 9. 390, 11. 729, 23. 769). Fuller phrases are Ἠαλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην... | γλαυκῶπιν (*h. Ath.* 28. 1 f.), Διὸς γλαυκώπιδι κούρῃ (*Od.* 2. 433), κούρῃ γλαυκώπιδι καὶ Διὶ πατρί (*Od.* 24. 518), and even γλαυκώπιδι κούρῃ without mention of Zeus (*Il.* 24. 26). On the other hand, γλαυκῶπις can be used by itself in nominative (*Il.* 8. 406, *Od.* 6. 47), vocative (*Il.* 8. 420, *Od.* 13. 389), accusative (*Il.* 8. 373, *Od.* 3. 135, 24. 540), and genitive (*h. Ath.* 28. 10). See further H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 36 and 259.

For the analogous usage of βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη see *supra* i. 444.

[3] Here opinions differ widely. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 303 f. thinks that the epithet γλαυκῶπις refers to 'den feurigen Aether.' *Ε contra*, R. Hildebrandt 'Ἀθήνη Γλαυκῶπις' in *Philologus* 1888 xlvi. 201—209 argues for 'Athena of the grey-green water,' ἡ θεὰ τῆς γλαυκῆς θαλάσσης (cp. *Il.* 16. 34). Other contentions in C. W. Lucas *De Minervae cognomento* ΓΛΑΥΚΩΠΙΣ *observationes philologicae* Bonnae 1831 = *id. Philologische Bemerkungen über die Athene Glaucopis* Bonn 1831 pp. 1—21 ('of fiery, brilliant eyes'), Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 193 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1198 n. 3, 1219 n. 3, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1404—1407. After all this stir H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 109 (with n. 27 on p. 129) remains content with 'dear grey-eyes.'

[4] *Supra* i. 444, ii. 384 n. 0.

[5] *Il.* 5. 778 (with Hera).

[6] *Il.* 7. 58 ff. (with Apollon). D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 16 took αἰγυπιός in Homer and later writers to mean 'vulture.' But Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 pp. 60—71 adduces strong reasons for thinking that the Homeric αἰγυπιοί were 'hawks,' not vultures at all.

[7] *Il.* 19. 350 f. The word ἅρπη is equated with ἰκτῖνος, 'kite,' by Hesych. *s.v.* ἅρπη(ν)· εἶδος ὀρνέου...ἢ ἰκτῖνον. Κρῆτες, Tzetz. *chil.* 5. 413 f. ἰκτῖνος ὄρνις τίς ἐστιν, ὅνπερ καλοῦμεν ἅρπην, | ἁρπάζων τὰ νεόττια τὰ τῶν ἀλεκτορίδων. But H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott, on the strength of Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 1. 609 a 23 f., etc., says 'unknown *bird of prey*, prob. *shearwater*.' More in D'Arcy W. Thompson *op. cit.* p. 35 f.

[8] *Od.* 3. 371 f. I render φήνη by 'vulture' as *supra* ii. 1122. So too D'Arcy

swallow[1], and a bird of indeterminate kind[2]. The precise species would depend on local conditions. At Korone in Messenia, where Pausanias[3] saw a bronze statue of Athena holding a crow, the goddess herself *may* have been symbolised by her attribute[4]. At Megara, where a headland projected into the sea, there was a well-

Fig. 577.

W. Thompson *op. cit.* p. 180. But E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 538 prefers 'osprey.'

[1] *Od.* 22. 239 f. [2] *Od.* 1. 320.

[3] Paus. 4. 34. 6. C. Robert in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1882 xl. 173 mentions among objects recently found in Italy, especially in Hadrian's Villa, 'eine Bronzestatuette der Athena mit einer Krähe auf dem Arme.'

[4] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 844 n. 2 'Koronis, von Poseidon verfolgt, wird durch Athena in eine Krähe verwandelt (Ov. *M* 2 536—632...): das ist wahrscheinlich der Rest einer Legende, in der die Göttin selbst die Gestalt des Vogels annahm.' To the same effect A. Kiock in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1915 xviii. 127 f.

A Boeotian plate in the British Museum shows *inter alia* the sacrifice of an ox to Athena. Behind the goddess is her snake, and a Doric column to indicate her temple. Before her is an altar from which flames are rising, while a bird—crow rather than cock—is perched proudly on the top of it (Sir C. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* i. 202—209 ('a crow') pl. 7 (part of which = my fig. 577), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 76 f. no. B 80 ('either a crow, or a cock'), W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* Wien 1897 p. 41 f. fig. 11 ('der Krähe'), S. Wide in the *Sertum philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum* Göteborg 1910 p. 63 pl. 1, 1 ('ein Vogel'), Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 207 with n. 1 iii. 39 fig. 169). Such a position no doubt implies that the bird stands in a special relation to the deity (Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 174 f. well compares a black-figured *amphora* in the Archaeological Seminar at Upsala (fig. 1 = my fig. 578) and an engraved gold ring of *c.* 400 B.C. in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 13 no. 59 pl. 2) (fig. 2 = my fig. 579). In the one case the owl on the altar betokens a sacrifice to Athena: in the other, the eagle on the altar spells a sacrifice to Zeus), but hardly amounts to a demonstration of ornithomorphism.

known cult of Athena *Aithyia*, 'the Gull[1].' The Megarians declared that Athena once took upon herself the form of a gull, hid Kekrops beneath her wings, and carried him across to Megara[2]. At Athens

Fig. 578.

Fig. 579.

[1] Paus. 1. 5. 3 καὶ δὴ καὶ Πανδίων ἐβασίλευσεν ὅ τε (so Bekker for ὁ τοῦ codd.) Ἐριχθονίου καὶ ὁ Κέκροπος τοῦ δευτέρου· τοῦτον Μητιονίδαι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξελαύνουσι, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ἐς Μέγαρα—θυγατέρα γὰρ εἶχε Πύλα τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἐν Μεγάροις—συνεκπίπτουσιν οἱ παῖδες. καὶ Πανδίονα μὲν αὐτοῦ λέγεται νοσήσαντα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ οἱ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ μνῆμά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι ἐν Ἀθηνᾶς (so Xylander for ἀθήναις codd.) Αἰθυίας καλουμένῳ σκοπέλῳ, 1. 41. 6 ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατιοῦσι Πανδίονός ἐστιν ἡρῷον. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἐτάφη Πανδίων ἐν Αἰθυίας (so Xylander for ηθυιας codd.) Ἀθηνᾶς καλουμένῳ σκοπέλῳ, δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι· τιμὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει παρὰ Μεγαρέων ἔχει. The relations of Megara to Athens are discussed by K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund 1934 p. 35 ff. See further A. Kiock 'Athene Aithyia' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1915 xviii. 127—133, who notes that Leukothea too after helping Odysseus dived into the sea αἰθυίῃ εἰκυῖα (*Od.* 5. 353, cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 844 n. 8) and that the sea-nymphs after saving the Argonauts disappeared into the deep ἁλίγκιαι αἰθυίῃσιν (Ap. Rhod. 4. 966).

The appellation Αἴθυια denotes some species of gull (D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 17: 'Probably a large Gull, e.g. *Larus marinus*, the Black-backed Gull (Sundevall), or *L. argentatus*, the Herring Gull (Krüper), the former being rare in Greece'), perhaps the shearwater (D'Arcy W. Thompson in the *Class. Rev.* 1918 xxxii. 94 f. with the very rash suggestion that the modern name for this sea-fowl *Pallante* (at Naples and Lucca) or Fallante (in the island of Giglio, S. Italy) 'can scarcely be other than the "Bird of Pallas," or Pallas herself,' while another Italian term for it, *Aipu*, may contain 'an echo of αἴθυια'!). Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1385, 65 f. καὶ αἴθυια ὡς εἰκὸς παρὰ Λυκόφρονι Ἀθηνᾶ (Lyk. *Al.* 359 quoted *supra* p. 608 n. 4), ἡ φωσφόρος does not justify R. Hildebrandt *op. cit.* p. 19 in supposing an allusion to Athena's 'aetherea sive ignea natura' (*supra* p. 781 n. 3).

[2] Hesych. ἐν δ' Αἴθυια· οὕτως Ἀθηνᾶ τιμᾶται παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσιν· ἐπειδὴ εἰς αἴθυιαν ἀπεικασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τὰ πτερὰ ἔκρυψε τὸν Κέκροπα, καὶ διεκόμισεν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα. The manuscript gives the *lemma* as ἐνδαρθυῖα, a reading which, though repeated by Favorin.

of course she was an owl[1]. Hence the appearance of an owl was hailed as an omen of victory. In the *Wasps*[2] the old dikasts attribute their repulse of the Persians to the timely arrival of an owl:

> Yet we drove their ranks before us, ere the fall of eventide:
> As we closed, an owl flew o'er us, and the Gods were on our side!

The scholiast[3]—shrewd fellow—remarks: 'He is here speaking of Athena as an owl.' According to Plutarch[4], just before Salamis an owl came flying from the right, perched on Themistokles' mast-top, and so induced the Greeks to follow that commander's advice. Posterity concluded that Themistokles was a man of resource[5]. Agathokles too on one occasion (310 B.C.) routed the Carthaginians by the simple expedient of uncaging a few owls. They settled on the shields and helmets of his men, who with confidence restored promptly defeated the foe[6]. An allusion to this incident has been detected[7] on a unique gold *statér* of Agathokles, struck between

lex. p. 643, 5 f. *ἐνδαρθυῖα*, is clearly corrupt. Scaliger cj. *ἐν δ' ἀρ' αἴθυια*, Salmasius and Heinsius *Ἐνδαιθυία*, Hemsterhusius *ἐν δ' αἰθυίᾳ*, M. Schmidt *ἐν δ' Αἴθυια*. The phrase is, however, out of order between *ἔνδασαι* and *ἐνδατεῖται*.

A black-figured *oinochóe* at Paris, which possibly illustrates the foregoing myth, is given *infra* (fig. 618).

[1] On the relation of the bird to the goddess see F. Studniczka 'Zur Eule der Parthenos' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 xlii. 162 f., E. Pottier 'La chouette d'Athéné' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 529—548 with pls. 7 and 8, Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) 'The Owl of Athena' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 174—178 figs. 1—4, H. Schrader 'Athena mit dem Käuzchen' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 1—32 pl. 1 (=my fig. 640), M. P. Nilsson *Die Anfänge der Göttin Athene* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.* Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser. iv, 7) Kφbenhavn 1921 pp. 13—15.

[2] Aristoph. *vesp.* 1085 f. *ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀπωσάμεσθα ξὺν θεοῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν· | γλαῦξ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὶν μάχεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν διέπτετο* trans. B. B. Rogers. The last line became proverbial (Apostol. 5. 44 b): *infra* p. 785 n. 2.

[3] Schol. Aristoph. *vesp.* 1086 *γλαῦκα δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καλεῖ.* W. G. Rutherford *Scholia Aristophanica* London 1896 ii. 424 printed *Γλαῦξ: <Γλαῦκα> τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καλεῖ*, and commented: 'The annotator imagines a proper name derived from *γλαύσσειν*, the verb often used in explaining *γλαυκῶπις*.' But it is much more probable that *γλαῦξ* has here its usual force.

[4] Plout. *v. Them.* 12.

[5] Bekker *anecd.* i. 232, 30 ff. *Γλαὺξ ἔπτατο· παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν νενικηκότων, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γλαῦκά φασι διαπτῆναι, τὴν νίκην τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προσημαίνουσαν. Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ πέμψαντος αὐτούς, περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας ποιουμένου τὸν λόγον, γλαῦκα περὶ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τοῦ κέρως ὀφθῆναι.*

[6] Diod. 20. 11.

[7] F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Num. Zeitschr.* New Series 1871 iii. 4, 43 f. pl. 5, 2 (=my fig. 580) Vienna, Sir G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 155 f. pl. 11, 12, *id. Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 pp. 110, 112 f. pl. 8, 65, Sir G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 110 f., C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 246 pl. 60, 5 ('perhaps').

310 and 304 B.C., which has for its reverse type (fig. 580) Athena winged and weaponed advancing into the fray with an owl at her side. As a presage of victory[1] the bird passed into a proverb. 'There goes an owl!' men said when there were obvious symptoms of a coming triumph[2].

If the owl was indeed regarded as Athena herself in bird-form, we can understand why the town-arms of Athens were an owl between two sprigs of olive. A good example, which came to light in 1839 at *Palaiopolis* (Korkyra), is now in the British Museum (fig. 581)[3]. An inscription in silver-filled letters of *s.* iv B.C. records a grant of *proxenía* made by the Corcyraeans to a certain Athenian named Dionysios, son of Phrynichos. It is incised on a bronze

Fig. 580.

[1] The bird which portended victory to friends naturally portended defeat to foes. Consequently the owl had also a sinister significance, on which see P. Perdrizet 'Sur le folk-lore de la chouette dans l'antiquité' in the *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1903 pp. 164—170. I add a couple of contrasted examples. Hieron ii of Syracuse was entering on his first campaign, when an owl perched on his spear and an eagle on his shield: this meant that he would be both a prudent counsellor and a powerful king (Iust. 23. 4. 10). Pyrrhos i of Epeiros was riding towards Argos by night, when an owl perched on the top of his spear: this foretold his miserable death (Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 37). We must remember that the Argives were protected by their goddess Athena Ὀξυδερκής (Paus. 1. 24. 2: *supra* ii. 502 n. 2), who may well have appeared to Pyrrhos as an owl.

On the folk-lore of the owl see further S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 24—30 (*bubo*), 31—39 (*noctua*), A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 243—251 (largely lunar myths), C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 pp. 97, 125—131 (valuable), C. de Kay *Bird Gods* New York 1898 pp. 149—178 (*caveant lectores*), P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1905 ii. 77, 1906 iii. 167, 179, 193, 195, 196, 201, 202, 204, 213, 456, M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1064—1071 (distinguishing six species: βρύας, νυκτικόραξ or ὦτος, γλαῦξ, αἰγωλιός, ἐλεός, σκώψ), N. W. Thomas in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 523[b]—524[b], O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 pp. 36—45 figs. 17, 18 pl. 1, 6, 8, 10, Taylor in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 1073—1079, Peuckert *ib.* 1932 iv. 1188—1197.

[2] Γλαῦξ ἵπταται (Zenob. 2. 89, Diogeneian. 3. 72, Apostol. 5. 54, Gregor. Kypr. cod. Leid. 1. 85, Souid. *s.v.*). Γλαὺξ ἔπτατο (Bekker *anecd.* i. 232, 30 ff. cited *supra* p. 784 n. 5). Γλαὺξ διέπτατο (Diogeneian. 3. 93).

[3] C. T. Newton *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 30 f. no. 166 pl. 3 (part of which = my fig. 581). See further P. Perdrizet 'Παράσημα de villes sur des steles de proxénie' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 549—562 figs. 1—7.

plate, which takes the shape of a small temple surmounted by a pediment with *akrotéria*. In the pediment stands an owl between two olive-sprays, which form a sort of wreath round her. The same city-arms reappear on a whole series of red-figured *skýphoi*. Of these over one hundred and fifty specimens are known[1], ranging from *c.* 490 B.C. down to the end of Attic vase-painting[2] and on

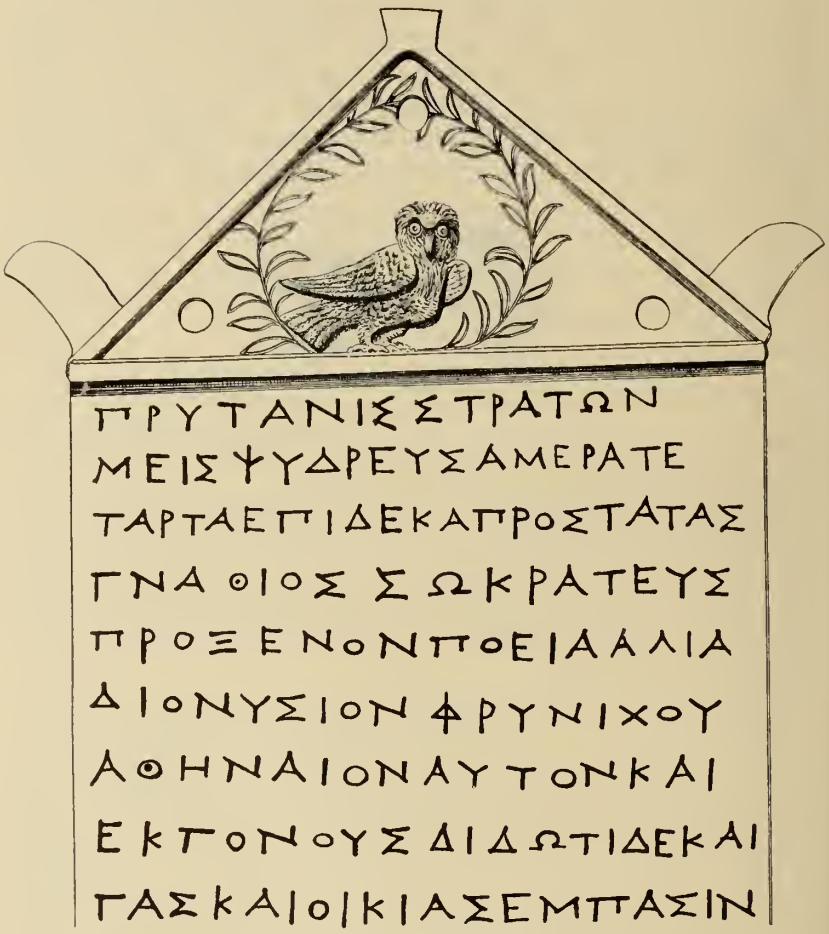


Fig. 581.

[1] D. M. Robinson—C. G. Harcum—J. H. Iliffe *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology Toronto* The Univ. of Toronto Press 1930 i. 183 f. nos. 373 and 374 pl. 65, no. 375 pl. 67 list some 106 examples. W. B. Dinsmoor in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 420 n. 6 cites 35 more, and draws attention to yet others recovered from the Akropolis (Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* ii. 47 . nos. 529—537 ('Eulenskyphoi') pl. 40).

[2] W. B. Dinsmoor *loc. cit.* p. 420.

into the period of south-Italian imitations[1]. I give an example from my collection (fig. 582)[2], in which the red is an opaque pigment laid on the black glaze, the idea of the potter being to produce a cheap copy of red-figured ware[3]. Sir Cecil Smith[4] maintained that such cups were 'made for some special official or religious occasion.' But, unless there is some further indication of solemn or sacred usage, we should be ill-advised to assume it. It would be wiser to compare the china mugs of our childhood inscribed in gilt lettering 'A present from Brighton' or the modern souvenirs of Goss ware adorned with local arms. Greater seriousness of intention

Fig. 582.

attaches to a broken *kylix* (fig. 583)[5] found on the Akropolis at Athens in the excavations of 1886 and referable to a date preceding the Persian sack of 480 B.C. Owl and olive-sprays are painted inside, brick-red on a black ground. But this time the potter, a young man offering as in duty bound his maiden effort to Athena, has encircled the design with an inscription[6]: '[.....]os dedicated (this) as his firstfruits.' Again, in 1867 the Museum at Athens acquired a cylindrical vessel of red ware, made with the utmost

[1] *Id. ib* n. 5.
[2] Thick fabric. Height 3½ ins. The design on both sides is practically identical.
[3] H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 394.
[4] Sir C. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 14, cp. p. 142 nos. E 152$_1$—E 152$_4$.
[5] J. Six in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1888 xiii. 290 pl. 29, 9 (=my fig. 583).
[6] [- -] ΟΣΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝΑΠΑΔ+ΕΝ.

nicety to serve as an official *choînix* or 'quart[1].' Half way up its outer surface is an inscription, which, though imperfect, can be read as *demósion*, 'a public (measure).' Near the first letter of this word is stamped an owl looking towards the right with an olive-branch on its left: it is accompanied by the legend *Ath*[.....]. Under the fourth letter of *demósion*, and in part concealed by it, is a second

Fig. 583.

stamp—a helmeted head of Athena facing right. These two reliefs, implying small stamps or seals of excellent work, were compared by A. Dumont with Athenian coins of the 'new style' (*c.* 220 B.C. and later). His comparison was most just; for coins, as T. Burgon[2] pointed out long ago, are nothing but 'pieces of *sealed metal*,' and

[1] A. Dumont in the *Rev. Arch.* 1867 N.S. xvi. 292 f., Sir C. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 14 n.*, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i 135 f. The inscriptions are ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ and ΑΘ[·····].

[2] T. Burgon in the *Numismatic Journal* 1837 i. 118.

their types, as Sir George Macdonald[1] has made abundantly clear, are for the most part simply badges of the issuing town or magistrate. I think we may go further and assert that, alike on the quart-measure and on the coins, the owl and Athena represent the animal form and the human form of the self-same goddess[2].

A similar explanation must be given of the owl stamped on the bronze tickets (figs. 584, 585)[3] and on the bronze (figs. 586,

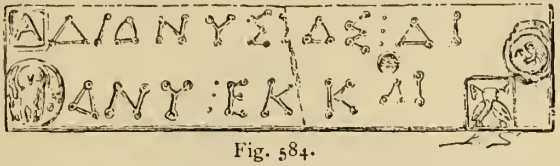


Fig. 584.

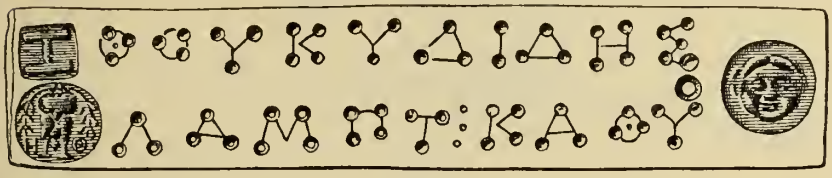


Fig. 585.

[1] Sir G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 43 ff., C. Seltman *Greek Coins* Cambridge 1933 p. 27 and context.

[2] Cp. the Janiform head and the double axe on coins of Tenedos, as explained by Sir A. J. Evans (*supra* ii. 654 f.).

[3] *E.g. Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 876 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1837 Διονύσιος Δι|ονυ(σίου) ἐκ Κοί(λης) with initial A and three stamps: (*a*) owl in olive-wreath lettered A[H]O, (*b*) double-bodied owl between A and A (?), (*c*) *Gorgóneion*. My fig. 584 is from E. Caillemer's article in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 190 fig. 2410.

Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 2 no. 900 with fig. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1864 with diagram Ἀντικράτης Εὐκτ(ημονίδου?) | Αἰξωνεύς has initial E and two stamps: (*a*) owl, (*b*) *Gorgóneion*. O. Kern *Inscriptiones Graecae* Bonnae 1913 pl. 22, 4 gives a photograph of it.

Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 5 no. 908 b = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1877 with diagram Θουκυδίδης | Λαμπτ(ρεὺς) καθυ(πέρθεν) *i.e.* 'of Upper Lamptrai' has initial ⌶ and two stamps: (*a*) owl in olive-wreath lettered HAΘ, (*b*) *Gorgóneion*. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 50 no. 332 fig. 12, *A Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life* London 1908 p. 7 fig. 3 (=my fig. 585).

See further T. Thalheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 567 ff. and C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1931 lxi. 752 ('The Athenian jurymen's bronze tickets, described in *I.G.* ii, 2, 875 sqq., and *I.G.* ii, 5, 875 b sqq., together with four other specimens, on an analysis of the 30 complete specimens proved to have had the following devices stamped upon them: 22 had a circular Gorgoneion device, probably the seal of the State; 27 had a circular stamp with a facing owl between olive-twigs; 12 were surcharged with an additional square stamp displaying an owl with two bodies. The two last corresponded to the reverse types of contemporary triobols and diobols of the first half of the fourth century B.C. It was suggested that the triobol-device on such a pinakion was a voucher guaranteeing his three-obol pay for jury-service to a dikast. Probably the diobol-device surcharged on some of the tickets was likewise a guarantee of *theoric* pay.

587)[1] or lead tokens (figs. 589, 590)[2] of Athenian dikasts, of the owl branded on the bodies of Athenian slaves[3], and doubtless of other analogous cases.

Fig. 586.

Fig. 587.

Fig. 588.

Fig. 589.

Fig. 590.

Either a limited number of jurymen took the trouble to acquire this surcharge on their tickets, or the custom of surcharging all jurymen's tickets prevailed for a limited period').

[1] J. N. Svoronos 'ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΗΡΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 37—120 pls. 3—6, *id. Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pls. 100—102, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 696—700. E. Caillemer in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 191 figs. 2411 Berlin and 2412 Meletopoulos (=my figs. 587 and 586) published two specimens, which have for reverse type four owls grouped about two sprigs of olive with the legend *θεσμοθετῶν*. They bear a curious, but presumably accidental, resemblance to a clay seal-impression found by Sir A. J. Evans in 1903 towards the bottom of the 'Eastern Repository' at Knossos and referred by him to his 'Middle Minoan iii' period, *i.e. c.* 1700—1580 B.C. (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 55 ff. fig. 33 (=my fig. 588: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), *id. The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i. 695 f. fig. 518, *f*, cp. *ib.* 1935 iv. 2. 487 with fig. 410, *a—b* 'Early Minoan' breccia cup from Mochlos and fig. 410 *bis*, *a—d* ivory seal of similar date from Mesarà—both cut into the shape of a little owl).

[2] J. N. Svoronos 'ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΗΡΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1900 iii. 319—343 pls. 17—20, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 700—705. E. Caillemer in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 192 f. figs. 2413 and 2414 (=my figs. 590 and 589) published two specimens, on which the owl appears between two spray of olive lettered $O^{A}H$.

[3] During the Samian War the Athenians branded their prisoners on the face with an

We have said that the owl, as issuing from the Akropolis rock, was held to be a special manifestation or embodiment of Athena the rock-goddess[1]. It is, however, possible that there was a further cause for its sanctity at Athens, and one which brings it into closer connexion with Zeus. O. Gruppe[2] has pointed out that over a wide area of the ancient world[3] birds of prey were believed to be filled with the fire of the celestial region from which they came darting down, a fire that blazed in the colouring of their beaks or glittered in their flashing eyes. Some birds indeed got their name from their fiery nature—the *phlegýas*[4], the *phléxis*[5], the *incendiaria avis*[6], the

owl (Ail. *var. hist.* 2. 9), while the Samians branded theirs with a galley (Douris of Samos Σαμίων ὧροι *frag.* 59 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 483 Müller)=*frag.* 66 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 153 Jacoby with n. *ad loc.*) *ap.* Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.* Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος). Plout. *v. Per.* 26 has inverted the facts.

[1] *Supra* pp. 749, 764, 776 ff. [2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 793 ff.

[3] Analogous modern beliefs are collected by N. W. Thomas in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 529[a–b] ('Thunderbird'), J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 pp. 20—30 ('The Thunder-bird'), Harrison *Themis*[2] p. 113 ff. ('*Mana* of Birds,' 'Sanctity of Birds').

[4] *Supra* i. 199 and ii. 1134 n. 9.

[5] Aristoph. *av.* 884 with schol. *ad loc.* D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 181 suggests relation of φλέξις to φλεγύας, from φλέγω, *fulgeo*, etc. The suggestion is highly probable.

[6] Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 36 inauspicata est et incendiaria avis, quam propter saepenumero lustratam urbem in annalibus invenimus, sicut L. Cassio C. Mario cos. (107 B.C.), quo anno et bubone viso lustratam esse. quae sit avis ea non reperitur nec traditur. quidam ita interpretantur, incendiariam esse quaecumque apparuerit carbonem ferens ex aris vel altaribus. alii spinturnicem eam vocant, sed haec ipsa quae esset inter aves qui se scire diceret non inveni.

Pliny's account of the *incendiaria avis*, which, some said, appeared bringing embers from the altars, leaves us guessing. On the one hand, we are reminded of the phoenix carrying its parent's body to the altar of the Sun at Heliopolis and burning it there (Tac. *ann.* 6. 28: see further Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3450 ff., *supra* i. 341). On the other hand, the name may cover some forgotten rite, perhaps comparable with the *Scoppio del Carro* on Easter Eve at Florence. The 'Sacred Fire' is then struck from flints brought by one of the Pazzi family from Jerusalem in the middle ages and kept in the church of the Holy Apostles on the Piazza del Limbo. A candle thus lit is taken in solemn procession to the high altar in the Cathedral. Meantime two splendid white oxen with crimson housings and gilded horns, wreathed with flowers and evergreens, have drawn the *Carro*, a four-sided erection tapering both towards the top and towards the base and covered with fireworks, to a point on the Piazza del Duomo between the Cathedral and the Baptistery. Here it is connected by a wire with a pillar set up in front of the high altar. 'Precisely at noon the "Gloria" was reached, and as the first words were sung the sacred fire was applied to the pillar, which, like the "Carro," was wreathed with fireworks. This was the supreme moment of the ceremony; with a hissing sound, amid a shower of sparks, a dove, apparently of fire, flew from the pillar along the wire,—it should have reached the "Carro," and setting that alight, returned to the altar from whence it came, on the success or non-success of its flight depending, in the opinion of the Contadini, the fate of this year's harvest. By some unhappy chance it flew no farther than midway down the nave, where, with a last despairing "fizzle," it became extinguished,

spinturnix[1]. So charged with heat was the eagle that, had it not introduced a piece of cool jet into its nest, it would positively have cooked its own eggs[2]! Viewed in this context the name *Aíthyia*[3] becomes significant. It is best explained as an old participle of the verb *aítho*, 'I burn[4],' and suggests a burnt or fiery colour[5]. In point of fact the herring-gull is distinguished by its yellow bill, which has a patch of bright red at the basal angle; the eye too is of a beautiful straw-colour set in a frame of vermilion formed by the rim of the eyelid[6]. Again, the little owl—*Athene noctua*, as the ornithologists term it—certainly derived its name *glaûx* from the fiery glance of

revealing itself as a stuffed bird tied on to a bundle of squibs. Immediately the spectators rushed upon it, each trying to secure at least a feather ... That evening the walls were placarded with the announcement of a "Mala Pasqua," and all sorts of misfortunes for the present year were freely prophesied' (Jessie L. Weston in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 182—184, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 126 f.). I witnessed the ceremony myself on Saturday, 15 April 1922, when the fiery bird made its double flight in safety, the *Carro* burst in fine style, and the crowd filling the Piazza scrambled for the smouldering fragments.

[1] Fest. p. 330 *b* 34 ff. Müller, p. 446, 7 ff. Lindsay *spintyrnix* est avis genus turpis figurae...ea Graece dicitur, ut ait Santra, σπινθαρίς. Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 731 adds: 'das wohl als Vogel mit funkelnden Augen zu σπινθαρίς, σπινθήρ "Funke." In der Endung sieht Stowasser AfLL. VI, 563 vielleicht richtig das westgriech. ὄρνῑξ (=ὄρνῑς) "Vogel," wie auch in *co(c)turnix*, das Keller Volkset. 51 als Muster für die Bildung von *spinturnix* gehalten hatte.' Cp. Ernout—Meillet *Dict. étym. de la Langue Lat.* p. 924.

[2] Myth. Vat. 3. 3. 4 quod vero aquilam eius deputant tutelae, quam refert fabula Jovi contra Gigantes dimicanti fulmina ministrasse, et hanc dant physici rationem, quod aquila per naturam nimii est caloris, adeo ut et ova, quibus supersedet, possit coquere, nisi gagaten, lapidem frigidissimum, admoveat. unde Lucanus (6. 676) 'foeta tepefacta sub alite saxa.' addunt etiam, adeo acutum esse aquilae intuitum, ut pro fulgentissimis solis radiis numquam deflectat obtuitum. matres etiam, ut ajunt, pullos suos contra solis ortum obvertunt, ut si in ipsos solis radios lumina figere sustinuerint, in vitam reserventur, si non, a nido dejiciantur. unde Lucanus in ix (9. 902) dicit 'utque Jovis volucris calido quum protulit ovo' etc. (Cp. *supra* i. 104 n. 1, ii. 230.) elemento igitur calidissimo et limpidissimo, videlicet aethere, illud ales consectatur, quod et calore abundat et perspicacitate. Dionys. ὀρνιθιακά (printed in the Didot *Bucolici* p. 107 ff. in the form of a Byzantine epitome wrongly ascribed to Euteknios) 1. 1 says of the eagle's stone (the ἀετίτης, on which see A. Nies in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 704 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 777 n. 1, G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 p. 34, J. Evans *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance particularly in England* Oxford 1922 Index p. 251 *s.v.* 'Aetites') ἐὰν ἐν λέβητι παφλάζοντος ὕδατος ἐπιψαύσῃ, τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς νικήσει πάντως ἰσχύν.

[3] *Supra* p. 783 n. 1.

[4] K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[3] München 1900 p. 210 (cp. ἄγνια and the like). Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 23 doubts this derivation, being more impressed by the fact that so many bird-names begin with *al-*, possibly to be identified with *avi-s*.

[5] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 15.

[6] J. L. Bonhote *Birds of Britain* London 1907 p. 364 ff. pl. 91, W. P. Pycraft *A Book of Birds* London 1908 p. 82 pl. 16, 1.

its eyes[1]. Such birds, swooping upon their prey by sea or land, would appeal to the imagination of a simple folk and might well be regarded as lightning-birds appropriate to Athena, who wielded the thunderbolt of Zeus[2]. This is speculative, and of course uncertain. But, so far as the owl is concerned, further evidence is forthcoming. Columella[3], describing the rites by which the country people sought to avert wind and weather, says:

> Hence Amythaon's son[4], whom Cheiron taught,
> On crosses hung the night-birds and on roof-tops
> Would have them cry no more their deadly dirge.

Palladius[5] follows suit, and in his farmer's calendar, among other magic means of warding off hail-stones, gives the *recipe*: 'Or else an owl is nailed up with wide-spread wings.' The same cure is still popular in Germany[6] and elsewhere. C. Swainson[7], a well-known authority on bird-lore, remarks: 'Owls are often nailed up on barn doors or walls. The meaning of this custom is now unknown in our own rural districts; but in Germany the peasants will tell you it is done to avert lightning. The owl, it is to be observed, is a lightning bird.' If so, we get rid of one small difficulty. It might have been thought that the divine power resident in the head of Zeus would have been born as an eagle, not an owl[8]. But the owl of Athena, as we now perceive, was virtually equivalent to the eagle of Zeus. The equation seems to have struck the Greeks themselves in

[1] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1202, 10 ff. *τὸ δὲ γλαυκιόων ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔμπυρον βλέπων κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς παρὰ τὸ γλαύσσω, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ γλαῦξ, ἣν μόνην τῶν γαμψωνύχων καὶ σαρκοφάγων φασὶ μὴ τίκτειν τυφλὰ διὰ τὸ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πυρῶδες, ὃ τμητικὸν ὂν διαιρεῖ τὴν θέαν. διὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς σκοτομήναις ὁρᾷ.* The source of this note was Demokritos of Abdera (H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 52, 13 ff.), cp. *et. mag.* p. 233, 10 ff. *Δημόνικος*, but Zonar. *lex.* p. 439 and Favorin. *lex.* p. 422, 16 ff. *Δημόκριτος*.

Modern philology supports the ancient derivation: see L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 68, Prellwitz *op. cit.*[2] p. 95, Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 150.

[2] First in Aisch. *Eum.* 827 f., cp. Pind. *frag.* 146 Bergk[4], 146 Schroeder *πῦρ πνέοντος ἄ τε κεραυνοῦ | ἄγχιστα δεξιὰν κατὰ χεῖρα πατρός | (ἡμένα)...*; then on coins, gems, etc. See Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 191, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 677 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 330, and *infra* § 9 (h) ii (λ) (5).

[3] Colum. *de re rust.* 10. 348 ff. [4] Melampous. [5] Pallad. 1. 35. 1.

[6] A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 p. 189 'Die eule an das scheunenthor genagelt schützt aber das haus vor blitz', E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 112 'Sie wird gegen Zauber und Blitz ans Scheunentor genagelt (Wuttke § 165)', Taylor in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 1074 'Sehr verbreitet ist das Annageln einer E. oder einzelner Teile von ihr an Ställen, Scheunen usw. gegen Blitzschlag, Feuer und anderes Unheil' with n. 29 on p. 1078.

[7] C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 123.

[8] *Supra* p. 733 f.

Hellenistic times. Bronze coins of Pergamon (fig. 591)[1] show an owl on a winged thunderbolt inscribed ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, 'of Athena the Bringer of Victory.' A similar type occurs on gold[2] and silver of Tarentum[3] and on bronze of Herakleia in Lucania[4] and Amastris in Paphlagonia[5], while small bronze pieces issued at Athens have two owls face to face on a thunderbolt[6]. Finally, Zeus himself has an owl, not an eagle, as his attribute on imperial bronze coins of Akmoneia in Phrygia (figs. 592—594)[7] and on others struck by Alexandros i Balas at Kyrrhos in Syria (*supra* ii. 15 n. 5 fig. 2).

Fig. 591.

Fig. 592.

Fig. 593.

Fig. 594.

The passage from the ornithomorphic to the anthropomorphic conception of Athena involves several successive stages:

1. Athena as a bird.
2. Athena as a bird with human arms.
3. Athena as a bird with human head.
4. Athena as a goddess with bird's wings.
5. Athena as a goddess with a bird for her attribute.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 132 pl. 27, 13, cp. *ib.* p. 131 pl. 27, 11 f. and *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 62 no. 7680 pl. 264, 6, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 536. I figure a specimen in my collection. H. von Fritze in the *Corolla Numismatica* Oxford 1906 p. 56 f. pl. 2, 25 connects the coins inscribed ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦοΡοΥ with the Nikephoria of 183 B.C.

[2] *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 68 no. 24.

[3] Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 54 pl. 115, 232, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 128 pl. 99, 15, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 202, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 76 nos. 96—100 pl. 5, 18, *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 92 nos. 642—645 pl. 25, 9 and 10, *Syll. num. Gr.* ii. pl. 8, 236 Lloyd.

[4] Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 89 pl. 163, 68, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 134 pl. 102, 15, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 234, *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 116 nos. 863, 864 pl. 30, 2.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus etc. p. 84 pl. 19, 5, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.*[2] i. 174 no. 10 pl. 18, 8.

[6] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 24, 60—67, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 79 pl. 14, 3, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 72 nos. 182, 183.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. xxiii, 9 f. pl. 3, 3 (=my fig. 593) and 4 (=my fig. 594). Fig. 592 is from a specimen kindly given to me by Mr C. T. Seltman, who notes that the magistrates L. Servenius Capito and Iulia Severa are apparently husband and wife, both holding priestly office under Nero.

The first stage we have already considered. It was perhaps best exemplified by the Megarian cult of Athena *Aíthyia*, 'the Gull[1].' But there were substantial grounds for thinking that at Athens Athena took the form of an owl[2].

We have next to note how the bird becomes human-armed. A series of moulded terra-cotta pendants found in south Italy, especially in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, represents an owl that has not only wings but human hands as well and is spinning with distaff, yarn, and wool-basket all complete (figs. 595, 596)[3]. These odd-looking objects are always pierced with a couple of holes and seem to have served originally as loom-weights[4]. There can be little doubt that the owl spinning is Athena *Ergáne*[5] in her character as patron of women's handiwork[6].

The transition from bird to human-headed bird can be illustrated by an early Corinthian *aryballos*, found in Aigina and now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Breslau (fig. 597)[7]. This shows Herakles contending with the Lernaean Hydra. The hero has already cut off one of the monster's ten heads: it is to be seen above, that is beyond, the horses on the right. Undaunted by two

[1] *Supra* p. 783 nn. 1, 2. [2] *Supra* p. 784 ff.

[3] See P. Perdrizet in the *Mélanges Perrot* Paris 1903 p. 264 f., R. Engelmann in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 122 f. and *ib.* 1906 ii. 453 f., E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 541 ff., P. Wuilleumier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 47.

The examples so far known are two in the Museum at Bari—nos. 2910 (R. Engelmann in the *Rev. Arch.* 1906 ii. 453 fig. 1) and 1851 (*id. ib.* fig. 3), one in the Jatta collection at Ruvo, another at Brindisi (*id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 123 fig. 1 wrongly described), another belonging to C. Hülsen at Rome (*id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1906 ii. 453 fig. 2), a sixth in the Louvre (E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 541 pl. 7, 3 (the most complete and the most grotesque)), a seventh in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (P. Perdrizet in the *Mélanges Perrot* Paris 1902 p. 264 fig. 4, G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1915 fig. 5045), an eighth in the Museum at Lausanne (W. Deonna in the *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde. Indicateur d'antiquités suisses.* N.S. 1910 p. 46 fig. 17). I add a specimen from Tarentum now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 450 no. E 179, my fig. 595) and another in my possession (fig. 596).

[4] So R. Engelmann in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 122 f., 1906 ii. 453 f. But P. Wuilleumier *ib.* 1932 i. 47 still includes them among the religio-magical 'disques de Tarente' (on which see *supra* ii. 131 n. 1).

[5] So first P. Perdrizet in the *Mélanges Perrot* Paris 1903 p. 264 f.

[6] O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 428—430. C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 124 records a (German?) tradition that the owl is an old weaver spinning with silver threads. *Id. ib.* p. 97 notes that the nightjar is called a 'Churr owl' in Aberdeen and a 'Spinner' in Wexford. Cp. G. Meredith *Love in the Valley* 35 f. 'Lone on the fir-branch, his rattle-note unvaried, | Brooding o'er the gloom, spins the brown evejar.'

[7] O. Rossbach *Fest-Gruss...der vierzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen una Schulmaenner in Goerlitz* Breslau 1889 pp. 5—19 with fig. (=my fig. 597) reproduced on a smaller scale by Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 303 fig. 81.

Fig. 595.

Fig. 596.

Fig. 597.

more heads, which are biting deep into his shoulders, and by a large crab, which is nipping his legs, Herakles has run a long sword through two of the snaky necks, wounded a third, and grasped a fourth by the throttle. Even so he would be in imminent danger, were it not for the presence of Iolaos, who, attacking the Hydra from the opposite side, reaps three of its heads with a single pull of his toothed sickle. To right and left, marked off from each other by a flying bird, stand the chariots of Iolaos and Herakles, four-horsed and two-horsed respectively. In the former a young charioteer, Lapythos by name, holds his goad and reins in readiness for flight, while he turns his head to watch the combat. In the latter Athena had escorted Herakles. She has now dismounted and stands close at his back, inviting him with a gesture of her left hand to refresh his strength with a draught from the cup that she holds in her right. On the reins of the chariot is perched her owl; on the goad, a woman-headed bird, beside which is inscribed the word *wous*. M. Mayer[1] took this to be a variant form of *phôyx* or *pôyx*, an echoic name for 'gull.' The woman-headed bird would then be an *altera ego* of Athena *Aithyia*. But my friend the late Dr P. Giles informed me years ago that Mayer's explanation is phonetically impossible: the assumed interchange of an initial labial with an initial digamma depends on the mistaken view that digamma was pronounced like our letter *f*. Dr Giles himself suggested that *wous* might be a local onomatopoeic name for 'owl,' comparing the imitation of an owl's hoot, which in a poem by Thomas Nash[2] appears as *to-witta-woo!* and in another by Shakespeare[3] as *Tuwhit! tuwhoo*[4]*!* I gladly accept this suggestion, especially as the

[1] M. Mayer in *Hermes* 1892 xxvii. 481—487, citing Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 18. 617 a 9 *φῶυξ*, Hesych. *πῶυξ· ποιὸς ὄρνις. ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ περὶ ζώων, et. mag.* p. 699, 10 f. *πώυγγες· αἱ αἴθυιαι, αἱ κληθεῖσαι βοῦγγες. παρὰ τὴν βοὴν καὶ τὴν ἰυγήν*, concludes that *Fῶυς* was the Corinthian form of *βούγξ, φῶυξ, πῶυξ*. Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Rel.*[2] p. 303 f. follows him.

O. Rossbach *op. cit.* p. 14 leaves the word (ΜΥΟΞ) unexplained, but *ib.* n. 1 adds that Studemund proposed a connexion with the root *βαῦ-* of *βαΰζω*.

[2] F. T. Palgrave *The Golden Treasury* London 1882 p. 1 *Spring* 4, 8, 12.

[3] *Ib.* p. 17 *Winter* 8, 17.

[4] Onomatopoeic names for 'owl' are common in the Indo-European languages (Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 216[b], citing J. Winteler *Naturlaute und Sprache* Aarau 1892 p. 10 f.), *e.g.* Sanskrit *úlûka-*, Latin *ulucus*, *ulula*, Old High German *ûwila*, Lithuanian *ýwas*; Armenian *buêč*, Greek *βύας, βῦζα*, Latin *bûbo*. Cp. Hesych. *τυτώ· ἡ γλαῦξ*, Plaut. *Men.* 653 f. ME. egon dedi? MA. tu, tu istic, inquam. PE. vin adferri noctuam, | quae 'tu tu' usque dicat tibi?

J. D. Beazley in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 348 no. 8 fig. 1 publishes a red-figured *amphora* on sale in Paris, which shows an owl with the letters KYYY scratched just below its beak (fig. 598 from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr C. D. Bicknell).

wous on the vase, except for its human head, resembles in all respects the unmistakable owl perched beside it. In short, I con-

Fig. 598.

Prof. Beazley cp. Aristoph. *av.* 261 *κικκαβαῦ κικκαβαῦ*, schol. *ad loc. τὰς γλαῦκας οὕτω φωνεῖν λέγουσιν. ὅθεν καὶ κικκαβὰς αὐτὰς λέγουσιν. ἔστι δὲ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. κ.τ.λ.* (more in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1551 C and in F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *Lys.* 760 f. *ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν γλαυκῶν τάλαιν' ἀπόλλυμαι | ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαισι κικκαβιζουσῶν ἀεί*), and the modern Greek *κουκουβαγία, κοῦκκος* (where, however, we have to reckon with assimilation to the note of the cuckoo (Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 216[b] f.)). I would rather illustrate the graffito KYYY from Browning's line in *Andrea del Sarto* 'The cue-owls speak the name we call them by.'

E. Pernice 'Ein korinthischer Pinax' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898

ceive that the Corinthian potter has here synchronised in an instructive series three distinct stages in the evolution of Athena—the ornithomorphic, the semi-ornithomorphic, and the anthropomorphic[1]. Another Corinthian *arýballos*, in the Karlsruhe collection

Fig. 599.

pp. 75—80 with fig. (=my fig. 599. Scale $\frac{9}{10}$) puts together four fragments of a Corinthian *pínax* at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 76 no. 683, 78 no. 757, 89 f. nos. 822 and 829 'Stil des Timonidas'), on which a man named Λόκρις stokes a potter's oven. Before it stands a small ithyphallic figure of the sort known as *βασκάνιον* (Aristoph. *fab. incert. frag.* 39 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1185 Meineke) *ap.* Poll. 7. 108, cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 30, 5 ff.), here named Λα— (? cp. Λάσταυρος, Λαικαστής, or the like). Upon it is perched a large owl named *φώκα* (Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 20, 69, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 66 no. 3119 h 69 Φώκα or *φώκα*, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 313 *φώκα*), cp. Hesych. *φωκίων· ὄρνις ποιός*. The word, like *φώκη* 'a seal,' may be a derivative of the Indo-Europaean **phōu-* 'to blow, puff': so *φῶυξ* (Prellwitz *Etym. Worterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 498 f., Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 1044 f.), if not also our *puffin* (but see E. Weekley *An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English* London 1921 p. 1166).

[1] It is interesting to see the same three stages combined on a red-figure *kýlix* potted by Pamphaios, found at Todi, and now preserved in the Villa Giulia (G. Bendinelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1916 xxiv. 874—880 pls. 3 and 4 (=my fig. 600), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 304 no. 19 *bis* fig., *Corp. vas. ant.* Villa Giulia iii 1. *c* pl. 25, 2 and 3, pl. 26, 2 with text p. 13 by G. Q. Giglioli), which represents another exploit of Herakles. While the hero wrests the tripod from Apollon, Iolaos holds in readiness his four-horsed chariot and Athena advances to his aid at once as owl, as human-headed bird, and as goddess. By this time, however, the human-headed bird has ceased to be conceived as an owl or labelled as such and has become a commonplace soul-bird of the Seiren sort (G. Weicker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 617 ff.).

Fig. 600.

(fig. 601)[1], represents a human-headed bird wearing a helmet. This can hardly be, as G. Weicker[2] supposes, the soul of a valiant warrior; for in that case it would, according to custom[3], have been bearded. Rather, it is Athena herself, no longer a bird, not yet a goddess.

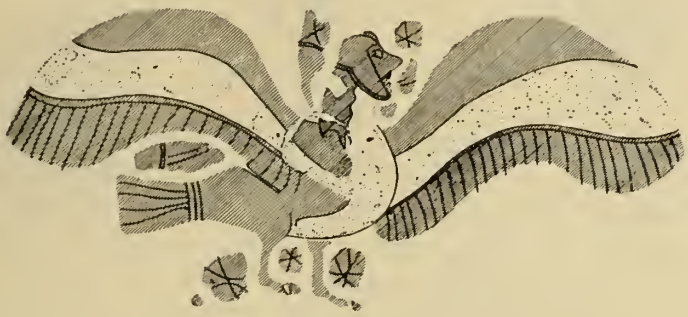


Fig. 601.

This transitional conception lay dormant for centuries, while Greek art was in its prime, and then—like so many other half-forgotten ideas—awoke to a new lease of life in imperial times. Certain rare bronze pieces of small size—whether coins (*kóllyboi, kóllyba*[4]) or counters we cannot say—were struck at Athens in the Roman period and have as their reverse device an owl *en face* with a female helmeted head (figs. 602, 603)[5]. The archaistic legend

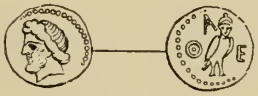


Fig. 602.

Fig. 603.

AΘE (fig. 602) suggests that we are here concerned with the restoration of an ancient type though, except for the *arýballos* just mentioned, no prototype is known. Again, *denarii* of the *gens Valeria*, issued by L. Valerius Acisculus in the year 46—45 B.C., show for reverse a human-headed bird with helmet, shield, and

[1] Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 16 no. 81 from Siana in Rhodes.
[2] G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 35 fig. 15 (=my fig. 601).
[3] *Id. ib.* p. 137 ff.
[4] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 466, K. Regling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1099 f.
[5] E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 391 with figs. (=my figs. 602, 603). C. 111.

spear (fig. 604)[1] or more often spears (figs. 605, 606)[2]. C. Lenormant[3] and, after him, E. Babelon[4] ingeniously explained this as a black eagle named *Valeria*[5]. But F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller[6],

Fig. 604.

Fig. 605.

Fig. 606.

followed by M. Bahrfeldt[7], observe that the feathers of the bird are spotted as in some species of owls. There can then be little doubt but that here too we see Athena as a *quasi*-bird. The same type, with sundry variations, occurs on a series of engraved gems and pastes of Roman date (figs. 607, 608)[8], which were probably sup-

[1] M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 258 pl. 12, 271 (=my fig. 604) from a coin which passed from the Bunbury to the Haeberlin collection, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 535 no. 4105 pl. 53, 4. I have another specimen showing the single spear.

[2] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 519 f. no. 18 wrongly described with figs. of two spears crossed and two spears parallel, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 535 nos. 4106 pl. 53, 5 and 4107 with two spears crossed, i. 536 no. 4108 pl. 53, 6 (=my fig. 606) with two spears parallel. Fig. 605 is from an example in my collection.

[3] C. Lenormant in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1838 ii. 142 ff. pl. D, 2 with two spears parallel.

[4] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 516, 520.

[5] Lenormant and Babelon both rely on Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 6 aquilae maximus honos, maxima et vis. sex earum genera: melanaëtos a Graecis dicta [eadem in Valeria], minima magnitudine, viribus praecipua, colore nigricans. But the text is uncertain. D. Detlefsen inserted the brackets, and C. Mayhoff on the strength of Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 32. 618b 28 *μελανάετος καὶ λαγωφόνος* suspects that *in ualeria* covers some such word as *leporaria.* Further, Lenormant and Babelon compare the part played by an eagle in the story of Valeria Luperca (Plout. *parall. Gr. et Rom.* 35 *λοιμοῦ κατασχόντος* Φαλερίους (so J. Amyot for *χαλερίους*) *καὶ φθορᾶς γενομένης, χρησμὸς ἐδόθη λωφῆσαι τὸ δεινόν, ἐὰν παρθένον τῇ* Ηρᾳ *θύωσιν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. ἀεὶ δὲ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας μενούσης κατὰ κλῆρον λαχομένη* Οὐαλερία Λουπέρκα (so Guarinus for *τουπέρκα*) *σπασαμένη τὸ ξίφος,* [*ἤγετο εἰς θυσίαν* (*supplet* cod. E)] *ἀετὸς καταπτὰς ἥρπασε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμπύρων ἔθηκε ῥάβδον μικρὰν ἔχουσαν σφῦραν, τὸ δὲ ξίφος ἐπέβαλε δαμάλει τινὶ παρὰ τὸν ναὸν βοσκομένῃ. νοήσασα δὲ ἡ παρθένος καὶ τὴν βοῦν θύσασα καὶ τὴν σφῦραν ἄρασα, κατ' οἰκίαν περιῆλθε, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἠρέμα πλήττουσα διήγειρεν, ἐρρῶσθαι ἐνὶ ἑκάστῳ λέγουσα. ὅθεν καὶ νῦν τὸ μυστήριον τελεῖται·* ὡς 'Αριστείδης *ἐν ἐννεακαιδεκάτῳ* 'Ιταλικῶν (*frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 322 Müller). But see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 482 as to the flimsy character of this writer).

[6] F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 74.

[7] M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 258.

(1) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 248 no. 2484 pl. 28 a black jasper from the Towneley collection: bird to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and one spear; inscribed with the owner's name CHARITO (my fig. 607 is enlarged ($\frac{2}{1}$) from T. Panofka *Gemmen mit Inschriften* Berlin 1852 p. 103 pl. 4, 12 (=*Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1851* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 487 pl. 4, 12)).

posed to bring good luck to their wearers, and is even found in the form of small bronze statuettes (figs. 609, 610)[1] presumably designed to serve a like practical purpose. A refinement upon the owl-Athena was the cock-Athena, whose very absurdity would raise

Fig. 607.

Fig. 608.

Fig. 609.

Fig. 610.

(2) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 248 no. 2485 pl. 28 (where it is wrongly numbered 2488) a burnt agate from the Towneley collection: bird to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and two spears parallel.

(3) J. H. Middleton *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings* London 1892 p. 87 no. F 10 a pale blue paste: bird ('Siren') to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield with *Gorgóneion* and two spears parallel. Fig. 608 is from a cast of the original (scale $\frac{2}{1}$).

(4) Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 147 no. 3340 pl. 27 a cornelian: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield with *Gorgóneion* (Furtwängler 'mit Gorgoneion auf der Brust'!) and two spears parallel; the owl stands on palm-branch and wreath.

(5) *Id. ib.* p. 219 no. 5928 pl. 40 a brown paste: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear.

(6) *Id. ib.* p. 264 no. 7090 pl. 53 a red jasper: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, shouldering a spear (*id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 46, 30, ii. 222).

(7) Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 317 no. 8660 pl. 61 a bloodstone: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying two spears parallel (Furtwängler 'Doppelflöte unter dem l. Flügel'); the owl stands on a *Gorgóneion*, flanked by helmet and snake on the right, shield(?) and spear(?) on the left.

(8) P. S. Bartoli *Museum Odescalchum* Romæ 1752 ii. 70 f. pl. 30 a bloodstone: owl to left, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear; the owl stands on a *Gorgóneion*; to the left is an olive-spray, to the right a pillar, on which is set a one-handled vase, and to which is bound a quiver.

(9) F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 161 pl. 26, 61 an onyx at Vienna (no. 1067): owl to left, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear; the owl stands on a round base probably meant for a *kiste*.

(10) *Eid. ib.* p. 161 pl. 26, 62 a cornelian in the Postolacca collection at Athens: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear.

See further G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 35 n. 1.

[1] Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 207 no. 1 a bronze at Avignon: owl, with helmeted head of Athena.

Id. ib. no. 2 a bronze in the Bourguignon collection (*Collection d'antiquités grecques et romaines provenant de Naples* Paris 1901 pl. 6, 206): owl, with helmeted head of Athena.

a laugh and so heighten the prophylactic effect[1]. A bronze in the Castellani collection (fig. 611)[2] represented the goddess as a cock with human face, wearing by way of helmet the skin of a cock's head complete with comb, wattles, and beak. This singular fowl, perched on a winged skull, perhaps betokens the victory of vigilance over death or points some equally edifying moral.

Fig. 611.

The fourth stage in the evolution of Athena is that in which she appears as a goddess with the wings of a bird. It has indeed been maintained that the conception of a winged Athena is not found on Greek soil till the Hellenistic age and should be explained as a case of late syncretism—Athena and Nike rolled into one[3]. But

[1] Cp. the numerous examples of Athena's head wearing a helmet with the features of Sokrates, Silenos, etc. (Reinach *Pierres Gravées* pls. 24, 25, and 30), often misnamed *grylli* (J. H. Middleton *The Engraved Gems of Classical Times* Cambridge 1891 Append. p. xx, E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1480 f., Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 113 f., 288, 353, 363).

[2] *Castellani Sale Catalogue* Paris 1884 p. 43 no. 262 with fig. on p. 44 (=my fig. 611: scale ½). Height 0·17^{m}.

[3] A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 704.

that is seriously to underrate both the quantity and the quality of the evidence for an Athena winged in her own right[1].

On the one hand, a winged Athena is familiar enough in Etruscan art. A cornelian scarab of careful archaic style[2] shows the goddess without helmet, but with spear and *aigís* and two well-marked wings on her back. A bronze in the Museo Gregoriano (fig. 612)[3] again represents her with wings: this time she wears a helmet and an *aigís* decorated with a *Gorgóneion*, apparently viewed as the sun[4], a crescent moon, and sundry stars. Her

Fig. 612.

[1] See F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Die Flügelgestalten der Athena und Nike auf Münzen' in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1871 pp. 3—52 with pl. 5, L. Savignoni 'Athena alata e Athena senz' ali' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 307—317 with pl. 12, *id.* 'Minerva Vittoria' in *Ausonia* 1910 v. 69—108, C. W. Keyes 'Minerva Victrix? Note on the winged goddess of Ostia' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1912 xvi. 490—494, C. Anti 'Athena marina e alata' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1920 xxvi. 269—318, and the coins etc. cited by H. Dressel—K. Regling *Die Münzen von Priene* Berlin 1927 p. 18 n. 103.

[2] Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 157 f. pl. 20, 220 *c*, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 16, 12, ii. 30, 76.

[3] E. Gerhard *Über die Gottheiten der Etrusker* Berlin 1847 p. 61 pl. 4, 1 (=my fig. 612), G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1928 with fig. 5075.

[4] *Supra* i. 293 with fig. 212. E. Gerhard, however, *loc. cit.* says 'ein Mondgesicht (Gorgoneion)' and is followed by G. Fougères *loc. cit.* 'le symbole de la lune en guise de Gorgoneion.' Cp. Epigenes *περὶ τῆς Ὀρφέως ποιήσεως* (Orph. *frag.* 33 Kern: *supra* p. 322 n. 3) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 8 p. 360, 17 f. Stählin *καὶ "Γοργόνιον" τὴν σελήνην διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ πρόσωπον*, and Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 4. 35 p. 102 Duncker—Schneidewin where Hekate is invoked on a moonless night as *Γοργὼ καὶ Μορμὼ καὶ Μήνη καὶ πολύμορφε*

right hand supports an owl, her left rests on her hip. A similar bronze, which once formed the handle of a *patera*, passed from the Gréau[1] into the Hoffmann[2] collection and is now in the Louvre (fig. 613)[3]: Athena's right hand raises her cheek-piece, her left holds a broken rod bearing the owl. Again, a bronze *candelabrum* from Chiusi, formerly owned by G. P. Campana and then by A. Castellani, is topped by the statuette of a winged Athena, who wears a helmet with cheek-pieces up and an *aigís* with *Gorgóneion*: her right hand is empty, her left carries a naked infant (fig. 614)[4]. Lastly, on the bronze mirrors of Etruria Athena is often winged[5].

Fig. 613.

Fig. 614.

(W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 24 n. 84, *id. Nachträge zu meiner Schrift über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1895 p. 21 n. 1, and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3188).

[1] W. Fröhner *Collection Julien Gréau. Catalogue des bronzes antiques et des objets d'art du moyen âge et de la Renaissance* Paris 1885 p. 8 f. no. 31, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 393 no. 7.

[2] W. Fröhner *Collection Hoffmann* Paris 1888 no. 376.

[3] De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 138 no. 3024 pl. 106 (= my fig. 613), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 297 no. 3.

[4] I. Roulez 'Minerve Courotrophos' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xliv. 216—225 pl. N (part of which = my fig. 614).

[5] Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii pls. 36, 1—9, 69, 87, 134, 146, 246 (owl as shield-sign), 254 A, 2, iv pls. 286, 2, 305, v pl. 61, 2.

On the other hand, Ionian art of the sixth century B.C. does not hesitate to equip the goddess with wings. A scarab in banded onyx, set in a gold bezel attached to a bronze ring, came from Amathous to the British Museum and shows (fig. 615)[1] Athena standing towards the right. Two recurved wings start from her back. Her breast is full and prominent[2]. One hand grasps a spear, the other holds up her *chitón*. Behind her back are visible the snakes of her *aigís* and a Seilenos-mask, which appears indeed to form part of her crested helmet, but is better explained as her *Gorgóneion* seen in profile[3]. Behind her feet are three lines of doubtful meaning[4]. Again, a white-figured sarcophagus from Klazomenai, now at Berlin, has a frieze of late sixth-century style, in which a central Athena standing to the left with round shield and four recurved wings is flanked by two warriors with horses and hounds[5]. Lastly, the west frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphoi (*c.* 525 B.C.) represents Athena setting foot on a chariot drawn by four winged horses, but pausing to adjust a large *aigís* on her shoulders. The goddess herself had recurved wings of the archaic sort: the end of one is still visible in the relief; the other was originally added in paint on the background[6].

Fig. 615.

Attic black-figured vases tell the same tale. A fine sixth-century bowl in the Faina collection at Orvieto (fig. 617)[7] has

[1] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 6, 56, ii. 30, 76, iii. 93, 98, 115, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 20, 5 (enlarged) p. 170, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 52 no. 437 pl. 8. My fig. 615 is drawn (scale $\frac{2}{1}$) from a cast kindly supplied by Mr E. J. Forsdyke.

[2] *Supra* p. 225 n. 1 *sub fin.*

[3] J. D. Beazley *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems* Oxford 1920 p. 8 'The helmet...is stated by Furtwängler to have a mask of silenesque type attached behind; but the mask belongs to the aegis and not to the helmet' (cp. *ib.* p. 19 f. no. 26 pl. 2). That is right: yet, Beazley's suggestion notwithstanding, G. Lippold and H. B. Walters *locc. citt.* still see what Furtwängler saw.

[4] H. B. Walters *loc. cit.* says: 'In the field, three drops of blood (?).' Snakes of *aigís*? Extra wings begun but left unfinished??

[5] R. Zahn in the *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 5. 10 pl. 58 (part of which = my fig. 616), *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1908 xxiii. 169—180, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 165 ff., iii. 31 fig. 140, M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 132 fig. 221.

[6] C. Picard and P. de la Coste-Messelière in the *Fouilles de Delphes* iv. 2. 130 ff. pl. 7—8, 1 (with statement and criticism of previous views).

[7] G. Körte in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877 xlix. 128 ff. no. 12, D. Cardella *Museo etrusco Faina* Orvieto 1888 p. 74 no. 150, L. Savignoni in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 307—317 with pl. 12 (=my fig. 617).

Fig. 616.

Fig. 617.

for obverse and reverse type an Athena advancing towards the right between two prophylactic eyes. On both sides she wears helmet, *chitón*, and *himátion*. But, whereas the one design shows her wingless, with shield and spear, the other shows her winged and bearing an outstretched *aigís*. Similar curled oriental wings are given to Athena on a small *amphora* found in Etruria and

Fig. 618.

now in the Louvre[1]. The goddess, wearing a high-crested helmet and carrying a spear, is seated on a folding-stool: her owl is beside her, perched on the tip of her left wing. Finally, on an *oinochóe* from Kameiros in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (fig. 618)[2] we see Athena, armed with a spear and a long-crested Corinthian helmet, winging her way through the air as she bears

[1] E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 132 f. no. F 380 pl. 87, *id. Cat. Vases du Louvre* iii. 810.

[2] De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 172 f. no. 260 fig. 23 (=my fig. 618).

a dead warrior (? Kekrops[1]) across the sea. Her protective air recalls Aischylos'[2] phrase at the end of the *Eumenides*: 'them that shelter beneath the wings of Pallas the Father honoureth.' Yet the same poet[3] in the same play makes Athena come from Troyland 'without wings, flapping but the *aigís*-fold.' Clearly

Fig. 619.

[1] This is possible, but far from certain. On the one hand, the representation suits the myth of Athena *Aἰθυια* (*supra* p. 783 f.). On the other hand, the myth does not say that Kekrops was actually dead when carried off by Athena to Megara; and, unless we accept Pausanias' assumption (1. 5. 3) that there were two kings named Kekrops, we should expect him to be serpentiform (*supra* pp. 181, 186 f., 770, 773).

[2] Aisch. *Eum.* 1001 f. Παλλάδος δ' ὑπὸ πτερυῖς | ὄνταs ἄζεται πατήρ.

[3] *Id. ib.* 404 πτερῶν ἄτερ ῥοιβδοῦσα κόλπον αἰγίδος. The expression πτερῶν ἄτερ suggests that Athena had only recently shed her wings (I am indebted for the observation to Miss D. Lamb of Newnham College: see also Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 306 f.).

Aischylos, like the painter of the Orvieto bowl, could think of her either as winged or as wingless.

During the fifth century, when humanising tendencies were rife, Athena ceased to be treated at will as a semi-bird. We have reached the point at which Nike split off from Athena *Níke* and went her own winged way, leaving the older goddess wingless. But just here we encounter an obvious difficulty. If Nike with wings was indeed an abstraction from Athena *Níke*[1], how is it that Athena *Níke* had no wings, was indeed so notoriously 'wingless' that she came to be known as Nike *Ápteros*[2]? The texts describe her cult-effigy as a *xóanon* without wings, holding a pomegranate in its right hand, a helmet in its left[3]. It was in all probability seated, for an Attic *oinochóe* of the later black-figured style, now at Altenburg and

[1] So Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 366 'From Athene Polias, invoked as Athene Polias Nike, the personality of Nike separated off and developed attributes of her own, impossible when she was only a form of Athene. Such an attribute were her wings' etc., A. Baudrillart *Les divinités de la Victoire en Grèce et en Italie d'après les textes et les monuments figurés* Paris 1894 p. 7 'Simple don ou attribut d'Athêna, elle se détache d'elle, prend une personnalité distincte, et apparaît bien réellement comme la seconde personne d'une sorte de dualité,' *ib.* p. 13 'C'est donc vers le commencement du cinquième siècle qu'a dû s'achever la séparation progressive de Nikê d'avec Athêna et la conquête de son indépendance, fait qui d'ailleurs n'empêche point l'antique Athêna-Nikê de subsister.'

E. E. Sikes, who does not accept this view, argues that 'if Nike is to be regarded as an abstraction from any greater deity, she must be an abstraction from Zeus' (*Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 282). Mr Sikes' criticism is approved by H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 310. See, however, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1066 n. 3 (*id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 566) 'Athenas Beziehungen zu Nike scheinen alt, älter als die spezifisch attische Kultur: darauf weist, dass Nike T. des Pallas und der Styx heisst, Hsd. Θ 384 [383 ff. Στὺξ δ' ἔτεκ' Ὠκεανοῦ θυγάτηρ Πάλλαντι μιγεῖσα | Ζῆλον καὶ Νίκην καλλίσφυρον ἐν μεγάροισιν· | καὶ Κράτος ἠδὲ Βίην ἀριδείκετα γείνατο τέκνα· | τῶν οὐκ ἔστ' ἀπάνευθε Διὸς δόμος, οὐδέ τις ἕδρη, | οὐδ' ὁδός, ὅππη μὴ κείνοις θεὸς ἡγεμονεύῃ, | ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πὰρ Ζηνὶ βαρυκτύπῳ ἑδριόωνται. κ.τ.λ. But in 384 codd. D.G.H.K.L. read νείκην. *An leg.* Νείκην? Νείκη is elsewhere personified as the equivalent of Ἔρις (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1402 C, H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott p. 1165), cp. 782 ἔρις καὶ νεῖκος, and the sinister sense is perhaps more appropriate to a sister of Ζῆλος, Κράτος, and Βίη]. Dieser Pallas wird von Dion. Hal. I 33 dem Lykaonsohn gleichgestellt, der die Athena auferzogen habe, sodass diese Milchschwester oder Jugendgespielin der Nike wird. Hier scheinen altarkadische Ueberlieferungen wenigstens mitbenutzt.'

[2] Paus. 1. 22. 4, 2. 30. 2, 3. 15. 7, 5. 26. 6.

[3] Heliodoros of Athens (on whom see F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 15—18) *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 425 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ·...ὅτι δὲ Νίκης Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανον ἄπτερον, ἔχον ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ ῥόαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐωνύμῳ κράνος, ἐτιμᾶτο παρ' Ἀθηναίοις δεδήλωκεν Ἡλιόδωρος ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν α' περὶ ἀκροπόλεως = Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.* Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 576. 1 ff. (Nikarchos). Schol. Dem. *c. Timocr.* 121 (ii. 118 Baiter—Sauppe) τινὲς δὲ ἐξηγοῦνται· Νίκης Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστιν ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ταύτης δὲ τὰς πτέρυγας χρυσᾶς οὔσας ἐπεχείρησάν τινες κακοῦργοι ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ἀπώλοντο αὐτοὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν οἱ κακοῦργοι· κ.τ.λ. is confusing Athena *Níke* with the Nike on the hand of Athena *Parthénos* (cp. Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 123 f. nos. 680—687).

hitherto unpublished, shows Athena seated with a helmet on her head and a pomegranate in her left hand (fig. 619)[1]. A white-ground *lékythos* by a minor painter of the middle archaic period, about 480 B.C., gives head and hand only, helmet and pomegranate being the essential points (fig. 620)[2]. The head is simply copied from the current coinage of Athens—its position in profile to the right, its scroll-pattern, its neck-plate, its leaves to commemorate Marathon[3]—unless of course both vase and coins are copies of the cult-statue. Replicas of this vase exist, for the type was

Fig. 620.

[1] A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 689, *id. Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 445 n. 5. I am much indebted to Dr F. Matz of the Staatliches Lindenau-Museum at Altenburg for most kindly sending me the photograph of vase no. 203, from which my fig. 619 was made.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 396 no. D 22, A. S. Murray—A. H. Smith *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum* London 1896 p. 24 pl. 14 (=my fig. 620), A. Fairbanks *Athenian Lekythoi with outline drawing in glaze varnish on a white ground* New York 1907 i. 54 no. 22, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 71 no. 32 (assigned to 'the Painter of the Bowdoin Box'), *id. Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 140 no. 41 ('der Bowdoinmaler').

[3] C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 103, *id. Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 91.

plainly popular[1]. In fact, some seventy years later, in 409 B.C., Sophokles[2] in his *Philoktetes* can still make Odysseus invoke the same goddess:

'*Níke* Athena *Poliás*, saviour mine.'

On the whole, the available evidence seems to point to the following conclusions. The worship of Athena on the Nike-bastion was of ancient date[3]. The goddess as an earth-mother was represented by a seated statue—Athena *Poliás*[4]—holding a pomegranate, symbol of fruitfulness or life renewed[5]. At some period of warlike achievement, say that of Marathon, the helmet was added and the

[1] An almost identical *lékythos* is published by W. Fröhner *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Catalogue of objects of Greek ceramic art* London 1888 p. 57 f. no. 135 with pl. (no pomegranate visible). And J. D. Beazley *locc. citt.* notes a red-figured replica at Bonn.

[2] Soph. *Phil.* 134 Νίκη τ' Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάς, ἣ σῴζει μ' ἀεί.

[3] H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 311 concludes with regard to this cult: 'Er ist als ein alteinheimischer anzusehen und zwar gerade auch wegen des ungewöhnlichen und altertümlichen Attributs des Granatapfels.' This sensible conclusion is substantiated by the recent excavations carried out by N. Balanos beneath the temple of Athena *Níke* (E. P. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 145—147 with 4 figs.: 'The work of taking down the Nike bastion is continuing. The temple itself has been entirely removed except for the foundations and lower step on the north side which it is hoped may be left undisturbed, as well as the north face of the bastion. Just inside the north foundation wall of the marble temple, blocks of an earlier, probably post-Persian, poros temple, were found *in situ*. This is orientated with the altar and bases found by Welter in the space between the marble temple and the Propylaea. The Turkish cistern which had been cut in the centre of the bastion had destroyed most of this earlier temple and no one had been sure of its existence').

[4] *Supra* p. 574 n. o.

[5] The significance of this pomegranate has been much discussed. O. Benndorf 'Ueber das Cultusbild der Athena Nike' in the *Festschrift zur 50jähr. Gründungsfeier des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom* Wien 1879 pp. 17—47 conjectured that Kimon organized the cult and built the temple of Athena *Níke* after the great Athenian victory on the Eurymedon (467 or 466 B.C.), and that he introduced the art-type of the goddess from the neighbouring town of Side in Pamphylia: *sídē* means 'pomegranate' and coins of Σίδη from *s.* v onwards show a pomegranate, Athena, and Nike, though not Athena or Nike actually holding a pomegranate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 143 ff. pl. 25, 7 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 510 ff. pl. 58, 6 ff., *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 262 ff. pl. 317, 1 ff., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 535 ff. pl. 24, 4 ff., ii. 2. 931 ff. pl. 142, 6 ff., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 703 f.). But this ingenious hypothesis has to face two serious objections: (1) An inscription published by P. Kabbadias in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897 p. 173 ff. pl. 11 (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 671, *A*, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 63, *a*, *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 24), which can be dated by its lettering to the period 460—446 B.C. and by the name [*hιππόν*]*ικος*, *sc.* son of Kallias, to the year 448 B.C., records a proposal (line 4 ff.) [*τεῖ*] | ['*Αθεναίαι τεῖ Νίκ*]*ει hιέρεαν hὲ ἃ*[*ν δι*]|[*ὰ βίο hιερᾶτα*]*ι ἐχς Ἀθεναίον hαπα*[*σῦ*]|[*ν καθίστα*]*σθαι καὶ τὸ hιερὸν θυρῶσα*|*ι, καθότι ἂν* Καλλικράτες *χσυγγράφσ*|*ει· ἀπομισθῶσαι δὲ τὸς πολετὰς ἐπὶ τ*|*ῆς Λεοντίδος πρυτανείας· φέρεν δὲ τ*|*ὲν hιέρεαν πεντέκοντα δραχμὰς καὶ* | *τὰ σκέλε, καὶ τὰ δέρματα φέρεν τὸν δε*|*μόσιον· νεὸν δὲ οἰκοδομῆσαι καθότι* | *ἂν* Καλλικράτες *χσυγγράφσει καὶ βο*|*μὸν λίθινον.* (2) For some unknown reason the matter was long delayed. Indeed the architecture and sculpture of the existing temple are carried out in a style which points to a date *c.* 425 B.C. (Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 442 ff.). In that year the Athenians won

successes against the Ambraciotes and their Peloponnesian allies at Olpai, the Corcyraean insurgents on Mt Istone, and the inhabitants of Anaktorion. They testified their gratitude by dedicating a fresh statue of Athena *Níke*, and this in turn was restored at some date between 350 and 320 B.C. (*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 403, *a*, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 264, *a*). These considerations have led to a summary rejection of Benndorf's hypothesis (E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1879 xxxvii. 97, C. Robert in U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Aus Kydathen* Berlin 1880 p. 184 n. 1, R. Kekulé *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike* Stuttgart 1881 p. 25, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 689, H. Bulle *ib.* iii. 310 f., Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.*

Fig. 621.

ii. 99 n. 1, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] München 1931 pp. 218 n. 1, 222 n. 2), and indeed it is clear that Kimon cannot have had any hand in the building or equipping of the extant temple. It might, however, be contended that he built and equipped an earlier structure on the same site, especially in view of the 'post-Persian' blocks of *pôros* found by N. Balanos (*supra* p. 813 n. 3). Even so it remains highly improbable that the cult of Athena *Níke* was introduced from Pamphylia, or that the pomegranate in her hand was a piece of canting heraldry.

Assuming then, as we have every right to do, that the pomegranate in Athena's hand was an ancient symbol, we have next to discover the nature of the symbolism. The Greeks were struck by two characteristics of the fruit—its red colour and its numerous seeds (cp. Kallim. *lavacr. Pall.* 27 f. of Athena's toilet before the Judgment of Paris τὸ δ' ἔρευθος ἀνέδραμε, πρώιον οἷαν | ἢ ῥόδον ἢ σίβδας κόκκος ἔχει χροΐαν). The first certainly suggested blood (Artemid. *oneirocr.* i. 73 ῥοαὶ δὲ τραυμάτων εἰσὶ σημαντικαὶ διὰ τὸ χρῶμα). The second possibly suggested fertility (Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 445, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 696 n. [c]), though of this we have no definite proof (yet P. Saintyves *Les Vierges Mères et les Naissances Miraculeuses* Paris 1908 p. 94 remarks that pomegranates occur in a Florentine spell against sterility in women). The two

together seem to have betokened the renewal of life after death. And this would agree well enough with the observed habits of the tree (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 13. 3 ἔνια δὲ γηράσκει μὲν καὶ σήπεται ταχέως, παραβλαστάνει δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ αἱ δάφναι καὶ αἱ μηλέαι τε καὶ αἱ ῥόαι καὶ τῶν φιλύδρων τὰ πολλά).

Thus pomegranates sprang from the blood-drops of Dionysos; whence women celebrating the Thesmophoria would not eat pips of the pomegranate that fell on the ground (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 19. 3 p. 15, 9 ff. Stählin, Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3. 28. ? cp. *supra* ii. 1129). The same fruit was taboo at the Athenian Haloia (schol. Loukian. *dial. mer.* 7. 4 p. 280, 22 Rabe), at the Eleusinian mysteries (Porph. *de abst.* 4. 16, cp. Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 73), and in the Arcadian temple of Despoina (Paus. 8. 37. 7). Again, a pomegranate sprang from the severed member of Agdistis; and Nana, who placed some of its fruit in her bosom, thereby conceived and became the mother of Attis (*supra* ii. 969 n. 4). Attis has pomegranates in his wreath (*supra* ii. 298 with fig. 189), and his priest holds one together with three pomegranate(?)-twigs (*supra* ii. 300 with fig. 193).

On the common tomb of Eteokles and Polyneikes grew a pomegranate, said to have been planted there by the Erinyes: its fruit bled, when plucked (Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 2. 29. 4). On the tomb of Menoikeus near the Neïstan gate of Thebes grew another pomegranate: when the rind of its fruit was broken, the inside looked like blood (Paus. 9. 25. 1). A pomegranate, therefore, was desirable food for the dead, and figures frequently on funeral monuments of the archaic period (Spartan *stêlai*, 'Harpy' tomb, etc.). A fragmentary Laconian *kýlix* in the British Museum shows a woman presenting a pomegranate to a seated man (*supra* i. 95 fig. 68). A polychrome Attic *lékythos* at Berlin depicts a *stéle*, and a woman holding out four pomegranates on a plate for Charon to take (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 765 no. 2680, F. von Duhn in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1885 xliii. 20 ff. no. 6 pl. 3 (=my fig. 621), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 457, 4). A similar *lékythos* from Alopeke near Athens, also at Berlin, has the dead man seated by his *stéle* leaning on a couple of spears. His *chitón* is decorated with a sprig of pomegranates (green leaves, purple fruit), and both *chitón* and *himátion* have a border of green leaves. On the right stands another man, whose *himátion* is adorned in the same way with two large pomegranate-sprigs and with sundry separate leaves and fruits. On the left a maiden approaches with a basket of offerings. She wears *péplos* and *himátion*, the former decked with leafy borders and two large pomegranate-sprigs, the latter with a third sprig of the same sort (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 766 no. 2682, W. Riezler *Weissgrundige Attische Lekythen* München 1914 p. 140 f. pl. 92).

The pomegranate as the food of the Underworld recurs in the myth of Persephone, who might not remain on earth with Demeter because she had eaten one (*h. Dem.* 372, 412, Apollod. 1. 5. 3) or three (Ov. *fast.* 4. 607 ff., Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 3. 511) or seven (Ov. *met.* 5. 533 ff., cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 39, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 462, Myth. Vat. 1. 7, 2. 100) pips of a pomegranate growing in Hades' domain. An engraved amethyst in my collection shows, according to A. S. Murray, Persephone holding a pomegranate over against Demeter. A bronze statuette from the Payne Knight collection represents Persephone with a pomegranate in her left hand and a torch (?) in her raised right hand (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 179 no. 982). A bronze mirror at Paris makes her stand with a pomegranate held out in her right hand (Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 530 no. 1320). Persephone is often associated with a pomegranate in terra-cotta figures, the fruit or flower being regularly held against her bosom. Usually the fruit is in her right hand between her breasts (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 109 no. B 212 Kameiros, p. 110 no. B 223 Kameiros, p. 143 no. B 427 Sicily, R. Kekulé *Die Terrakotten von Sicilien* Stuttgart—Berlin 1880 p. 59 fig. 121, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 93 no. B 126 Kos, p. 234 no. C 474), occasionally in her left hand as well (*ib.* p. 87 nos. B 86 Melos, B 87 Melos); or a flower is in her right hand between her breasts and a fruit in her left under her left breast (*ib.* p. 149 no. B 462 Lokroi Epizephyrioi (?) (my fig. 622 is from E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1849 xxi. 114 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 9, 1), cp. p. 142 no. B 418 Kamarina); or she is seated with the fruit in her right hand on her lap and the flower in her left hand on her left shoulder (*ib.* p. 137

no. B 390 Tharros in Sardinia). Her priestess or worshipper similarly has a shallow basket containing two pomegranates, which she holds in her left hand against her breast (*ib.* p. 281 f. no. C 798 Benghazi). A tomb-painting from Nola, now at Berlin, shows Persephone, or more probably a dead woman, seated on a throne, holding a pomegranate in her left hand against her breast and a flower in her uplifted right hand (E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1850 viii. 145 ff. pl. 14 (=my fig. 623), Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 88 f. pl. Millin ii, 78, 9, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 228 pl. 11, F. Weege in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 130 (*s.* v or iv), M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting*

Fig. 622.

Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 261 fig. 433 (*s.* v), who *op. cit.* p. 262 f. figs. 439 a, 439 b, 440 gives a series of similar but certainly human figures from other Oscan paintings (*s.* iv)). On the pomegranate in relation to Persephone see further L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1859 p. 131 f. Atlas pl. 4, 2, 1865 pp. 10 no. 14, 77 Atlas pl. 3, 22, 1873 p. 16 and B. Ashmole in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1922 xlii. 250.

In view of the foregoing evidence it is reasonable to conclude that a pomegranate in the hand of a deity implied perpetual regeneration and was virtually regarded as fruit from the Tree of Life. Polykleitos' chryselephantine Hera was enthroned with a pomegranate in one hand, a sceptre in the other (Paus. 2. 17. 4: *supra* i. 134, iii. 65 ff.). A bronze statue representing Milon the Olympic victor as standing on a *dískos* with a pomegranate

grasped in his left hand and the fingers of his right hand raised and spread, while his head was bound with a fillet, was said by Apollonios of Tyana to portray the athlete as a priest of Hera (Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 28 p. 76 f. Kayser, but cp. Paus. 6. 14. 6, Ail. *de nat. an.* 6. 55, *var. hist.* 2. 24). A statue of the youthful Zeus *Kásios* at Pelousion held a pomegranate in its outstretched hand (*supra* ii. 986 n. o).

Aphrodite is said to have planted the pomegranate in Kypros (Eriphos *Meliboia frag.* 1, 11 f. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 556 f. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 84 c). Her connexion with the fruit comes out also in the story of Melos. According to the interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 8. 37, a certain Delian named Melos fled to Kypros in the reign of Kinyras. Kinyras

Fig. 623.

made him companion to his son Adonis and gave him to wife Pelia, a relative of his own who was likewise a devotee of Aphrodite. Pelia bore Melos a son, called Melos after his father; and the boy was brought up *inter aras*, *i.e.* in the precinct of Aphrodite. When Adonis was killed by the boar, Melos i in his grief hanged himself on the tree from which he got his name *Mêlos*: Pelia, his wife, hanged herself on the same tree. Aphrodite in pity for their fate made perpetual lament for Adonis, transformed Melos i into the fruit that bears his name, Pelia into a dove (πέλεια), and bade Melos ii return with followers to Delos. He did so, and becoming powerful there founded the state of Melos (cp. Arrianos of Nikomedeia *frag.* 71 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 599 Müller)=*frag.* 70 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 865 Jacoby) *ap.* Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 530). It should be added that the μῆλον on coins of Melos is always a pomegranate, never an apple (see *e.g.* Babelon

Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 1319 ff. pl. 62, 10—14, ii. 3. 847 ff. pls. 241, 8—21, 242, 1—19, 243, 1—23, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 103 ff. pl. 23, 16 ff., *ib.* Lycia etc. p. lxxxi. *Supra* i. 305 n. 14). An archaic Greek bronze in the British Museum shows a goddess assumed to be Aphrodite holding a pomegranate in her right hand, her drapery in her left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 18 no. 198 pl. 3). An Etruscan mirror-stand in the same collection repeats the *motif* (*ib.* p. 77 no. 549). Terra-cotta statuettes from Kition (*Larnaka*) in Kypros, which represent a goddess holding a pomegranate to her breast (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 47 nos. A 270, A 271, p. 59 no. A 391) or on her knee (*ib.* p. 47 no. A 269), may be meant for Aphrodite (see *ib.* p. xxxvii, and cp. *supra* ii. 807 n. 5 (4)). One of the Horai on the magnificent red-figured *kylix* by the potter Sosias (bibliography *supra* ii. 1167 n. 6: add J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 59) is holding a branch laden with pomegranates in either hand. An oval bronze tablet of Graeco-Roman date in the British Museum has

Fig. 624.

a high relief of three goddesses (Horai?), each of whom wears a triple-pointed crown with an inverted crescent in front of it and holds a pomegranate in her right hand: their left hands hold respectively a bird, a flower, and an indistinguishable object (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 156 no. 862. My fig. 624 is from a new photograph). How Rhoio (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 121 ff., Weicker in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 1004 ff.) and the Rhoiai (O. Höfer *loc. cit.* iv. 119), nymphs of the pomegranate-tree, were represented, we do not know.

Older than any of these is a clay idol (0·80^{m} high) found in a small circular hut of the latest 'Minoan' phase at *Gazi* between Tylissos and Herakleion. The half-length figure of a goddess with uplifted hands rises from a cylindrical base (cp. *supra* ii. 536 fig. 406, *c*): she wears, stuck upright in her hair, three pins topped by pomegranates. A similar, but smaller (0·53^{m} high), goddess from the same sanctuary has on her head 'horns of consecration' flanked by a pair of doves (Elizabeth P. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 371 f. figs. 1, 2 (=my fig. 625), 3).

A modern Greek folk-tale from Syros (*Syra*) makes a prince transform himself into a huge pomegranate growing on a tree in the king's garden (J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 38 no. 68).

appellative *Níke* became fixed. The rock-goddess had sent forth her owls, omens of victory, and henceforward these emissaries—the Nikai of her famous balustrade—must needs be winged, though she their source and origin remained wingless[1].

However that may be, the winged Athena reappears in

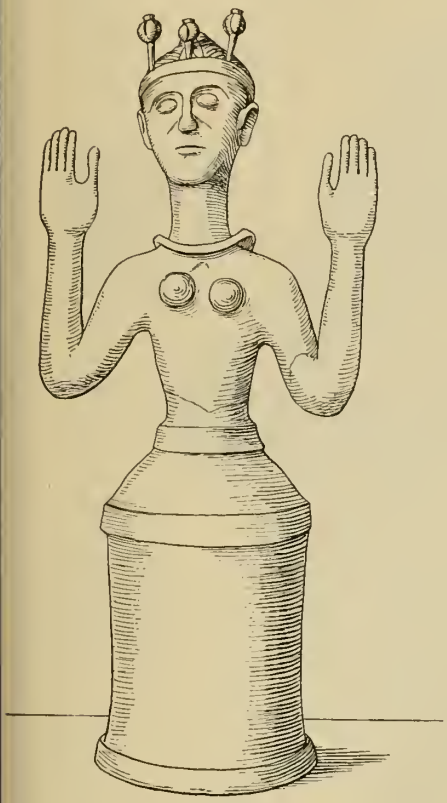


Fig. 625.

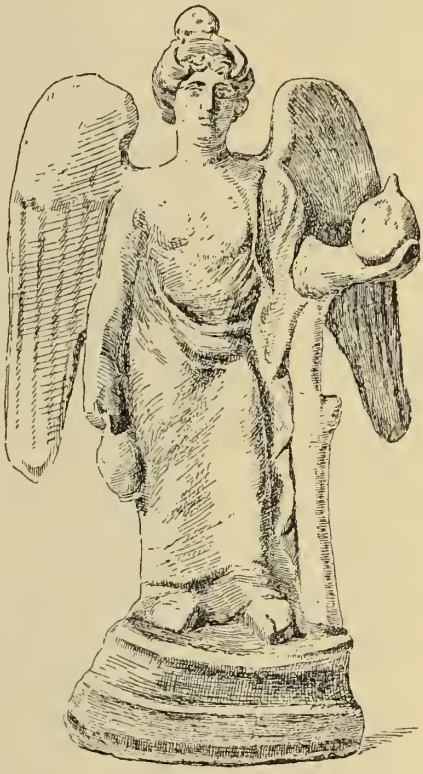


Fig. 626.

Hellenistic times. Comparable with the gold *statér* of Agathokles (fig. 580)[2] are the bronze coins of Boiotia, struck *c.* 288—244 B.C.

[1] A terra-cotta statuette in the Antiquarium at Munich, referred by Bulle to the middle of *s.* v. B.C., represents a winged Nike standing with her left arm supported on a tree-stem. She holds a pomegranate in her left hand, an *oinochóe* in her right, being apparently conceived as a handmaid (cp. E. Bernert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 293, 302) about to offer food and drink to some deity, perhaps to Athena *Níke* (H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 340 with fig. 18 = my fig. 626).

[2] *Supra* p. 785 fig. 580.

(fig. 627)[1], on which a winged Athena advances towards the right, one arm outstretched and covered with the *aigís*, the other raised and brandishing the thunderbolt. Bronze coins of Prousias i (fig. 628)[2], who was king of Bithynia from *c.* 228 to *c.* 183 B.C., vary the type. A winged and helmeted Athena with lowered left hand holds a shield bearing in relief a Gorgon's head, while with uplifted right hand she crowns the king's name (in place of himself). Bronze coins of Demetrios ii Nikator (fig. 629)[3], king of Syria, to be dated

Fig. 627.

Fig. 628.

Fig. 629.

Fig. 630.

Fig. 631.

[1] F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Die Flügelgestalten der Athena und Nike auf Münzen' in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1871 pp. 1 ff., 45 ff. pl. 5, 1 ('Geflügelte Pallas'), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 39 pl. 6, 3 and 4 ('Winged Pallas or Nike'), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 37 no. 12 ('Winged Pallas (or Nike)'), *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 327 no. 5626 pl. 203, 1 and no. 5627 ('Winged Nike'), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 353 ('Winged Athena'). Fig. 627 is from a specimen in my collection. The goddess intended is presumably Athena *Itonía*: see G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1917 f. fig. 5050.

[2] F. Imhoof-Blumer *loc. cit.* p. 7 pl. 5, 4, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 209 pl. 37, 4 and 5, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 259 nos. 3—6, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 222 f. no. 16 pl. 30, 10 London and 11 Berlin, *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 39 no. 7528 pl. 258, 2, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 519. Fig. 628 is from a specimen in my collection.

An example belonging to the French consul L. E. Cousinéry (1747—1833) showed wings on the helmet, not on the shoulders, of Athena (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* ii. 508 f. no. 47). Athena has a winged helmet also on a terra-cotta mural relief in the Louvre (G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1925 fig. 5060: see further *infra* Append. P p. 1006), and on coins of Herakleia in Lucania, Metapontum, Arkesine in Amorgos, etc. (Imhoof-Blumer *loc. cit.* p. 44). The earliest instance occurs on a unique electrum *statér* of the Ionian revolt, 500—494 B.C., obtained by Jameson from the hoard at *Vurla* (Klazomenai) (R. Jameson in the *Rev. Num.* 1911 p. 60 no. 4 pl. 1, 4, H. Dressel—K. Regling *Die Münzen von Priene* Berlin 1927 p. 17 ff. no. 1 pl. 1, 1 (=my fig. 631), C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 83, 88 pl. 12, 3).

[3] F. Imhoof-Blumer *loc. cit.* pp. 6 f., 44 pl. 5, 3 (=my fig. 629), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 62 pl. 18, 12, E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. 159 nos. 1225 pl. 22, 15, 1226, 1227.

144, 143, etc. B.C., introduce a further variation. Athena, winged and helmeted as before, supports with her left hand shield and spear, but on her right hand carries a small Nike, who extends

Fig. 632.

a wreath towards her. *Denarii* of Domitian (fig. 630)[1] issued in 95 and 96 A.D. show the same goddess winged and flying towards the left with helmet, spear, and shield.

[1] Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 158 no. 220*b*, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Emp. ii pp. lxxxvii, 344 f. pl. 67, 1 and 3.

Graeco-Roman gems likewise represent Athena winged and armed, carrying a Nike[1], or holding a wreath and accompanied by her snake[2], or grouped with a diminutive warrior[3].

Among the finds made in a Scythian grave-mound at Alexandropol and now preserved in the Hermitage was the skeleton of a horse still wearing its *phálara* of gilded silver. The frontlet is embossed with a facing figure of the winged Athena—an excellent *apotrópaion*[4]. The goddess mounts guard with spear, shield(?), and *aigís*, her faithful owls beside her (fig. 632)[5]. L. Stephani[6] and

Fig. 633.

F. H. Marshall[7] referred these horse-trappings to the fourth century B.C., but E. H. Minns[8], on stylistic grounds, assigns them with greater probability to late Hellenistic times.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 360 no. 3850 a fragmentary cameo in paste imitating sard.

[2] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 127 no. 2779 a violet paste, and no. 2780 a red paste, both from the Uhden collection.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 154 no. 1365 a garnet, in ancient gold setting, from the Blacas collection.

[4] *Supra* i. 336.

[5] *Recueil d'antiquités de la Scythie* St. Pétersbourg 1866 Atlas col. pl. 14, 5 (=my fig. 632).

[6] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 p. 167 f.

[7] F. H. Marshall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 159 f. But in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 239 no. 2108 pl. 40 he says 'Ca. 300 B.C.'

[8] E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 155.

An ingenious application, or misapplication, of the type occurs in a Pompeian fresco (fig. 633)[1], one of several which represent Auge the priestess of Athena pursued by Herakles[2] and were presumably based on some Pergamene original[3]. Auge was the daughter of Aleos, king of Tegea[4], and the scene is laid at the foot of Mount Parthenion. The artist personifies the mountain as Parthenos and, thinking of Athena *Parthénos*, equips her with the *Gorgóneion* and the filleted olive-branch of the goddess. Then, remembering that Parthenos was also the constellation Virgo[5], he adds dark blue wings spangled with yellow stars and a blue *nimbus*[6] with golden rays. Perhaps too he realised that Parthenos the constellation was by some identified with Dike[7], the daughter of Zeus by Themis[8], who might well be moved by this exhibition of lawless love.

Less learned, but more noble, is a fine Flavian goddess in white Italian marble, found at Ostia near the Porta Romana, of whose attic she once formed part (fig. 634)[9]. She has the three-crested helmet of Athena *Parthénos*, a circular shield with a central *Gorgóneion* at her right side, and a pair of splendid pinions on her back. Accordingly, G. Calza[10], on the analogy of Athena *Níke*, calls her 'Minerva Vittoria.' Minerva *Victrix* would perhaps be better Latin; but that appellative is known almost entirely from coins[11],

[1] C. Robert in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1884 lvi. 75—87 pls. I and K (=my fig. 633) after drawings by Sikkard revised by A. Mau, Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 83 no. 500 (*Reg.* ix. 5. 2).

[2] Four examples of the subject are conveniently grouped by Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 188 nos. 2—5.

[3] C. Robert *loc. cit.* p. 81 notes that the small inner frieze of the Pergamene altar (*supra* i. 119) included both the story of Auge and that of Telephos, her son by a later union with Teuthras, king of Mysia. On the myth in its relation to Pergamon see C. Pilling *Quomodo Telephi fabulam et scriptores et artifices veteres tractaverint* Halae Saxonum 1886 pp. 1—104, E. Thraemer *Pergamos* Leipzig 1888 p. 369 ff. ('Auge und Telephos'), J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 296 ff., cp. *supra* ii. 1179.

[4] *Supra* ii. 1147.

[5] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1655 ff. *Supra* i. 755 n. 10, ii. 734 n. 3.

[6] *Supra* i. 40.

[7] First in Arat. *phaen.* 96 ff., cp. pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 9=Arat. Lat. in E. Maass *Commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae* Berolini 1898 p. 201. Later authorities for the identification of Parthenos with Dike or Iustitia are collected by O. Höfer *loc. cit.* p. 1656. Their ultimate source was a mere misunderstanding of Hes. *o. d.* 256 ἡ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα.

[8] Hes. *theog.* 901 f.

[9] From a photograph by Alinari (no. 32721). Height 2·40^{m}. See further L. Savignoni in *Ausonia* 1910 v. 69—108 pl. 4 and figs. 13, 13 *bis*.

[10] G. Calza *Ostia*[2] Milano—Roma s.a. (? 1929) p. 32 with fig. 8 (showing shield).

[11] C. W. Keyes 'Minerva Victrix?' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1912 xvi. 490—494 with figs. 1 (from left) and 2 (from right), after adducing the evidence of coins (p. 493 n. 2)

Fig. 634.

and the numismatic type is unfortunately wingless[1]. Mrs Strong[2] with greater caution speaks of 'the winged Minerva' as an 'adaptation of a Greek model of the fifth century' and in that respect compares the (wingless) Minerva of the Forum Transitorium[3]. C. Picard[4] too is content to recognise a 'Minerve ailée,' aptly citing the similar goddess from Bulla Regia in Numidia[5].

Finally, in the fifth stage of her evolution Athena becomes purely anthropomorphic. But even then the owl is retained as an attribute or adjunct. Goddess and bird, originally connected by a bond which amounted to identity, were never wholly separated. Their association might of course be expressed in a great variety of ways. In point of fact, however, it commonly took shape in certain art-types of long-standing sanctity and significance, the bird appearing on the pillar, on the head, on the hand of the goddess, or duplicated and attached to her chariot.

Of the owl on a pillar I have already spoken[6]. It conforms to the wide-spread type of bird-on-column[7], which can be traced back to 'Minoan' times[8] and, as M. P. Nilsson[9] justly claims, implies the epiphany or embodiment of the deity concerned.

The owl on the head of Athena is indeed attested by two

and inscriptions (p. 494 n. 1) (add one literary reference, in *Aetna* 581) concludes: 'Briefly, the winged goddess of Ostia represents a fusion of the Parthenos type and the Victory motif, whether this fusion be derived from a Greek Athena Nike or be due to the originality of the Roman artist. In all probability it stands for Minerva Victrix and not for Roma Victrix. For the only other known Roman example of a winged Athena type represents Minerva and not Roma, and the conception of Minerva Victrix appears to have been more popular under the Empire than that of Roma Victrix, particularly from the reign of Domitian on.'

[1] Unless it can be maintained that the winged but nameless figure on Domitian's *denarii* (*supra* p. 821 fig. 630) was also a Minerva *Victrix*.

[2] E. Strong *Art in Ancient Rome* London 1929 ii. 67.

[3] H. Blümner in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877 xlix. 8, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 40, 1 and 2, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 370, E. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 145, *ead. La scultura romana da Augusto a Costantino* (trad. G. Giannelli) Firenze 1923 i. 132 pl. 22.

[4] C. Picard *La sculpture antique de Phidias à l'ère byzantine* Paris 1926 ii. 446, 451 with fig. 178.

[5] L. Poinssot in the *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui* (*Supplément*) Paris 1910 p. 57 no. 1017 pl. 33, 3 and no. 1018 pl. 33, 2, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 172 no. 8 ('Traces d'ailes'), L. Savignoni in *Ausonia* 1910 v. 89 ff. with figs. 16, 17, and 18 (two marble statues found in a temple of Apollon at Bulla Regia represent Minerva. One gave her marble wings, a mural crown, a shield on her right arm, and a *cornu copiae* in her left hand. The other had bronze wings, now lost).

[6] *Supra* p. 778 n. 1.

[7] *Supra* i. 34 f., 66, 83, ii. 1133 n. 1.

[8] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 28 ff. fig. 14, *id. The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 222 f. fig. 166, F.

[9] Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 285 ff.

Fig. 635.

passages of Aristophanes[1], but remains unexampled. It was, I think, modified into the owl on her helmet, of which sundry specimens are extant[2]. W. Deonna[3] illustrates the *motif* from a couple of Graeco-Egyptian terracottas at Geneva, a lamp at Berlin[4], and a fine bronze statuette of Roman date found in 1916 at Avenches[5] (fig. 635). He assumes an original emanating from the school of Pheidias in the second half of the fifth century and dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis. But again we may reasonably suspect that the type had a long history behind it, being a late but lineal descendant of such figures as the Cnossian goddess with a dove on her head[6].

Fig. 636.

Fig. 637.

Fig. 638.

Imperial coins of Athens presuppose other statues of Athena with an owl on her hand. She stands uplifting the owl in her left hand and holding out a *phiále* in her right (figs. 636, 637)[7]—clearly a cult-image[8]. Or, bearing the owl and leaning on a spear (fig. 638)[9].

[1] Aristoph. *eq.* 1092 f. *καί μοὐδόκει ἡ θεὸς αὐτὴ | ἐκ πόλεως ἐλθεῖν καὶ γλαῦξ αὐτῇ 'πικαθῆσθαι, av.* 515 ff. *ὁ Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ νῦν βασιλεύων | ἀετὸν ὄρνιν ἔστηκεν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, βασιλεὺς ὤν· | ἡ δ' αὖ θυγάτηρ γλαῦχ', ὁ δ' Ἀπόλλων ὥσπερ θεράπων ἱέρακα.*

[2] *Supra* p. 46 n. 4.

[3] W. Deonna in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 281—284 with fig. 1 (head of Athena in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Genève, no. 10004), fig. 2 (do. do. no. 10005), fig. 3 (upper part of the Athena from Avenches), pl. 2 (the Athena from Avenches (=my fig. 635))—summarised in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 205 f.

[4] W. Weber *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten der ägyptischen Sammlung der kgl. Museen zu Berlin* Berlin 1914 p. 114 no 155 pl. 16.

[5] W. Cart in the *Indicateur d'antiquités suisses* 1917 p. 87 f. pl. 11, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* v. 121 no. 2.

[6] *Supra* ii. 536 fig. 406 *c*, H. T. Bossert *Altkreta*[2] Berlin 1923 p. 82 fig. 115, Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 1. 340 fig. 193 *a* 1 and *a* 2.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 84 pl. 15, 3, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 133 pl. AA, 2 Loebbecke, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 25, 1—4, 5—10. Figs. 636, 637 are from specimens in my collection.

[8] E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 387 suggests Athena *Ἀρχήγετις* (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 444) on the strength of schol. Aristoph. *av.* 515 *τῆς Ἀρχηγέτιδος Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα γλαῦκα εἶχεν ἐν τῇ χειρί.* B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 84 n. ‡ hesitates to accept the suggestion.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 93 pl. 16, 2, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* iii. 133 pl. AA, 3 London, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 83, 35 London, 36 Munich

Fig. 639.

Fig. 640.

Or, holding the owl in her raised right hand and the spear in her lowered left (figs. 641, 642)[1]. This last pose occurs also in plastic art. An Attic bronze statuette of early fifth-century style, lent by the Earl of Elgin to the British Museum (fig. 639)[2], represents Athena in the act of letting the bird fly. And a relief in Pentelic marble, dating from *c.* 465 B.C. and now preserved in the Lanckoroński Palace at Vienna (fig. 640)[3], adds Gorgon-shield and boundary-herm

Fig. 641.

Fig. 642.

to indicate that the scene is her own precinct on the Akropolis. Once more it is obvious that the owl sent forth from the hand of the goddess is comparable with the small running figure on the arm of the Cauloniate Apollon[4] or with winged Eros on the arm of Aphrodite[5]—in short, embodies the very soul of Athena.

An engraved cornelian at Berlin—good work of the Graeco-Roman period—shows Athena with helmet, spear, and shield, standing in a chariot drawn by a pair of owls (fig. 643)[6]. Just so Zeus was drawn by eagles[7] and Apollon by swans[8]. These

(owl in left, spear in right); 39 and 41 Athens, 42 J. Anderson (=my fig. 638) (owl in right, spear in left); 38 and 40 Athens (with shield).

[1] *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 77 no. 229 pl. 35, 5 (with snake), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* iii. 133 pl. AA, 4 Rhousopoulos (with snake) (cp. my fig. 641), J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 84, 1 J. Anderson, 2 Berlin (=my fig. 642), 3 Athens, 4 Hirsch, 5 London, 6 Berlin (3—6 with snake). B. Pick in the Index to Svoronos p. vi says '*Archégetis*?'.

[2] A. Conze 'Athena mit der Eule' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 p. 176 f. pl. 9, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 85 no. 3, E. J. Forsdyke in *The Illustrated London News* for March 24, 1934 p. 464 with three good photographs showing the statuette from front, back, and three-quarter position. My fig. 639 is from the official photograph.

[3] H. Schrader 'Athena mit dem Käuzchen' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 1—32 with a fine heliogravure (=my fig. 640).

[4] *Supra* ii. 1040 ff. figs. 888—890.

[5] *Supra* ii. 1043 f. fig. 892.

[6] Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 3. 176 pl. 22, 241, Imhoof-Blumer—O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 129 pl. 20, 62, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 247 no. 6729 pl. 48. My fig. 643 is drawn (scale $\frac{2}{1}$) from a cast in the collection of T. Cades.

[7] *Supra* ii. 462 n. 0 fig. 362.

[8] *Supra* ii. 460 n. 2 (*a*) fig. 358.

Hellenistic fancies are not without some warrant in Hellenic literature and art. Apollon's swans go back to Alkaios[1], Aphrodite's sparrows to Sappho[2], and Athena herself on a fifth-century vase has a team of snakes[3]. But the Hellenic grouping of divinity and divine animal more often figures the former as riding on the latter—Apollon on his swan[4], Artemis on her doe[5], Poseidon on a dolphin[6], Dionysos on a bull[7], Aphrodite on a goat[8], and so forth. At an earlier date Anatolian and Mesopotamian art made the god or goddess stand erect on the back of the sacred creature—Sandas on a lion[9], Adad[10] or Ramman[11] or Iupiter *Dolichenus*[12] on a bull, his consort on an ibex[13] or a hind[14]. In such cases the anthropomorphic and theriomorphic representations of the deity are simply juxtaposed.

Fig. 643.

And here a point of some interest emerges. In the foregoing sections I have contended that Athena was a pre-Greek mountain-mother of the Anatolian kind, whose life was manifested in the flora and fauna of the Akropolis-rock[15]. The olive[16], the snake[17], the owl[18] were all alike daemonic powers instinct with the vitality of Athena. The owl in particular was regarded as Athena herself in

[1] *Supra* ii. 459 f.

[2] Sapph. *frag.* 1. 5 ff. Bergk[4], 1. 5 ff. Diehl, 1. 5 ff. Edmonds. Edmonds translates στρούθω 'thy two swans' (cp. Hor. *od.* 3. 28. 15 oloribus, 4. 1. 10 oloribus, Stat. *silv.* 1. 2. 142 olores, 146 cygni, 3. 4. 22 cygnos, Sil. It. 7. 441 olores, and a terracotta from Egnatia in the Museo Nazionale at Naples (no. 6688) which represents Aphrodite drawn across the sea in a shell by a pair of swans (T. Panofka in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1848 ii. 300, J. J. Bernoulli *Aphrodite* Leipzig 1873 p. 409, Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii, i. 2. 196 no. 6)). But see Aristoph. *Lys.* 723 and Athen. 391 E—F. Not improbably the swans were a later common-sense substitute for the sparrows.

[3] *Supra* p. 769 f. fig. 566. [4] *Supra* ii. 460 n. 2 (*b*) with pl. xxv and figs. 359—361.

[5] *Supra* ii. 854 with pl. xxxviii. [6] *Supra* p. 627 n. 0 (3) with pl. xlviii.

[7] *Supra* ii. 661 fig. 600.

[8] M. Böhm 'Aphrodite auf dem Bock' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1889 iv. 208—217, E. Bethe *ib.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. pp. 27, 29, M. Collignon 'Aphrodite Pandemos' in the *Mon. Piot* 1894 i. 143—150, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 222 f., R. Ganszyniec 'Aphrodite Epitragia et les chœurs tragiques' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 431—449.

[9] *Supra* i. 599 ff. figs. 462—468, ii. 560.

[10] *Supra* ii. 769 n. 0 with fig. 730, n. 2 with fig. 732.

[11] *Supra* i. 576 with fig. 446, 606, ii. 765 n. 1 with figs. 715 and 716, 766 n. 1.

[12] *Supra* i. 606 ff. with pl. xxxiv and figs. 478, 480, 481, 484, 487, 488, 494.

[13] *Supra* i. 617 with fig. 488. Cp. i. 610 f., ii. 99 n. 0.

[14] *Supra* i. 620 pl. xxxiv. [15] *Supra* pp. 224, 748 f., 764.

[16] *Supra* p. 763 f. [17] *Supra* p. 775 f. [18] *Supra* p. 781 ff.

visible form. Indeed, we have traced in some detail the stages through which the bird was developed into the goddess[1].

A curious confirmation of these claims may be found in a Sumerian tablet of baked clay referable to the time of the Larsa dynasty (*c.* 2300—2000 B C.), recently published by Mr Frank Davis[2], and now to be seen in the art-collection of Mr Sydney Burney (pl. lxi)[3]. This remarkable relief shows a nude goddess *en face*, standing erect on two lions and flanked by two owls. She herself has the wings and talons of an owl, and an additional spur on either leg. She wears a head-dress of bovine horns[4], bunches of hair that hang down over her shoulders, a broad necklace round her throat, and bracelets on her wrists. Lastly, in either hand she displays an emblem which Mr Sidney Smith interprets as a measuring rod and looped cord[5]. As to technique, the eyebrows

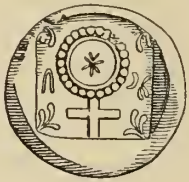


Fig. 644.

Fig. 645.

[1] *Supra* p. 794 ff.

[2] In *The Illustrated London News* for June 13, 1936 p. 1047 with a full-page photographic reproduction. D. Opitz 'Die vogelfüssige Göttin auf den Löwen' in the *Archiv für Orientforschung* 1937 xi. 350—353 fig. 1 seeks to discredit the relief as exhibiting sundry rare or unexampled features. But E. Douglas Van Buren 'A further Note on the Terra-cotta Relief' *ib.* pp. 354—357 figs. 2—6 aptly cites several parallels, *e.g.* fig. 3 the Louvre plaque AO 6501 (*infra* p. 833 f.). An authoritative discussion by H. Frankfort is shortly to be published.

[3] Mr Burney, of 4 Bruton Street, Westminster, W. 1, kindly allowed me to examine the original at my leisure, while Mr Sidney Smith spared time to discuss its significance and furnished me with the fine photograph from which my pl. lxi is taken. The tablet itself measures 19½ inches in height, and is in a state of almost complete preservation.

[4] Certainly not a 'snake head-dress,' as Mr F. Davis *loc. cit.* states. Cp. *e.g. supra* i. 263 fig. 190 Šamaš (4 horns), i. 577 fig. 446 Ramman (1 horn) and Ištar (1 horn), i. 578 fig. 447 Ramman? (4 horns), ii. 546 fig. 424 Adad (1 horn) and Ištar (1 horn). Good examples in Ebert *Reallex.* vii pl. 143 Sun-god (4 pairs of horns) and pl. 145, b Sun-god (4 horns). Better still in the *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* Paris 1935—1936 L'Art de Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre pp. 218 A, B, 226 A, 247, 258 A, 259 C, 260 A, 263 C, D, 286 A, B.

[5] Sir E. A. Wallis Budge in his account of the Sippar relief (*supra* i. 263) spoke of this emblem, there held by the Sun-god, as 'a disk and bar, which may be symbolic of the sun's orbit, or eternity.'

Mr Sidney Smith would recognise rather a measuring rod with a coil of cord. He compares part of the *stéle* of Ur-Nammu, on which the coil is rendered as having separate strands and a dependent loop (C. L. Woolley in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1925 v. 398 pl. 48 ('I imagine that the staff and looped cord are the measuring-rod and line of the architect such as were held by the angel whom Ezekiel saw in a vision in Babylonia

A Sumerian relief in baked clay:
Lilith (?), a possible ancestress of the Owl-Athena.

See page 832 ff. and *page* 1193

are in relief, the lines on the palms incised[1]; the eyes were inlaid, the whole body painted red, except perhaps for a darkened *pubes*; the wing-feathers are picked out in red and dark colouring. The nearest analogue to the entire figure is furnished by a similar, but much smaller, plaque in the Louvre[2], which again shows a nude

Fig. 646.

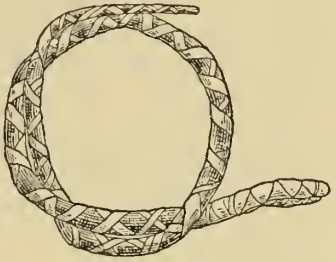


Fig. 647.

(Ezek. xl. 3)'), L. Legrain in the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* 1933 xxx. 111 ff. with pl. 1), and concludes (July 3, 1936): 'I suppose then, this Lilith holds the symbols of justice because she is executing the orders of some high god, carrying out fell designs only on those who have sinned.'

Mr C. T. Seltman has suggested to me (Nov. 11, 1936) that the emblem in question is akin to the Cypriote form of *ānkh* on coins of Salamis (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. 50 nos. 23 and 26 pl. 10, 1 and 4 = my figs. 644 and 645), and that circle and bar may have symbolised the female and male organs. Such a combination would be suitable enough for Lilith, and there is much to be said for the view that the *ānkh* was a sign of procreation (Sir E. A. Wallis Budge *Amulets and Superstitions* Oxford 1930 pp. 128 ff., 134 f., 339 f.). Yet other interpretations are still rife (see *e.g.* Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Amulets* London 1914 p. 14 pl. 3 fig. 30, *a—g* man's girdle-tie, A. H. Gardiner in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 20[b] f. sandal-straps), and it should be noted that the *ānkh* has almost invariably its oval or circle resting on a vertical as well as a horizontal bar.

An object of curiously similar shape is the navel-string or 'twin' (*mulongo*) of the king of Uganda, which was wrapped in bark-cloth, decorated with cowries and beads, and treated like a person in a special house built for it (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 196. Cp. *supra* ii. 193 n. 1). Fig. 646 is from an example in my possession. But the resemblance of the African relic to the Sumerian attribute is presumably quite fortuitous.

If guess-work were allowable, my own surmise would be that the bar-and-circle held by the goddess is a conventional snake, such as the *Imoka Kamui* or 'divine image' made out of sedge by the Ainu and used by them in their snake-worship especially at the time of childbirth (J. Batchelor in J. Hastings *op. cit.* i. 251[a] with fig. = my fig. 647). On this showing the Mesopotamian goddess would be a close counterpart of the 'Minoan' goddess, who brandished a snake in either hand (*supra* ii. 930 n. 0, cp. ii. 1221 fig. 1014) and has been already compared with Athena (*supra* p. 189 f.). However, from Larsa to the Kurile Islands is a far cry.

[1] So in early 'Ionic' sculpture, *e.g.* the left hand of the rejoicing woman or of the lyre-playing youth on the Boston relief (F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi pl. 1 and fig. 61, L. D. Caskey *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture* Harvard Univ. Press 1925 p. 30 ff. no. 17, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 31 with figs. 477 and 478).

[2] Picture-postcards of the plaque are procurable in Paris.

goddess *en face*, with bird's wings, claws, and spurs, but makes her stand on two goats and omits the two owls.

It is not easy to give a name to this singular personage. Her nudity suggests a goddess akin to Aphrodite or Astarte or Ištar. Her lions recall Kybele, the mountain-mother of Asia Minor; and we observe that the ground beneath the lions is marked with the regular conventional design for mountains. A nude goddess standing erect on a lion occurs in Hittite art[1] and—since she suckles an infant—must be regarded as maternal. I am therefore emboldened to surmise that in this unique, or all but unique, Mesopotamian type we have—incredible as it sounds—the remote ancestress of Athena, half-bird half-goddess, *theà glaukôpis* as Homer's forebears called her[2].

To this venturesome view Mr Sidney Smith demurs. In a recent letter to me (June 25, 1936) he puts forward a less precarious hypothesis:

'The plaque presents some very interesting problems in Sumerian religion. The goddesses are very difficult to place, and many of the names merely represent different aspects of one and the same conception—given at different points in a ritual, or at different times of the day, or on different occasions. The point is to decide the class of deity represented on the plaque; and this, I think, can be done with some certainty. The claw-feet and the spur on the leg (a new feature) place her in the demon class. Her obvious beauty consorts with that. She is the kind which ravishes young men, in lonely places, by night, leaving them unsexed[3]. Finally, her association with the lions points to a connection with the celestial Ishtar, the morning- and evening-star: and Ishtar was a ravisher of men, see the Gilgamesh epic. What then are the owls (an entirely new feature)? They are, as I guess, her night servants: they serve her fell purpose as watchers.

[1] E. Meyer *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* Berlin 1914 p. 109 pl. 11, 2, H. Zimmern in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1925 v (Religion der Hethiter) p. 11 with fig. 7, a and b, O. Weber in P. Westheim *Orbis Pictus* ix (Die Kunst der Hethiter) p. 17 figs. 8 and 9 bronze statuette of *c.* 1750 B.C. at Berlin: height 0·185^{m}. [2] *Supra* p. 781.

[3] Analogous Greek and Roman beliefs are very fully investigated by O. Crusius 'Die Epiphanie der Sirene' in *Philologus* 1891 l. 93—107 with pl., W. H. Roscher *Ephialtes* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1900 xx. 2) Leipzig 1900 pp. 1—133, H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1818—1821, F. Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 544—546.

A relief in Greek marble, which passed from the collection of J. Gréau into that of W. Fröhner, shows a Nightmare of the sort, assaulting her victim, in the guise of a nude woman with a bird's wings and talons (T. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* Leipzig 1889—1894 pl. 61 (=my fig. 648), Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*^{2} p. 202 f. fig. 38, G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst* Leipzig 1902 pp. 74, 181, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 609 with fig. 8).

For Germanic parallels see F. Ranke 'Alp' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 281—305 (especially p. 294 f.).

If this be right—it cannot be far wrong—the plaque is an apotropaic: the thing pictured drives away the thing immaterial, a well-established principle in Babylonian magic.

I turn back to your letter of the 18th with its very fascinating thesis....It seems to me that a difficulty immediately occurs. Athene was preeminently the virgin, and that is just the reverse of the character we may assume for the Babylonian goddess. You say that the *Parthenos* is later, that she was originally *Meter*, but recovered virginity yearly[1]. But *Meter* also is very far from our demon, whose name may have been *Lilitu* (Lilith) *Ardat Lili* (the slave-girl of the Night) whose characters you can discover in R. C. Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*[2]. To establish a firm connection between Athene and the goddess of the plaque, will it not be necessary to show that the goddess was not originally, as later, representative of Law, Liberty, and Reason, but a local demon who fell upon the transgressor (witting or unwitting)?

Fig. 648.

[1] *Supra* pp. 224 ff., 748 f.

[2] R. Campbell Thompson *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia* London 1903 i pp. xxvi f., xxxii, xxxvi ff., cp. p. li f. (on the owl as a bird of ill-omen among the Assyrians, etc.). See further S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 829—831 ('*De Lilith, Lamiis et Strigibus*').

The strongest point in favour of your argument would be the association of snakes[1] and owls with the same deity. It might be possible to assume that the snakes who are associated with Ishtar are the snakes who carry out the commands of Shamash, the god of Law and Righteousness.'

In answer to the friendly criticisms of Mr Sidney Smith I would urge that the formidable and rapacious aspect of the goddess desiderated by him is to be sought in Athena's relation to the Gorgon[2], who sometimes at least was conceived as a ravening bird of prey (fig. 649)[3]. That this side of her nature made a strong appeal to the popular mind is sufficiently proved by the survival of her epithet *Gorgoepékoos*[4].

Fig. 649.

[1] *Supra* p. 833 n. 0 *sub fin.* [2] *Supra* ii. 502 n. 2, iii. 189 n. 1.

[3] A black-figured *hydría* of late, Etruscan, style, found by E. Gerhard at Vulci in 1834 and now at Berlin, shows a Gorgon-headed monster, with four wings and the talons of a bird, clutching two naked youths (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 477 no. 2157, R. Engelmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 210 ff. fig. (=my fig. 649), *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1847 fig., G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst* Leipzig 1902 p. 6 fig. 1, E. Sittig in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2422 f.). The very similar figure, which appears twice as a decorative relief on a bronze Etruscan *situla*, found at Offida, Picenum, in 1877 and now in the British Museum, has a purely human face with dishevelled hair in place of the *Gorgóneion* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 107 f. no. 650 fig. 18). Weicker *loc. cit.* rightly assumes that the Etruscan *hydría* and the Etruscan *situla* presuppose a common source.

[4] *Supra* pp. 189 n. 1, 588 n. 1.

(4) The *aigís* and *Gorgóneion* of Athena.

If, then, Athena, originally the rock-goddess of the Akropolis at Athens, manifested herself sometimes as a Snake, more often as an Owl, we obtain at last a satisfactory explanation of that puzzling attribute, her *aigís*. For, when a sacred animal becomes anthropomorphic, the resultant deity tends to retain the old animal-skin as a relic charged with the virtues of his former estate[1]. One thinks of the Hittite lion-god fairly covered with lions or lion-skins[2], of the Egyptian Zeus *Thebaieús* masquerading in a ram-skin[3], of the Italian Iuno *Sospita* habitually garbed in a goat-skin[4], perhaps too of the Greek Dionysos *Melánaigis*[5] and of Argos wearing his black bull's-hide[6]. Now Athena's *aigís*, as represented by painters and sculptors[7], is a skin-cape either scaly (figs. 650, 651)[8] or feathered (figs. 652, 653)[9], and normally displaying the *Gorgóneion*, a fearsome head with staring eyes. My belief is that in both cases the humanised Athena is wearing the *exuviae* of the animal that once she was. As a Snake, she dons the scaly skin with its baleful head. As an Owl, the feathered skin with its round glittering eyes.

Further, since the skin most commonly worn was the rustic's everyday goat-skin (*aigís*[10]), people would be apt to speak of any

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 173 f. ('Use of the skin of the sacrificed animal').

[2] *Supra* ii. 550 ff. fig. 428. [3] *Supra* i. 347 f.

[4] W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 35, *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 595 f., 605—609, O. Höfer *ib.* iv. 1229, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 687 f. figs. 4185—4188, Thulin in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1120 f., and the monographs of E. M. Douglas 'Iuno Sospita of Lanuvium' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1913 iii. 60—72 figs. 1—5, A. Galieti 'Sul serpente genio di Giunone Sospita' in the *Bollettino dell' associazione archeologica Romana* 1913 iii. 232—236, *id.* 'Intorno al culto di "Iuno Sispita Mater Regina" in Lanuvium' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1916 xliv. 3—36.

[5] *Supra* i. 689 n. 5. See further H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2574 f.

[6] *Supra* i. 458 f.

[7] F. Wagner *Die Aigis in der griechischen Kunst* München 1922 was never printed. There is, however, a typed copy of the Dissertation in the Library of the Munich University; and an abstract of its contents is given by P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii Arch. Anz. pp. 354—356.

[8] Fig. 650 is from the *aigís* of the Varvakeion statuette; fig. 651, from that of the Cassel statue.

[9] Fig. 652 is from the *aigís* of the archaistic Athena found at Herculaneum; fig. 653, from that of the Albani Athena.

[10] The evidence for this is slight, but sufficient. P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 971 cites Eur. *Cycl.* 360 (of the Kyklops) *δασυμάλλῳ ἐν αἰγίδι κλινομένῳ*, cp. Paus. 4. 11. 3 (of Aristodemos' Messenian and Arcadian levies in 726 B.C.) *θώρακα γὰρ ἢ ἀσπίδα εἶχεν* (H. Hitzig would insert *οὐκ* before *εἶχεν*, F. Spiro *οὐχ* after it) *ἕκαστος, ὅσοι*

skin-cloak as an *aigís*, regardless of its original species[1]. Thus Athena's snake-skin or owl-skin would equally come to be designated as her *aigís*. And, when origins were forgotten, the way would be clear for ingenious enquirers to explain Athena's sacred attire as a glorified goat-skin. Accordingly Herodotos[2] asserts that the *aigís*

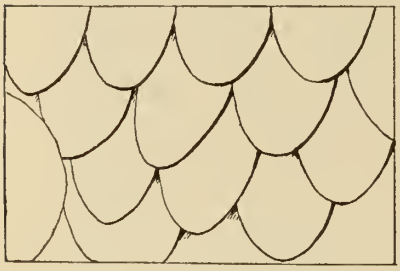


Fig. 650.

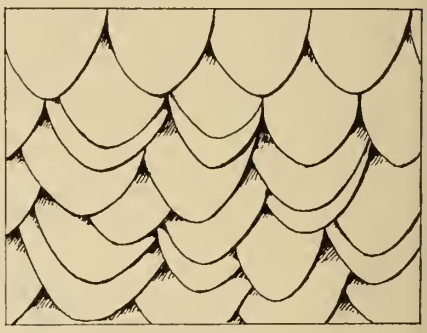


Fig. 651.

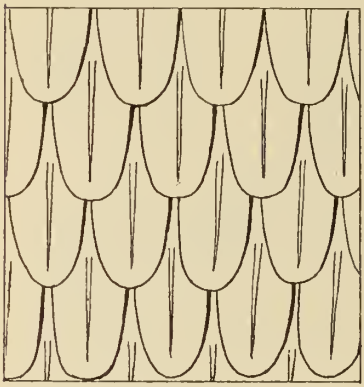


Fig. 652.

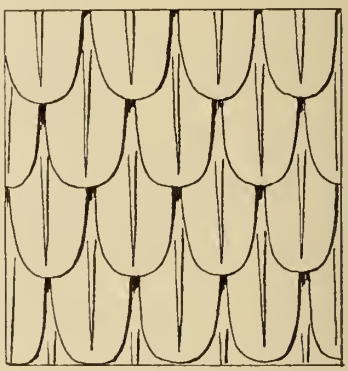


Fig. 653.

δὲ ἠπόρουν τούτων, περιεβέβληντο αἰγῶν νάκας καὶ προβάτων, οἱ δὲ καὶ θηρίων δέρματα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ὀρεινοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων λύκων τε καὶ ἄρκτων, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 324 *σύνηθες τοῖς ἥρωσι δέρματα φορεῖν.*

[1] Similarly, since the ordinary leather cap was made of dog-skin, we find the term *κυνέη* applied to caps made of bull's-hide (*Il.* 10. 257 f. *ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε | ταυρείην*) or weasel-skin (*Il.* 10. 335 *κρατὶ δ' ἐπὶ κτιδέην κυνέην*, cp. *galea* from γαλέη) or goat-skin (*Od.* 24. 230 f. *ὕπερθεν | αἰγείην κυνέην κεφαλῇ ἔχε*).

[2] Hdt. 4. 189 *τὴν δὲ ἄρα ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐκ τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· πλὴν γὰρ ἢ ὅτι σκυτίνη ἡ ἐσθὴς τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ θύσανοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰγίδων αὐτῇσι οὐκ ὄφεις εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ ἱμάντινοι, τά γε ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τὠυτὸ ἔσταλται. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ οὔνομα κατηγορέει ὅτι ἐκ Λιβύης ἥκει ἡ στολὴ τῶν Παλλαδίων· αἰγέας γὰρ περιβάλλονται ψιλὰς περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα θυσανωτὰς αἱ Λίβυσσαι κεχριμένας ἐρευθεδάνῳ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αἰγέων τουτέων αἰγίδας οἱ Ἕλληνες μετωνόμασαν.*

of Athena was derived from the fringed or tasselled goat-skins worn by Libyan women—a rationalistic view which A. W. Lawrence[1] wisely pronounces to be 'plausible but far from certain.' It would entail our accepting Herodotos' highly improbable contention that Athena herself came from Libye[2]. Nevertheless this Herodotean notion has met with some favour both in ancient and in modern times. An Etruscan mirror, of fourth-century style, found at Tarquinii and once owned by E. Gerhard[3], represents in mythological guise Prodikos' story of Herakles' choice between Virtue and Vice[4] (fig. 654). Within a flowery framework stands Herakles (*Hercle*) midway between Athena (*Menrfa*) and Aphrodite (*Turan*). The artist, wishing to stress the simple hardihood of the more manly goddess, has given her by way of *aigís* a mere goat-skin with pendent head and feet. He has, however, added the usual *Gorgóneion* on her breast, not to mention a griffin's head on her shield, while a single snake coiled on her shoulder hisses at Aphrodite's dove. Later mythologists, accepting the explanation of the *aigís* as a goat-skin, toyed with the theme. Athena slew the earth-born fire-breathing monster called Aigis and used its skin as her breastplate in subsequent encounters[5]. Or, Zeus at the advice of Themis flayed the goat Amaltheia, his foster-mother, and donned its skin as his protection in the war against the Titans[6]. Recent

[1] In his commentary *ad loc.* p. 420.

[2] Hdt. 4. 180 (cited *supra* p. 128 n. 1), on which see Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 267 ff.

Wilkinson the Egyptologist went further in the same direction, and fared worse. He stoutly maintained that Athena was but the goddess NHΘ written, as in Egyptian, from right to left and eked out with an A added fore and aft! (Sir J. G. Wilkinson *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1837 i. 47 n. §, Second Series London 1841 i. 284, *ib.*[2] London 1878 iii. 41).

[3] Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 144 f. pl. 156 (=my fig. 654). *Id. ib.* v. 46 ff. pl. 398 describes and figures another mirror, from Caere, on which the Palladion wears an *aigís* adorned with a *Gorgóneion* and 'zwei den Brustharnisch abschliessende Ziegenköpfe.' But H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 96 f. no. 627 says: 'The ægis is bordered by two snakes with rearing heads, crested and bearded.'

[4] Xen. *mem.* 2. 1. 21 ff.

[5] Diod. 3. 70 (from the mythographical romance of Dionysios Skytobrachion: see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 673).

[6] Schol. A. D. *Il.* 15. 229, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 354. Mousaios *frag.* 7 Kinkel *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 13 (cp. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 13, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 394, 24 ff. Eyssenhardt) makes the infant Zeus entrusted by Rhea to Themis, by Themis to Amaltheia, and by Amaltheia to her goat: *Μουσαῖος γάρ φησι Δία γεννώμενον ἐγχειρισθῆναι ὑπὸ Ῥέας Θέμιδι, Θέμιν δὲ Ἀμαλθείᾳ δοῦναι τὸ βρέφος, τὴν δὲ ἔχουσαν αἶγα ὑποθεῖναι, τὴν δ' ἐκθρέψαι Δία· τὴν δὲ Αἶγα εἶναι Ἡλίου θυγατέρα φοβερὰν οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς κατὰ Κρόνον θεούς, βδελυττομένους τὴν μορφὴν τῆς παιδός, ἀξιῶσαι <τὴν* (*ins.* C. Robert) *> Γῆν κρύψαι αὐτὴν ἔν τινι τῶν κατὰ Κρήτην ἄντρων· καὶ ἀποκρυψαμένην ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῆς τῇ Ἀμαλθείᾳ*

Fig. 654.

ἐγχειρίσαι, τὴν δὲ τῷ ἐκείνης γάλακτι τὸν Δία ἐκθρέψαι· ἐλθόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς ἡλικίαν καὶ μέλλοντος Τιτᾶσι (so C. Robert for γίγασι codd.) πολεμεῖν, οὐκ ἔχοντος δὲ ὅπλα, θεσπισθῆναι αὐτῷ τῆς αἰγὸς τῇ δορᾷ ὅπλῳ χρήσασθαι διά τε τὸ ἄτρωτον αὐτῆς καὶ φοβερὸν καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰς μέσην τὴν ῥάχιν Γοργόνος πρόσωπον ἔχειν· ποιήσαντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ φανέντος διπλασίονος, τὰ ὀστᾶ δὲ τῆς αἰγὸς καλύψαντος ἄλλῃ δορᾷ καὶ ἔμψυχον αὐτὴν καὶ ἀθάνατον κατασκευάσαντος, αὐτὴν μέν φασιν ἄστρον οὐράνιον [κατασκευάσαι (C. G. Heyne cj. καταστῆσαι)] * * *

This late recital includes some early traits. In particular, the monstrous Goat penned in a Cretan cave is analogous to the Minotaur in the Labyrinth and may rest on a bit of genuine 'Minoan' folk-belief. Cp. the goat-men on 'Minoan' gems (*supra* i. 703 f. figs. 513—516) and on the clay-sealings from Kato Zakro in eastern Crete (D. G. Hogarth in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 80 f. no. 34 fig. 12, no. 35 fig. 13, nos. 36, 38, 39).

advocates of the view that the *aigís* was from the first a goat-skin have sometimes been content to follow the lead of Herodotos[1], but have more often pointed out that the goat, normally taboo on the Akropolis at Athens, was once a year driven up there for a solemn sacrifice[2] and have urged that the skin of the victim so slain, being possessed of magical potency, was wrapped round the effigy of the goddess[3]. It must, however, be objected that any derivation of the

[1] Miss C. A. Hutton in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 314 f. (citing W. Reichel *Über homerische Waffen* Wien 1894 pp. 65—72) says of Athena's *aigís*: 'Probably, it and the lion skin of Heracles were the sole survivals of a time when the only thing available for protective armour was a skin, worn as a cloak in time of peace, and brought round over the left arm in battle *ἐν προβολῇ*.'

Sir W. Ridgeway, as reported in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1900 xx p. xliv, claimed 'that the primitive garb over a wide Aegean area at an early date was a goat-skin, worn in such a way that the head hung down in front of the wearer; the edges of this skin were either themselves frayed or adorned with a fringe of leather; and the scalp was decorated till it became *γοργείη κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου*. A Dyak's skin-costume, trimmed with feathers and embellished with a plate of shell where the head should be, was exhibited in support of the argument.' *Id. The Origin of Tragedy with special reference to the Greek Tragedians* Cambridge 1910 p. 89 f.: 'Some years ago the present writer explained the *aegis* and *gorgoneion* of Athena as nothing more recondite than the primitive goat-skin covering used in ancient Athens as the ordinary dress. A slit was made in the back of the skin through which the wearer's head was put, and the grinning skin of the animal's face hung down on the breast of the wearer.' *Id. The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1931 ii. 482 repeats the same contention, but produces no proof that a goat-skin was ever 'the ordinary dress' at Athens.

[2] Varr. *rer. rust.* i. 2. 19 f. contra ut Minervae caprini generis nihil inmolarent propter oleam, quod eam quam laeserit fieri dicunt sterilem: eius enim salivam esse fructuis venenum: hoc nomine etiam Athenis in arcem non inigi, praeterquam semel ad necessarium sacrificium, ne arbor olea, quae primum dicitur ibi nata, a capra tangi possit.

[3] W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3] London 1927 p. 437 'Herodotus, when he speaks of the sacrifices and worship of the Libyans, is at once led on to observe that the ægis or goat-skin, worn by the statues of Athena, is nothing else than the goat-skin, fringed with thongs, which was worn by the Libyan women; the inference implies that it was a sacred dress.' *Id. ib.* n. 1 adds 'that the victims were goats is suggested by the context, but becomes certain by comparison of Hippocrates, ed. Littré, vi. 356' [Hippokr. *de morbis* 4 (ii. 375 Kühn) *καὶ τῶν μὲν Λιβύων χρέονται οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν κτηνέων τοῖσι μὲν δέρμασιν ἀντὶ ἱματίων, τῇσι δὲ κοιλίῃσιν ἀντὶ θυλάκων*].

Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 100 'It would be quite in accord with the ideas of a primitive period, when the divinity and the worshipper and the victim were all closely akin, that Athena should be clothed in the skin of her sacred animal, and that in this, as in many other cases..., the sacrificial skin should possess a value as a magical charm. Being used in the ritual of the war-goddess, it was natural that it should come to be of special potency in battle; but the skin of the sacred animal of the tribe ought also to have a life-giving power as well, and it is interesting to find that the ægis in an Athenian ceremony possessed this character also, being solemnly carried round the city at certain times to protect it from plague or other evil, and being taken by the priestess to the houses of newly married women, probably to procure offspring.' In the concluding lines Farnell presumably had in mind Plout. *prov. Alex.* 2. 21 (E. L. von Leutsch—F. G. Schneidewin *Paroemiographi Graeci* Gottingae 1839 i. 339 *app. crit.*) [*Αἰγὶς*] *περὶ πόλιν·...[ἡ γοῦν] ἱέρεια τὴν ἱερὰν αἰγίδα Ἀθήνῃσι φέρουσα ἀγείρει [ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως*]

aigís from an original goat-skin leaves quite unexplained the scaly or feathered character of its surface. This is so constant a feature that it cannot be lightly dismissed as mere decoration[1]. Rather it points back to the snake-skin sloughed off, or the owl-skin laid aside, by the emergent deity.

Mythology has a word to say about both types of *aigís*, the scaly and the feathered. Apollodoros, in his account of the Gigantomachy, after mentioning that the Giants had 'the scales of snakes for feet[2],' goes on to state that Athena flayed one of them named Pallas and used his skin to protect her own body in the fight[3]. A variant and perhaps older version made Pallas the father of Athena by Titanis, daughter of Okeanos. When Pallas attempted to violate Athena, she slew him without mercy, wrapped his skin about her as an *aigís*, and fitted his wings to her feet[4].

ἀρξαμένη πρὸς τὰ ἱερά· τάττεται ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναίδην (*leg.* ἀνέδην) περιιόντων (so cod. B: words in square brackets are added from cod. A), Souid. *s.v.* αἰγίς (cp. Zonar. *lex. s.v.* αἰγίς)·...ἡ δὲ ἱέρεια Ἀθήνησι τὴν ἱερὰν αἰγίδα φέρουσα πρὸς τὰς νεογάμους εἰσήρχετο. ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναίδην (*leg.* ἀνέδην) οὖν ποιούντων τι τάττεται ἡ παροιμία.

[1] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 120 f. 'Als Thierfell erscheint denn auch die Aegis in der Regel auf den Bildwerken, während andererseits die schachbrett- oder schuppenartige Ornamentirung der Aussenseite an Metallverzierungen erinnert,' quoted by P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 971 f. Miss C. A. Hutton in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 315 says: 'An unsuccessful attempt to represent the tufts of hair on the skin may be the basis of the scales,...but the main reason for them arises from the combination of the aegis and the gorgoneion,' when 'the Medusa legend with its snakes dominated the conception.'

[2] Apollod. 1. 6. 1 εἶχον δὲ τὰς βάσεις φολίδας δρακόντων (an iambic tag?). On Typhoeus or Typhon as a 'Schlangenfüssler' see M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst* Berlin 1887 p. 274 ff.: we have already seen him represented as such on a 'Chalcidian' *hydría* of *c.* 550 B.C. (*supra* ii. 731 fig. 663). The earliest example of a Giant with serpent-legs occurs on an Attic *aryballos* at Berlin (inv. no. 3375), which dates from the beginning of *s.* iv rather than from the end of *s.* v: it shows Dionysos, in a chariot drawn by a pair of griffins (cp. *supra* i. 270 fig. 197 Nemeseis, ii. 523 pl. xxvii, *d* Rhea (?) and female companion), attacking two Giants, of whom one has human, the other serpentine, legs (H. Winnefeld 'Gigantenkampf auf einer Vase in Berlin' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 72—74 pl. 1, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 690 f. no. 132, 735 ('Nicht allzufrüh, wohl erst um die Wende des 5. and 4. Jhdts. kommt für die G. der schlangenbeinige Typus auf, wahrscheinlich auf sie übertragen von Typhon')).

[3] Apollod. 1. 6. 2 Πάλλαντος δὲ τὴν δορὰν ἐκτεμοῦσα ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν μάχην τὸ ἴδιον ἐπέσκεπε (ἐσκέπ[τ]ετο epit.) σῶμα.

[4] Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 59 (last in the list of Minervas) quinta Pallantis, quae patrem dicitur interemisse, virginitatem suam violare conantem, cui pinnarum talaria affigunt, Ampel. 9. 10 (last in the list of Minervas) quinta Pallantis et Titanidos filia; haec patrem occidit pro suae virginitatis observatione qui<a> eius cupidus fuit, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 28. 2 p. 21, 3 f. (last in the list of five Athenas) ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν Πάλλαντος καὶ Τιτανίδος τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ, ἣ τὸν πατέρα δυσσεβῶς καταθύσασα τῷ πατρῴῳ κεκόσμηται δέρματι ὥσπερ κῳδίῳ, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14 (last in the list of Minervas) et quae Pallantem occidit patrem incestorum adpetitorem est quinta (cp. *ib.* 4. 16), Firm. Mat. 16. 1 f. (last in the

Kratér at Leipzig:
Perseus presents Athena with the Gorgon's head for her *aigís*.

See page 843 *n.* 2.

Kratér at Gotha :
Perseus presents Athena with the Gorgon's head for her shield.

See page 843.

More familiar is Pherekydes'[1] story of Perseus, who, helped by Athena, slew the Gorgon and gave her head to the goddess to put on her *aigís*. An unpublished bell-*kratér* at Leipzig[2] (pl. lxii) shows the hero, *hárpe* in hand, peering down a well to glimpse the horror held aloft by Athena. The Silenos on the right turns away and hides his face. A *kályx-kratér* in Gotha[3] (pl. lxiii) gives Athena a blank shield and shows the head reflected upside down in the well. Such is the common tale[4]. But Euripides[5] in the *Ion* tells it

Fig. 655.

Fig. 656.

list of Minervas) quinta Pallante patre et Titanide matre orta est...haec parricidalis amentia furoris et vesanae temeritatis instinctu patrem Pallantem crudeli morte iugulavit nec simplici patris morte contenta, ut diutius malis suis frueretur et ut de morte patris crudelius triumpharet, exuviis corporis eius ornata est (so ed. princ. *ornatę sunt* cod. P. C. Halm cj. *ornatae sunt manus*), ut parricidii facinus ex crudeli ostentatione publicaret, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 355 ἡ Ηάλλαντα τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα πτερωτὸν ὑπάρχοντα καὶ βιάζοντα ταύτην ὡς θέλοντα συγγενέσθαι ἡ τὴν παρθενίαν τιμῶσα τοῦτον ἀνεῖλε καὶ τὸ δέρμα αὐτοῦ ὡς αἰγίδα περιεβάλλετο καὶ τὰ πτερὰ τούτου τοῖς ποσὶ ταύτης συνήρμοσεν (E. Scheer *ad loc.* suggests that this account is derived from the *Etymologicum genuinum*, on which see R. Reitzenstein in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 812 ff.). The Catalogue of the gods goes back to *s.* i, or possibly to *s.* ii, B.C. (*supra* ii. 1135 n. 4, iii. 224 n. 0).

The mention of 'wings to her feet' recalls such figures as the running goddess on early coins of Mallos in Kilikia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 95 pl. 15, 11, cp. Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 555 ff. pl. 25, 5—8, 11. Figs. 655 and 656 are from specimens in my collection), the winged Nike from Delos (G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 28 (dated *c.* 570—550 B.C.) fig. 78, cp. fig. 80), or the yet older flying god on a gem probably from Melos (*supra* ii. 544 fig. 419).

[1] Pherekyd. *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 75 f. Müller) = *frag.* 11 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 61 f. Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1515 a.

[2] T 83. Pl. lxii is taken from a photograph most kindly procured by Mr A. D. Trendall.

[3] F. Gargallo-Grimaldi 'Perseo' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1850 xxii. 53—60 pl. A, G. Glotz in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 404 fig. 5583, cp. a bell-*kratér* formerly in the Durand collection published by O. Jahn 'Perseo' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 xxiii. 167—176 pl. N. Both in Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 284 and 288. I have once more to thank Mr Trendall for a fresh photograph (pl. lxiii) of the Gotha *kratér*.

The shield is tantamount to the *aigís* (cp. *supra* ii. 712 pl. xxx). The same variation occurs *e.g.* in imperial coin-types. An unpublished bronze piece issued by Valerian i for Laertes in Kilikia shows the one (fig. 657); a similar piece struck by Gordian iii at Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 136 no. 38, cp. fig. 658) shows the other. Figs. 657 and 658 are from specimens in my collection.

[4] E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1986 ff., G. Glotz in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 398 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 226 ff., Sir J. G. Frazer on Apollod. 2. 4. 1—4, etc.

[5] Eur. *Ion* 991 ff.

in a simpler and presumably Attic[1] form. Athena herself, not Perseus, here slays the Gorgon and wears its skin as her *aigís*.

The evidence is incomplete, but it looks as though the feathered skin with its *Gorgóneion* went back to a Gorgon represented as a ravening bird of prey—precisely the representation that we have already seen on a black-figured vase at Berlin (fig. 649)[2]. It is noticeable too that the Gorgon of modern Greek folk-tales, who turns men into stone, is usually conceived as a bird, the Bird of Truth[3], the Speaking Bird[4], the Bird Dikjeretto[5], or the Tzitzinaina who knows the language of all birds[6]. Anyhow, in view of the Berlin vase, it may well be maintained that the feathery type of *aigís* with its Gorgon-face points back to an Owl Athena. Homer called her *glaukôpis*[7]: Sophokles, *gorgôpis*[8].

Fig. 657.

Fig. 658.

In claiming that Athena's *aigís* with its *Gorgóneion* was thus developed out of a snake-skin or owl-skin, the *exuviae* of her old animal self, I do not pretend to have tracked the Gorgon to its original lair. I maintain merely that the horrifying head of the snake or owl tended from the earliest Greek times[9] to acquire the characteristics of that essentially pre-Greek[10] horror, the *Gorgóneion*.

[1] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 192, H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 30.

[2] *Supra* p. 836.

[3] *Supra* ii. 1010 f., 1016.

[4] *Supra* ii. 1009 f., 1012 n. 1, 1016.

[5] *Supra* ii. 1005, 1016.

[6] *Supra* ii. 1004, 1016.

[7] *Supra* p. 781 n. 2.

[8] Soph. *Ai.* 450 ἡ Διὸς γοργῶπις ἀδάματος (so P. Elmsley for ἀδάμαστος codd.) θεά, *frag.* 844. 2 Jebb *ap.* Plout. *de fort.* 4 τὴν Διὸς γοργῶπιν Ἐργάνην.

[9] *Il.* 5. 741 f. ἐν δέ τε Γοργείη κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου, | δεινή τε σμερδνή τε, Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο, cp. *Od.* 11. 634 f. μή μοι Γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου | ἐξ Ἄϊδος πέμψειεν ἀγαυὴ Περσεφόνεια.

[10] It is notorious that in the western pediment of the second (*c.* 580—570 B.C.) temple of Artemis at Palaiopolis, Corfu, the huge pre-Greek group of the Gorgon and her lions completely dwarfs the small Hellenic flanking figures, *e.g.* Zeus attacking the Giant towards the southern angle (G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 28 with figs. 76 Gorgon, 96 Zeus *v.* Giant, 109 reclining male, 141 head of Chrysaor, 374 whole pediment, H. Schrader *Archaische griechische Plastik* Breslau 1933 p. 80 f. with figs. 49 lion, 80 reconstruction of façade, 81 Zeus *v.* Giant,

The west pediment of the tem

rtemis at Palaiopolis, Corfu.

See page 844 *n.* 10.

The earliest Gorgon's head known to me occurs on a signet-seal of black steatite now in my collection (fig. 659: scale $\frac{2}{1}$). It is Cretan work of the 'Middle Minoan ii'[1] period (1900—1700 B.C.) and, though broken, shows clearly enough the broad full face with its emphasised eyes, gross ears, and bristling hair. The nearest contemporary parallels are afforded by the horned imp on a signet from Mochlos[2] and one or two of the 'demonic' types on the clay-sealings from Kato Zakro[3].

On the primary significance of the *Gorgóneion* there has been much rash speculation. Scholars ancient and modern have elaborated

a *b* *c*

Fig. 659.

not a few mutually destructive hypotheses. Plutarch dwells on the hideous face in the moon[4], and an Orphic fragment dubs it *Gorgónion*[5]. Hence E. Gerhard[6], G. R. Gaedechens[7], and many more[8] have identified the Gorgon's head with the moon, though on occasion it appears in a solar rather than a lunar context[9]. Others,

83 reconstruction of pediment, C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 475—478 with pl. 4 Chrysaor and figs. 89 whole pediment, 143 Gorgon, 144 lion, 145 Zeus *v.* Giant, 146 northern angle, R. Hampe 'Korfugiebel und frühe Perseusbilder' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1935/36 lx/lxi. 269—299 figs. 1—8 pls. 93—100). My pl. lxiv is from a drawing by Mrs D. K. Kennett of the cast in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge.

[1] See Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 274.

[2] R. B. Seager *Explorations in the island of Mochlos* Boston—New York 1912 p. 58 fig. 27 no. x, *b*, Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 703 fig. 526, 1936 Index p. 171 n. 1 ('M.M. II or III'), S. Marinatos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1927—1928 p. 17 fig. 6, F. Matz *Die frühkretischen Siegel* Berlin—Leipzig 1928 p. 19 pl. 13, 4.

[3] D. G. Hogarth in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 84 no. 76 fig. 20, no. 78 fig. 22.

[4] Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 29 ἐκφοβεῖ δὲ αὐτὰς (*sc.* τὰς τῶν κολαζομένων ψυχὰς) καὶ τὸ καλούμενον πρόσωπον, ὅταν ἐγγὺς γένωνται, βλοσυρόν τι καὶ φρικῶδες ὁρώμενον.

[5] *Supra* p. 805 n. 4. [6] Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 583.

[7] G. R. Gaedechens in J. S. Ersch—J. G. Gruber *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* Leipzig I. lxxiv. 400[b] ff.

[8] Listed by K. Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1645 f.

[9] *Supra* i. 292 f. fig. 212, 306 f. figs. 242—245, iii. 805. Cp. J. Six *De Gorgone* Amstelodami 1885 p. 91: 'Huius tamen (*sc.* ducis Luynensis) argumentis longe facilius demonstraveris Gorgonis caput solem esse quam lunam.' Kaiser Wilhelm II. *Studien zur Gorgo* Berlin 1936 p. 79 ff. treats her as 'Nachtsonne' or 'Unterweltssonne.'

including J. F. Lauer[1], F. L. W. Schwartz[2], C. Dilthey[3], and W. H. Roscher[4], have equated its scowling features with those of the storm-cloud, partly because the word *aigís* is found in the sense of 'a rushing storm[5],' partly because Quintus Smyrnaeus late in the fourth century A.D. compares the crash of Athena's *aigís* with the roll of thunder[6]. A. de Gubernatis[7] in milder mood makes Medousa 'the evening aurora.' Others again drop from heaven to earth and offer a zoological explanation. F. T. Elworthy[8] argues at length that the Gorgon must have been a cephalopod, the octopus, and L. Siret[9] assures us that the *aigís* worn by god or goddess was his ubiquitous cuttle-fish[10]. T. Zell[11] is equally insistent that the *Gorgóneion* was the face of a gorilla. K. Gerogiannes[12] derives it from a lion's head. O. Jahn[13], less daring but more discreet, stresses its use as an amulet potent to ward off the evil eye. Jane Harrison[14] suggests that it was a ritual mask worn for prophylactic purposes, and R. G. Collingwood[15] labels it 'an apotropaic mask.' Finally, H. J. Rose[16] is inclined to think it 'a nightmare, a face so horrible that the dreamer is reduced to helpless, stony terror.' I am myself

[1] J. F. Lauer *System der griechischen Mythologie* Berlin 1853 p. 324.

[2] F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 pp. 34, 63, 85.

[3] C. Dilthey in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 xliii. 214.

[4] W. H. Roscher *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1879 p. 10 ff., *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 1698 ff.

[5] First in Aisch. *cho.* 591 f. πτανὰ δὲ καὶ πεδοβάμονα κάνεμοέντ' ἄν | αἰγίδων φράσαι κότον, then in Pherekr. μυρμηκάνθρωποι *frag.* 9 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 314 Meineke) *ap.* Souid. *s.v.* αἰγίς· καταιγίς. Φερεκράτης Μυρμηκανθρώποις· οἵμοι κακοδαίμων, αἰγὶς ἔρχεται (F. V. Fritzsche cj. αἰγίς, αἰγὶς ἔρχεται, which is possible, but uncertain). See further H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott *s.v.* αἰγίς.

[6] Quint. Smyrn. 14. 457 f. ἔβραχε δ' αἰγὶς ἅπασα περὶ στήθεσσιν ἀνάσσης, | οἷον ὅτε στεροπῇσιν ἐπιβρέμει ἄσπετος αἰθήρ. Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 17 (p. 17 f. Scheer) has a far-fetched attempt to interpret Perseus' decapitation of Medousa in terms of atmospheric phenomena (cp. *supra* p. 746).

[7] A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 i. 305.

[8] F. T. Elworthy 'A Solution of the Gorgon Myth' in *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 212—242 with pls. 6 and 7 and figs. 1—27, *id. ib.* 1905 xvi. 350 f. with two figs.

[9] L. Siret *Questions de chronologie et d'ethnographie ibériques* Paris 1913 i. 443.

[10] *Supra* i. 87 n. 4.

[11] T. Zell *Wie ist die auf Korfu gefundene Gorgo zu vervollständigen?* Berlin 1912 pp. 50—125 ('Die Deutung des Gorgonen-Mythus').

[12] K. Gerogiannes in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1927—1928 pp. 128—176 with 31 figs. (summarised in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 457).

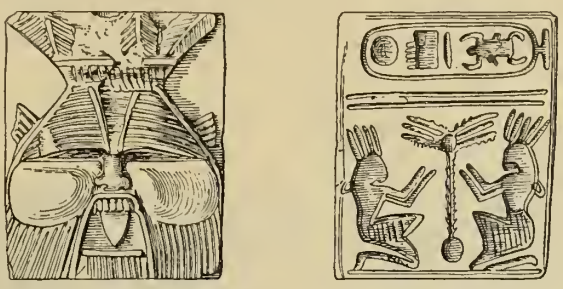
[13] O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1855 p. 59.

[14] J. E. Harrison in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 330[a]—332[a].

[15] R. G. Collingwood—J. N. L. Myres *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* Oxford 1936 p. 255 f.

[16] H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 29 f.

more impressed by the platyrrhine negroid aspect of early *Gorgóneia*, which prompts me to guess that their archetype came from north Africa. If so, Euripides[1] was not far wrong when he spoke of 'Libyan Gorgons.'



a Fig. 660. *b*

a Fig. 661. *b*

[1] Eur. *Bacch.* 990 f. λεαίνας δέ τινος ὅδ' ἢ Γοργόνων | Λιβυσσᾶν γένος. W. H. Roscher *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1879 p. 27 n. 50 cp. Aristoph. *ran.* 477 Γοργόνες Τιθράσιαι with schol. R. *ad loc.* Τιθράσιαι· <Τίθρασος> τόπος τῆς Λιβύης <ἔνθα αἱ Γοργόνες διέτριβον>, Hdt. 2. 91 οἴσοντα (*sc.* τὸν Περσέα) ἐκ Λιβύης τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλήν, Diod. 3. 52 ff. κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην...τό τε γὰρ τῶν Γοργόνων ἔθνος, ἐφ' ὃ λέγεται τὸν Περσέα στρατεῦσαι, κ.τ.λ., Paus. 2. 21. 5 καὶ ἐς τὰς μάχας ἠγεῖσθαι (*sc.* τὴν Μέδουσαν) τοῖς Λίβυσι, 3. 17. 3 Περσεῖ δ' ἐς Λιβύην καὶ ἐπὶ Μέδουσαν ὡρμημένῳ, Iuv. 12. 4 pugnanti (*sc.* Minervae) Gorgone Maura, schol. vet. Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 72 b αἱ δὲ Γοργόνες κατὰ μέν τινας ἐν τοῖς Αἰθιοπικοῖς...κατὰ δέ τινας ἐπὶ τῶν περάτων τῆς Λιβύης..., etc.

J. Six *De Gorgone* Amstelodami 1885 pp. 94—97 discusses, but rejects, the suggestion that the Gorgon was derived from the Egyptian Bes (cp. *supra* ii. 457). It remains, however, highly probable that this godling with his pygmy stature and Sûdânî traits (Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* pp. 202—221 pls. 73—81, Sir E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 284—288 with two figs. and col. pl., *id. From Fetish to God in ancient Egypt* Oxford 1934 pp. 253—255 with two figs.), his apotropaic powers (W. M. Flinders Petrie *Amulets* London 1914 p. 40 f. nos. 188—190 pls. 33 and 34), and his curious attachment to the full-face view (*supra* ii. 674 figs. 611, 612) affords a real analogy to the Libyan Gorgon. His wrinkled forehead and nose, broad face, and hanging tongue are comparable features. And it must not be forgotten that Bes, like the Gorgon, was connected with snakes (Lanzone *op. cit.* p. 211 pl. 79, 2, K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 325 'als Abwehrer der schädlichen Tiere,' Sir E. A. Wallis Budge *From Fetish to God in ancient Egypt* p. 254 'a slayer of serpents and all kinds of noxious animals') and on occasion was represented in female form

Be that as it may, the Gorgon's head, thanks to the humanising tendency of Greek art, had an evolution of its own from lower to higher forms[1]. The archaic type (fig. 662)[2] was a round face with formal curls and a wrinkled forehead. The mouth was wide, showing teeth and formidable tusks. The tongue was protruded. The ears often had circular earrings. Snakes were sometimes added, or even a beard.

Fig. 662.

Fig. 663.

(Lanzone *op. cit.* p. 208 pl. 75, 5 limestone statue at Turin). I figure two amulets, in my collection, to illustrate the resemblance of Bes to a negro. Fig. 660, *a*, *b* is an Egyptian plaque of schist (?) with the head of Bes on one side, the name of Thothmes iii and two adorants on the other (cp. Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Amulets* London 1914 p. 41 no. 190 n pl. 34). Fig. 661, *a*, *b* is a cornelian bead of the 'Middle Minoan iii' period, from the Messara in southern Crete, with the head of a negro on one side and two crossed lines on the other. Both amulets have a markedly wrinkled forehead and eyes sunk in, or sketched over, a transverse slit.

[1] See the succession of types drawn up and discussed by A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1709—1718 ('Archaischer Typus'), 1718—1721 ('Der mittlere Typus'), 1921—1927 ('Der schöne Typus'), G. Glotz in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1622—1624 ('type archaïque'), 1624—1627 ('*Le type moyen*'), 1627—1629 ('*Le type beau*'), K. Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1652 f. ('Der archaische Typus'), 1653 f. ('Der mittlere Typus'), 1654 f. ('Der schöne Typus').

[2] An antefix of terracotta found on the Akropolis at Athens. Lips, tongue, gums, and earrings are painted dark-red; hair, snakes, and pupils of eyes, black; face, buff. Seven fragments from a single mould survive, and date from the second half of *s.* vi B.C. (L. Ross *Archäologische Aufsätze* Leipzig 1855 i. 109 pl. 8, 1 in colours (=my fig. 662), 2 side view, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1715 with fig., D. Brooke in the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1921 ii. 289 f. nos. 78, 79 fig., 322 f., 426). The bronze *Gorgóneion* of Dreros, which anticipates the milder type, may be dated *c.* 600—575 B.C. (S. Marinatos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1936 lx. 270 ff. pl. 29).

The middle type (fig. 663)[1] retained the round face, the furrowed forehead, the wide toothy mouth, and the lolling tongue, but made all these traits somewhat milder and less horrific. The snakes are apt to pass into snaky locks, and the beard vanishes. The whole effect is repellent rather than repulsive.

The beautiful type appears for the first time in the head grasped by Perseus on a red-figured vase dating from *c.* 475 B.C. (fig. 664)[2] and then, mostly in Satyric scenes, on later Attic or early South Italian vases[3]. It was perhaps inspired, as

Fig. 664.

[1] An antefix of terracotta found before the east front of the Bouleuterion at Olympia. The tongue is red; the teeth, white. To be dated 450—400 B.C. (R. Borrmann in *Olympia* ii. 195 f. fig. 13 restoration, pl. 120, 1 in colours (=my fig. 663) with side view, A. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* p. 1720 f., E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 9 with fig. 69 opposite p. 226).

[2] A *hydría* from Kyrenaïke (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 346 and 348 no. 456 fig. 79 (=my fig. 664)). Mr C. D. Bicknell notes the influence of Kritios' Tyrannicides, set up in the Athenian Agora in 477 B.C. Head in profile.

[3] (1) A bell-*kratér* from Bologna (H. Luckenbach in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1881 liii. 82—87 pl. F, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 344, 7), which Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* pp. 158, 201 assigns to the 'middle of the fifth century.' Head full-face.

(2) A volute-*kratér* from Ceglie, now at Taranto (figured *infra* Append. P p. 996), which gives the Satyric setting in completest form. Head full-face.

(3) A bell-*kratér* from Basilicata (Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 94 pl. Millingen 3, O. Jahn in *Philologus* 1868 xxvii. 16 f. pl. 1, 3), of which Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 201 n. 2 says: 'early Lower Italy vase'...'reproduces an Attic model.' Head full-face.

(4) A South Italian *kratér* (?), probably from Bari, in the Fontana collection at Trieste (E. Curtius *Herakles der Satyr und Dreifussräuber* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xii) Berlin 1852 pp. 1 ff., 14 n. 1 with col. pl.=*id.* in his *Gesammelte Abhand-*

Wuilleumier[1] has suggested, by Pythagoras' bronze Perseus[2], or, as Furtwängler[3] and Glotz[4] have maintained, by Myron's masterpiece on the Akropolis representing 'Perseus fresh from the slaughter of Medousa[5],' though these sculptors themselves may have drawn their inspiration from the Pindaric Perseus 'bearing off the head of fair-cheeked Medousa[6].'

Fig. 665.

lungen Berlin 1894 ii. 215—230 pl. 6, O. Jahn in *Philologus* 1868 xxvii. 16 pl. 1, 2). Head in three-quarter position.

[1] P. Wuilleumier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 199.

[2] Pythagoras of Rhegion made a bronze statue of Perseus with wings (on his feet?) (Dion Chrys. *or.* 37 (ii. 296, 3 f. Dindorf)). We have no right to assume that this is a blundered reference to Myron's Perseus.

[3] Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 201.

[4] G. Glotz in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1627.

[5] Paus. 1. 23. 7 καὶ ἄλλα ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει θεασάμενος οἶδα...καὶ Μύρωνος Περσέα τὸ ἐς Μέδουσαν ἔργον εἰργασμένον, Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 57 fecit (*sc.* Myron)...et Perseum.

[6] Pind. *Pyth.* 12. 28 f. εὐπαράου κρᾶτα συλάσαις Μεδοίσας | υἱὸς Δανάας with schol. vet. on 24 b εὐπάραον δέ φησι τὴν Μέδουσαν, οὐχ ὅτι οὕτω φύσεως εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι περὶ ἑαυτῆς ἡ Μέδουσα ὡς εὐμόρφου διέκειτο· διὸ καὶ περὶ κάλλους τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐφιλονείκησεν. This contest of beauty between Medousa and Athena was a commonplace of the later mythographers (Apollod. 2. 4. 3, schol. vet. Pind. *Nem.* 10. 6, interp. Serv. and Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6. 289 (citing Serenus (Sammonicus?) the poet), Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 4. 20, Myth. Vat. 1. 131, 2. 112, *alib.*). According to Ov. *met.* 4. 794 ff., clarissima forma | multorumque fuit spes invidiosa procorum | illa, nec in tota conspectior ulla capillis | pars fuit. Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 4. 124 tells how Verres carried off from the gold and ivory doors of Athena's temple on the island of Ortygia at Syracuse 'Gorgonis os pulcherrimum, crinitum anguibus.'

Medousa as a beauty is παρὰ προσδοκίαν and calls for explanation. The epithet εὐπάραος is clearly complimentary (Poll. 2. 87, 9. 162) and could hardly be taken as 'large-cheeked, broad-faced.' Nor would it be safe to see in it a mere euphemism as in Εὐειδής, Εὐχαίτης, and the like (*supra* ii. 1112 n. 7). We must fall back on the assumption

In any case, once introduced, the new type ran through a whole succession of phases, becoming in turn sinister (fig. 665)[1], pathetic (fig. 666)[2], and ultrapathetic (fig. 667)[3], but at the last tranquillised

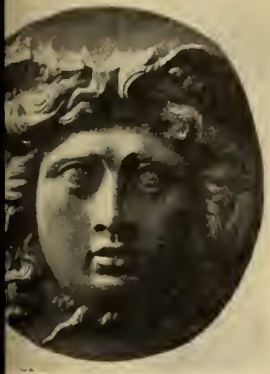


Fig. 666.

Fig. 667.

Fig. 668.

that the Gorgon among her original (African?) folk was frankly regarded as a reigning beauty. Hence her name Μέδουσα, the 'Queen,' her diadem, and her earrings. A modern parallel from an Epeirote tale is 'the Beauty of the Land,' who can turn men into stone (*supra* ii. 1007, 1016).

[1] The Medusa Rondanini in the Glyptothek at Munich is a mask of Parian marble, copied in Roman times from a Greek original in bronze to be dated *c.* 400 B.C. or perhaps somewhat earlier (Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 239, A. Furtwängler—H. L. Urlichs *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur* München 1898 p. 42 ff. pl. 13, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* pp. 156—161 (attributed to Kresilas) fig. 63, *id. Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 54, *id. Glyptothek zu München*[2] p. 260 ff. no. 252, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 177 (Kresilas?)). Apart from the cold and cruel beauty of this face, the sculptor has imported a fresh element of interest in the pair of small wings attached horizontally to the head. Buoyed on these, with her concentrated stare and half-open mouth, Medousa hovers before us like some keen-eyed maleficent night-bird.

[2] An onyx cameo of two layers, milk-white on bluish white, found on the Via Appia near Rome and formerly in the Tyszkiewicz collection (W. Froehner *Collection d'antiquités du comte Michel Tyszkiewicz* Paris 1898 p. 32 pl. 33, 7, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 50, 47 (=my fig. 666), ii. 244). A smaller and less finely worked cameo in my possession (fig. 669: scale ½) ivory white on dark grey, has the same troubled forehead and painful expression. Traces of subsequent gilding on hair etc.

Fig. 669.

[3] An amethyst cameo of Hellenistic date, found on the Aventine at Rome and

a Fig. 670. *b*

Fig. 671.

1

2

(1) Etruscan *kýlix* at Leipzig:
Pegasos born from the blood of the Gorgon.
(2) Etruscan *kylix* in the British Museum:
Pegasos born from the blood of the Gorgon.

See page 853 *n.* 4.

and dignified by death (fig. 668)[1]. It will be seen that this final type, under the influence of regal portraiture[2], discards the full-face for the profile view and thereby exchanges its old prophylactic quality for a new ideal value.

Where prophylaxis was still required, the older horrors survived, as on Greek relief-ware of the fourth century (fig. 670, *a*, *b*)[3], or might be made yet more horrible, as on Etruscan bronze-work of the same period (fig. 671)[4].

The entire range of these modifications could be illustrated by a sequence of Greek and Roman coin-types, of which a few samples are here given (figs. 672—693)[5]. And a similar series might equally well be made out for vases, or gems, or other products of minor art.

formerly in the Laurenti and Blacas collections, now in the British Museum (C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 117 no. 1 pl. 28, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 59, 2 (=my fig. 667), ii. 266 'von derb pathetischem Typus,' Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 77, 1 p. 179, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 333 no. 3542 pl. 36). Even the eyebrows are writhen and snaky. C. Davenport *Cameos* London 1900 pl. 6 gives a fine coloured illustration of this amethyst and adds the conjecture that it was one of a pair of *phalerae*.

[1] A clouded chalcedony of Graeco-Roman date, found on the Caelian at Rome, later in the Strozzi (hence known as the 'Strozzi Medusa') and Blacas collections, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 148 f. no. 1256 pl. H, *ib.*[2] p. 195 no. 1829 pl. 23, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 180 f. no. 63 pl. 137, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 40, 18 (=my fig. 668), ii. 191 f., Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 77, 4 p. 179). The inscription ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ behind the head is, as Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 192 concluded, a genuine signature of that Julian engraver (J. Sieveking in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 978 f.). Medousa has twelve snakes in her hair.

[2] Cp. the head of Alexander the Great on tetradrachms of Makedonia issued under Aesillas and Sura (93—88 B.C.) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, etc. p. 19 f. no. 84 fig. and no. 87 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 355 pl. 24, 13, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 86 pl. 138, 10 and 11).

[3] From a buff (? traces of black) moulded *aryballos* (height 4½ ins.) in my collection. Both sides, apart from the border-pattern, are alike. Cp. a series of black *askoí* with the mask of Medousa in relief (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 246 nos. G 54—G 61).

[4] From a bronze *lébes*-handle in my possession. The plate at either end is protected by the relief of a *Gorgóneion* with flying hair (scale ½). Equally gruesome is the bearded and snake-fringed *Gorgóneion* on two Etruscan *kýlikes* in Leipzig and London (pl. lxv).

[5] Fig. 672 a tetradrachm of Athens 510—507 B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 347 no. 5791 pl. 204, 23). On the *Gorgóneion* as official Athenian badge see C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 50 ff. fig. 37 f. pl. 4, A 54—57, 60 f., *υ*, *δδ* (*c.* 550—546 B.C.), p. 86 ff. fig. 52 pl. 14, A 208—213 (510—507 B.C.).

Fig. 673 a bronze coin of Olbia, probably cast in *s.* vi—v B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 153 no. 4274 pl. 155, 5) in imitation of the Gorgon-type at Athens (E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 484 pl. 2, 1, C. T. Seltman *op. cit.* p. 132 ff., *id. Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 180, 303 pl. 40, 1). This was the earliest issue of Greek coinage in bronze.

Fig. 674 a bronze *hemílitron* of Kamarina *c.* 413—405 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 39 from a cast). Cp. the *hemílitra* of Himera before *c.* 413 B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* i. 272 pl. 75, 6 and 7).

Archaic Type, without snakes.

Fig. 672.

Fig. 673.

Fig. 674.

Fig. 675.

Fig. 676.

Fig. 677.

Archaic Type, with snakes.

Fig. 678.

Fig. 679.

Transition to Middle Type.

Fig. 680.

Fig. 681.

Fig. 682.

Middle Type.

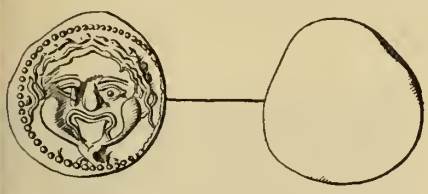


Fig. 683.

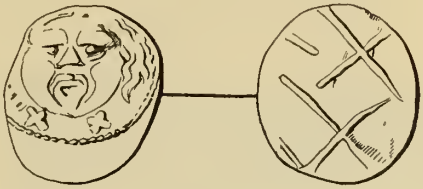


Fig. 684.

Fig. 685.

Fig. 686.

Beautiful Type.

Fig. 687.

Fig. 688.

Fig. 689.

Fig. 690.

Assimilation of Helios to the Gorgon.

Fig. 691.

Fig. 692.

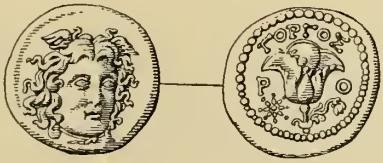


Fig. 693.

Fig. 675 a billon *statér* of Lesbos *c.* 550—440 B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 103 no. 7955 pl. 275, 1).

Fig. 676 a silver *statér* of Neapolis in Makedonia *c.* 500—411 B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 2 no. 3075 pl. 112, 8).

Fig. 677 a silver hemidrachm of Neapolis in Makedonia *c.* 411—350 B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 3 no. 3078 pl. 112, 11).

Fig. 678 a silver drachm of Abydos *c.* 480—450 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 1 pl. 1, 2).

Fig. 679 a silver drachm of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum in Mysia *c.* 450—*c.* 330 B.C. (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 8 pl. 2, 2).

Fig. 680 a silver hemidrachm of Parion in Mysia *c.* 400—300 B.C. or later (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 95 pl. 21, 8).

Fig. 681 a silver hemidrachm of Parion in Mysia *c.* 400—300 B.C. or later (*McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 58 no. 7654 pl. 263, 8).

Fig. 682 a silver hemidrachm of Parion in Mysia *c.* 400—300 B.C. or later (from a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum).

Fig. 683 a silver piece of ten units from Populonia in Etruria *c.* 450—350 B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* i. 18 no. 123 pl. 8, 1). On the Etruscan *Gorgóneion* as inspired by the early coinage of Athens see the illuminating remarks of C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage* p. 130 ff.

Fig. 684 a silver piece of twenty units from Populonia in Etruria *c.* 350—280 B.C. (*ib.* i. 19 no. 128 pl. 8, 6).

Fig. 685 (from a specimen of mine) and fig. 686 (from another in the Fitzwilliam Museum) are Roman *denarii* struck by L. Plautius Plancus *c.* 47 B.C. (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 325 ff. nos. 14—16 figs. (no. 16 in gold is a forgery), M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik* Wien 1897 p. 205 ff. pl. 9, 217 and 218, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 516 f. nos. 4005, 4006, 4009 pl. 50, 15, 16, 17). It appears that C. Plautius Venox, who was censor along with Appius Claudius Caecus in 312 B.C., had allowed the flute-players to wear masks at their festival the Quinquatrus Minusculae on the Ides of June, when they roamed about the city and assembled at the temple of Minerva (Ov. *fast.* 6. 651 ff. with Sir J. G. Frazer's commentary *ad loc.*). The mask on the coins of L. Plautius is treated as a *Gorgóneion* of the middle type and often shows a couple of snakes in the hair.

Fig. 687 a bronze coin of Seleukos i Nikator (312—280 B.C.) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 6 f. pl. 2, 14, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 195 f. pl. 14, 6, cp. *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 325 no. 9246 pl. 335, 9).

Fig. 688 a bronze coin of Amphipolis issued in imperial times but without emperor's head (from a specimen of mine, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, etc. p. 48 nos. 44 and 45, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 29 no. 3227 pl. 117, 22).

Fig. 689 a bronze coin of Chabakta in Pontus issued in the time of Mithradates Eupator (120—63 B.C.) (*McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 8 no. 7382 pl. 251, 4, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 27 pl. 5, 4, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 77 pl. 11, 23, *ib.*[2] i. 105 pls. 11, 23 and K, 3).

Fig. 690 a Roman *denarius* struck by L. Cossutius Sabula *c.* 54 B.C. (from a specimen of mine, cp. Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 437 f. no. 1 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 405 f. no. 3324 pl. 42, 22).

Fig. 691 a silver drachm of Rhodes *c.* 304—166 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 245 pl. 39, 2, cp. *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 205 no. 8598 f. pl. 300, 20 f.). Magistrate's name ΓΟΡΓΟΣ.

Fig. 692 a silver drachm of Rhodes *c.* 304—166 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 245 pl. 39, 1). Magistrate's name ΑΙΝΗΤΩΡ. On this coin the hair of Helios is markedly snaky and two snakes are tied under his chin.

Fig. 693 a silver drachm (?) of Rhodes *c.* 87—84 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. cxii pl. 45, 3). Magistrate's name ΓΟΡΓΟΣ. On this coin the assimilation of

We are, however, concerned primarily with the *aigís* of Athena. And here it is interesting to see how, through contact with that dominant and yet gracious personality, the *Gorgóneion* was gradually converted from demon to angel. On the Albani statue[1] (fig. 694),

Fig. 694.

Fig. 695.

Fig. 696.

Fig. 697.

Helios to the Gorgon—perhaps originally suggested by the name Gorgos—is completed by the addition of small wings in the hair.

[1] Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 242 f. no. 524, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 215 f. figs. 169, 170, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 695 fig., *id. Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* pp. 78—81 figs. 29 and 30 (head in profile) (attributed to Praxias pupil of Kalamis), Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 220, F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2013, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 428 f. no. 1878.

which presupposes a bronze original of *c.* 450 B.C., the negroid face with animal tusks and lolling tongue has already become less frightful. The tusks have gone; the tongue is going. On the Dresden 'Lemnia'[1] (fig. 695), one of two marble copies of a Pheidiac(?) Athena in bronze, *c.* 450—440 B.C., the cheeks are still too broad, but the tongue is pulled in, and the snakes are no longer knotted under the chin. On the Kassel statue[2] (fig. 696), a later version of the same original, the tongue is just visible, but the face is a better oval, and the snakes are replaced by a tangle of snaky tresses. Finally, on the Varvakeion statuette[3] (fig. 697), a Hadrianic reduction of the *Parthénos*, the head in the centre of the shield develops a pair of winglets and might be mistaken for a mediaeval cherub[4]!

One other *Gorgóneion* remains to be considered—the expiring effort of Graeco-Roman accommodation in the west. The British goddess presiding over the hot curative springs at Bath was *Sul* or more correctly *Sulis*[5], whose name—probably akin to the Old Irish *súil* 'eye'[6]—was the Celtic equivalent of the Latin *Sol*[7]. These hot springs at Aquae Sulis are unique in the British Isles, and the natives seem to have thought that the sun as it sank beneath the western waves warmed the waters below and sent them up hot and bubbling to the surface. Their healing properties would

[1] Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* pp. 4—26 figs. 1—3 pls. 2, 3, and 4 (Bologna head), F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2014.

[2] Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 209 f. no. 477, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 699 f., M. Bieber *Die Antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des königl. Museum Fridericianum in Cassel* Marburg 1915 p. 5 ff. no. 2 pl. 9 and fig. 2 (restored with Bologna head).

[3] K. Lange 'Die Athena Parthenos' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1880 v. 370—379, *ib.* 1881 vi. 56—94 pls. 1 and 2, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 203 ff. no. 467, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pls. 39 (facing) and 40 (profile).

[4] S. Marinatos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1927—1928 p. 17 f. fig. 7 (after Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 276 f. fig. 207, *c* 2) cp. one side of a four-sided cornelian seal ('Middle Minoan ii') from central Crete, on which appears a facing head with apparent side-wings. But Sir Arthur is careful to explain these as 'locks flowing out on either side and terminating in coils' like those of Ishtar.

[5] The only forms of the name at present known are the genitive *Sulis* and the dative *Suli*. But other inscriptions may yet be forthcoming, for much of the ground adjoining the Bath still awaits excavation. Prof. J. R. R. Tolkien in R. G. Collingwood—J. N. L. Myres *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* Oxford 1936 p. 264 n. 1 points out that the Celtic nominative must have been *Sulis*.

[6] M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1592 and 1599. For the sun conceived as an eye see *supra* i Index p. 882, ii Index p. 1389.

[7] On *sūil* as akin to *sōl* see Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 720 f., F. Muller Jzn *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 404, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 446 f., Ernout—Meillet *Dict. étym. de la Langue Lat.* p. 909 f.

then lead to the equation of Sulis the sun-goddess with Minerva, who at Rome and elsewhere bore the title *Medica*[1]. The equation is attested not only by three[2] out of the ten inscriptions so far discovered at Bath[3], but also by an interesting passage in Solinus[4] who says:

'The circumference of Britain is 4875 miles. Within this space are many great rivers, hot springs too equipped with luxurious arrangements for the

[1] G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2989, *id. Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 254 f., F. Altheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 1778. Athena, too, bore the title Ὑγίεια on the Akropolis at Athens (*supra* i. 231 n. 8, 727).

[2] (1) *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 43 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4660 (on a small altar figured by H. M. Scarth *Aquæ Solis* London 1864 p. 47 pl. 13) deae | Suli Mi|nervae | Sulinus | Matu|ri · fil | v · s · l · m. The name *Sulinus*, which recurs in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 37, is no doubt theophoric. Cp. the Welsh saints Sul (Tyssul), Suliau (Tyssilio), Sulien (F. G. Holweck *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* St Louis, Mo. 1924 pp. 939, 994).

(2) *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 39 (deeply incised on fragments of an architrave in lettering of *s.* ii A.D.) C. Protaciu[s Libo Ti. C]laudius Ligur [sacer(dotes) restituto c]olegio longa seria [annorum abolito aedem] | deae Sulis M[inerv]ae nimia vetust[ate conlapsam sua pec]unia refici et repingi cur[arunt idemque probarunt].

(3) *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 42 (on an altar figured by H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 48 pl. 14) deae Su|li Min(ervae) et nu|min(ibus) Aug(ustorum) C. | Curiatius | Saturninus | 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) | pro se su|isque | v · s · l · m.

[3] The fullest collection, though marred by a few misprints, is that of F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 723 f.

[4] Solin. 22. 10 circuitus Brittaniae quadragies octies septuaginta quinque milia sunt (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 102). in quo spatio magna et multa flumina, fontes calidi opiparo exculti apparatu ad usus mortalium: quibus fontibus praesul est Minervae numen (E. Hübner in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii. 24 notes that cod. Sangallensis reads *praesule est* and proposes to restore *quibus fontibus praeest Sul(is) Minervae numen.* Ingenious and possibly right), in cuius aede perpetui ignes numquam canescunt in favillas, sed, ubi ignis tabuit, vertit (*vertitur* codd. G. B. P[2]., Westerm., anon. Leid. Voss.) in globos saxeos.

Galfridus Monmutensis (Geoffrey of Monmouth), writing between 1136 and 1139 A.D., works this passage of Solinus into his fabulous *Historia regum Britanniae* 2. 10 successit deinde Bladud filius, tractavitque regnum viginti annis: hic aedificavit urbem Kaerbadum quae nunc Badus nuncupatur, fecitque in illa calida balnea ad usus mortalium apta. quibus praefecit numen Minervae: in cujus aede inextinguibiles posuit ignes, qui nunquam deficiebant in favillas, sed ex quo tabescere incipiebant, in saxeos globos vertebantur.

H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 3 (after T. D. Whitaker(?) in *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine* 1801 x. 232 f. 'loose coals fused into nodules') offers a simple explanation of the concluding sentence in Solinus and Galfridus. The fire was not built of wood, which turned to white ashes, but of coal, which burnt into cinders. He adds that coal 'is to the present day dug up at Newton St. Loe, three miles from BATH: a point which is the more noteworthy, since if the interpretation be correct, it is the first mention of the use of coal in Britain.' To the same effect San-Marte (A. Schulz) in his edition of Geoffrey (Halle 1854) p. 220 and R. G. Collingwood—J. N. L. Myres *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* Oxford 1936 p. 232.

On the Celtic Minerva see also E. Windisch *Das keltische Brittannien bis zu Kaiser Arthur* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1912 xix. 6) Leipzig 1912 p. 96 f.

Fig. 698.

Fig. 699.

service of mankind. The power presiding over these springs is Minerva. In her temple are perpetual fires which never pass into white embers, for as soon as the fire has died down it turns into stony nodules.'

The local cult was, during the Roman occupation, thoroughly classicised, and a noble bronze head (figs. 698, 699)[1] 'found under Stall Street in 1727, close to the south-west corner of the Baths' may well be that of Sulis Minerva herself[2]. It was originally fitted with a helmet, beneath which the hair escaped about the brows. This, and the long neck clear of drapery, recall Niketas'[3] description of the great Bronze Athena on the Akropolis at Athens. Indeed, there are so many marks of Pheidiac style here present—the long narrow eyes, the emphasised lower lid, the absence of overlap, the strong broad nose, the short upper lip—that we need not hesitate to recognise a Roman copy of that famous original. The surface bears numerous traces of thick gilding, and when first set up the whole statue must have been a resplendent sight, the sun-goddess in a glory of gold[4].

Among the architectural remains of her temple[5], discovered under the Pump Room in 1790, are large portions of a triangular relief (pl. lxvi and fig. 700) thus described by Mr A. J. Taylor[6]:

'Fragments from the tympanum of a temple pediment. When complete, the sculpture represented a group of arms, viz., a shield bearing a head inside oakwreaths, upheld by two winged Victories; a helmet with large cheekpieces and a crest like an animal's head; something, possibly a standard, with an owl perched on it, and, to the extreme right what may be the traces of a floriated cuirass. The head on the shield is marked by an astonishing and almost barbaric vigour and both in style and in vehement character stands almost if not quite alone among the sculptures of the western Roman Empire. It has wings and snakes in the hair and, though bearded, may represent some

[1] H. M. Scarth *Aquæ Solis* London 1864 p. 25 ff. with Frontispiece, J. Hatton *The Book of Bath*[3] s.l., s.a. p. 17 fig., A. J. Taylor *The Roman Baths of Bath* Bath 1933 p. 40 no. 31 with 2 figs. (full-face and profile). I am indebted to Mr Taylor for the photographs from which my figs. 698, 699 were made.

[2] This is the conclusion justly reached by Mr Taylor *op. cit.* p. 40. Mrs D. P. Dobson *The Archaeology of Somerset* London 1931 p. 150 is content to say 'the bronze female head, possibly that of Minerva.'

[3] Niket. Chon. 359 C p. 739 Bekker (cp. *supra* p. 225 n. 1) ὁ δέ γε αὐχὴν ἀχίτων ὢν καὶ πρὸς τὸ δολιχόδειρον ἀνατεινόμενος ἄμαχον εἰς ἡδονὴν θέαμα ἦν...ἡ δὲ κόμη ἐς πλέγμα διεστραμμένη καὶ δεσμουμένη ὄπισθεν, ὅση κέχυτο ἐκ μετώπων, τρυφή τις ἦν ὀφθαλμῶν, μὴ ἐπίπαν τῷ κράνει συνεχομένη, ἀλλά τι καὶ παρεμφαίνουσα τοῦ πλοχμοῦ.

[4] On the impression produced by golden statues see S. Eitrem in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1936 xvi—xvii. 122 f.

[5] A restoration of its tetrastyle Corinthian *façade* is given by S. Lysons *Remains of two Temples and other Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath* London 1802 p. 2 ff. col. pl. 5.

[6] A. J. Taylor *op. cit.* p. 23 no. 1 with pl. (part of which = my fig. 700).

Pedimental relief from the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath.

See page 862 ff. *with figs.* 700, 701.

variation on the common Medusa, whose head often appears on shields. This Medusa, if such it be, and the owl suggest that the temple was dedicated to Minerva, goddess of Bath.'

The *Gorgóneion* of Sulis Minerva (fig. 701)[1] has been diversely interpreted. G. Scharf[2] in 1855 declared that it is not a *Gorgóneion* at all, but just a personification of the Hot Spring itself. Most critics admit that it is indeed the head of Medousa, but a Medousa of a peculiar, provincial type. F. Haverfield and H. Stuart Jones[3], to account for the beard and moustaches, suggest the contamination of Medousa with Phobos. R. G. Collingwood[4] derives the type, 'glaring, ferocious, apotropaic,' from 'the human or demonic masks of early La Tène art,' and hints at the possibility that the Bath sculptor may have been no Briton, but 'Priscus of Chartres[5] or one of his Gaulish colleagues.' My own belief is that the *Gorgóneion* here as elsewhere[6] is treated as a representation of the sun. Sulis was a sun-goddess. The centre of a pediment is the right place for a solar disk[7]. The head itself has 'locks standing out flame-wise' and a 'fiery suffering expression[8].' If in Rhodes the head of Helios could be assimilated to the *Gorgóneion*[9], I conceive that at Aquae Sulis (Aquae Solis some called it[10]) the *Gorgóneion* could be assimilated to the head of Sol[11]. Thus, in a sense, the Gorgon ends

[1] From a photograph by Mr S. R. Lewin kindly procured for me by Mr A. J. Taylor.

[2] G. Scharf in *Archaeologia* 1855 xxxvi. 194 ff. The flowing locks are streams of water; the great hollow shield is the basin in which they collect; the two wreaths are oak-groves surrounding the spot. Etc. H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 22 f. is inclined to follow suit.

[3] F. Haverfield—H. Stuart Jones 'Some representative examples of Romano-British Sculpture' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 ii. 134 f. with pl. 4. On Phobos in relation to the Gorgon see P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2386—2395 figs. 1—9.

[4] R. G. Collingwood—J. N. L. Myres *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* Oxford 1936 pp. 255, 256.

[5] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4661 (found at Bath) Priscus | Touti f. | lapidariu[s], | civis Car[nu]|tenus Su[li] | deae v.[s.].

[6] *Supra* p. 845 n. 9.

[7] *Supra* i. 293 ff. figs. 213—218.

[8] Mrs D. P. Dobson *The Archaeology of Somerset* London 1931 p. 148.

[9] *Supra* p. 855 figs. 691—693.

[10] In *itin. Anton. Aug.* p. 486, 3 Wesseling (p. 74 Cuntz) Aquis Sulis m. p. VI cod. B (Parisinus Regius 4807, *s.* ix A.D.) reads *solis*. So also the *tabula Peutingeriana* (on which see *supra* p. 142 f.) segmentum i. 5 *aquissolis*.

[11] This would be a concession to Roman sentiment. In any sun-cult the Romans would expect some indication of a masculine Sol. It is worth observing that fragments of two smaller pediments were found at Bath, one showing the bust of Luna in a concave panel (H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 24 pl. 6, A. J. Taylor *op. cit.* p. 29 no. 5 fig.), the other three rays of a radiate Sol in a similar medallion (J. Carter *The Ancient Architecture of England* London 1795 (*ib.*[2] London 1837) p. 9 pl. 9 fig. A, S. Lysons *Remains of two Temples and other Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath* London 1802 p. 8 col. pl. 9 fig. 6, G. Scharf in *Archaeologia* 1855 xxxvi. 198 f., H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 24).

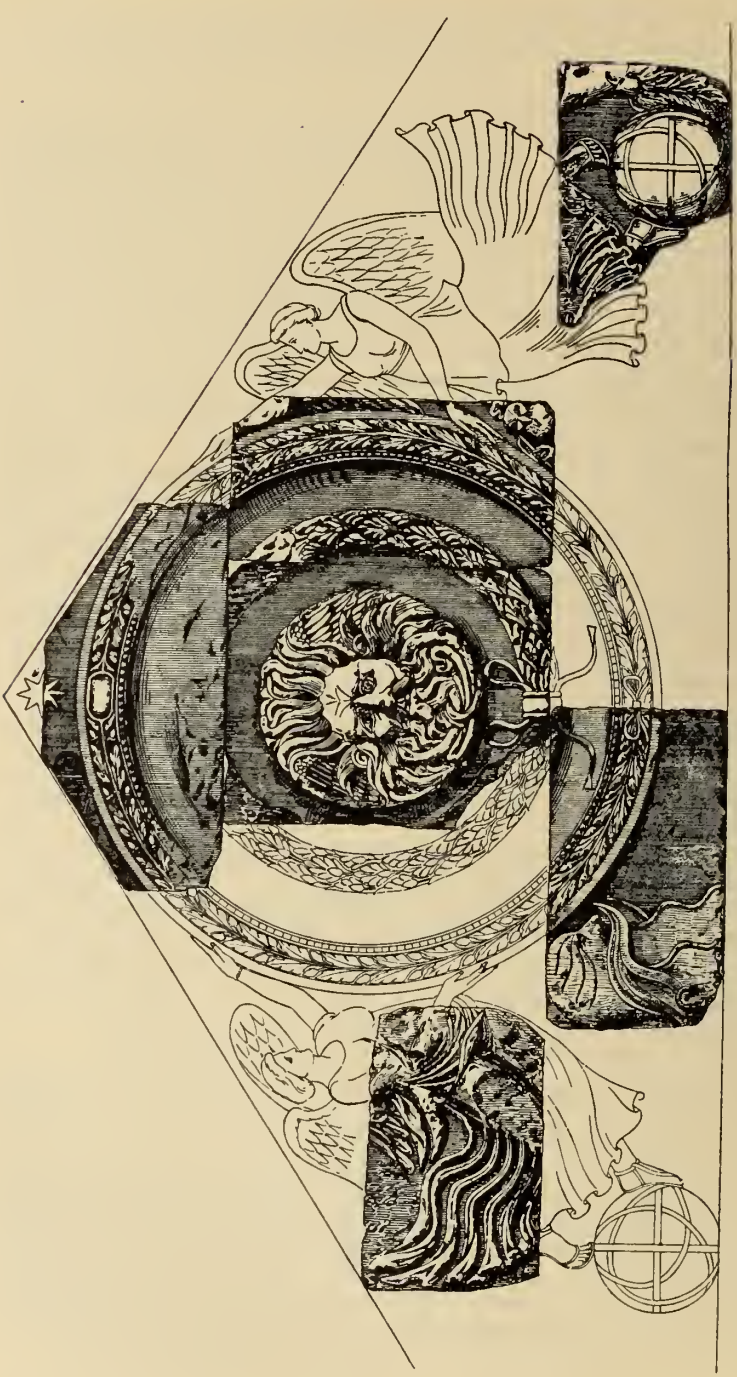


Fig. 700.

where she began. For early Greek *Gorgóneia*, by way of added horror, were apt to grow a beard[1]; and here we have a late

Fig. 701.

Roman *Gorgóneion* producing the same effect by the self-same means.

[1] A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1707, 1715, 1718. *Supra* p. 848.

(5) The *aigís* of Athena transferred to Zeus.

It would seem, then, that the *aigís* was, and had been from time immemorial, an attribute of Athena. That pre-Greek mountain-mother was wont to manifest herself as Snake or Owl, and on attaining human form continued to wear the old snake-skin or owl-skin as a potent relic of her animal estate. Further, the snake's head or owl's head tended from the first to take on the apotropaic features of the Libyan Gorgon: as a *Gorgóneion* it had, we saw, quite a history of its own.

If such was the story of the *aigís*, one point is still obscure. Should we not expect to find that in the earliest extant literature of the Greeks the *aigís* would be treated as the exclusive property of Athena? And yet that is far from being the case. Athena wears it, of course[1]. But so also does Apollon[2], and even uses it to wrap round the dead body of Hektor[3]. More than that. Among the pre-Homeric appellatives embedded in Homeric verse[4] few are so frequent or so universally recognised as Zeus *aigíochos*, Zeus the '*aigís*-bearer[5],' which in *Iliad* and *Odyssey* together occurs just fifty times[6], but is never once applied to Athena[7]. How, we may well ask, did Zeus come thus to usurp the sacred prerogative of Athena? Fully to answer that question would demand a better knowledge than we possess of the momentous transition from Aegean to Achaean worship[8]. Homer at most drops a single significant hint:

> The copper-smith Hephaistos gave the same
> For Zeus to wear and rout mankind withal[9].

[1] *Il.* 2. 446 ff., 5. 738 ff., 18. 203 f., 21. 400 f.

[2] *Il.* 15. 307 ff., 318, 360 f.

[3] *Il.* 24. 20 f. [4] *Supra* i. 444, ii. 384 n. 0, iii. 781.

[5] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1, iii. 13.

[6] A. Gehring *Index Homericus* Lipsiae 1891 p. 23 (almost always in the gen. αἰγιόχοιο, but *Od.* 9. 275 gen. αἰγιόχου, and *Il.* 2. 375 nom. αἰγίοχος Κρονίδης Ζεύς and *Il.* 8. 287, *Od.* 15. 245 nom. Ζεύς τ' αἰγίοχος).

[7] The nearest she gets to it is in such phrases as Ἀθηναίη κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο (*Il.* 5. 733, 8. 384, *Od.* 13. 252, 371, 24. 529, 547 etc.), θύγατερ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο (*Il.* 5. 815), Ζεύς τ' αἰγίοχος καὶ Ἀθήνη (*Il.* 8. 287). See H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 41.

[8] For what may be reasonably conjectured with regard to this transitional period see especially the works of M. P. Nilsson *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* Lund 1927, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* Cambridge 1932, *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933. There is a helpful statement of its outstanding problems by A. W. Gomme in E. Eyre *European Civilization its Origin and Development* Oxford 1935 i. 507—538.

[9] *Il.* 15. 309 f. ἦν ἄρα χαλκεὺς | Ἥφαιστος Διὶ δῶκε φορήμεναι ἐς φόβον ἀνδρῶν.
Aristonikos of Alexandreia, a famous Homeric scholar who lived in the time of

So Zeus got his *aigís* from Hephaistos, the consort of Athena[1]. Our problem begins to solve itself. We shall not be far wrong if we maintain the following positions: (1) The *aigís* belonged by right to the pre-Hellenic Athena. (2) When the Achaeans arrived with their all-conquering Zeus, he must needs take over the magical garb of the goddess, and the minstrels coined for him that persuasive epithet *aigíochos*. (3) For all that, the common people were not persuaded, and—apart from one half-hearted attempt on the part of an Ionian vase-painter[2]—their artists never equipped Zeus with an *aigís* so long as Hellas was genuinely Hellenic. (4) But, when Hellenic art gave place to Hellenistic culture, Homer once more dominated the imagination of men and Zeus *aigíochos* regained his canonical supremacy[3].

(6) The thunderbolt of Zeus transferred to Athena.

If Athena in Hellenistic times ceded her *aigís* to Olympian Zeus, Olympian Zeus had not long before lent his thunderbolt to Athena. And indeed Athena was no unworthy recipient. The western part of her 'ancient temple' on the Athenian Akropolis[4] was devoted to the lightning-powers—Hephaistos of the double axe[5], Erechtheus the 'Cleaver[6],' Poseidon with his fork[7]. Was this perhaps the point of Athena's strange boast at the close of the *Eumenides*[8] 'I alone of the gods know the keys of the store-chamber in which the thunderbolt is sealed up'?

Euripides is more outspoken than Aischylos. In the *Troiades*[9] Athena, because Aias son of Oïleus has torn Kassandra from her sanctuary, is minded to take vengeance on the Greeks.

Augustus and Tiberius (L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 964—966), was impressed by the passage, as we gather from schol. A. *Il.* 15. 310 ἡ διπλῆ (*sc.* the marginal mark >, which was tantamount to our *N.B.*) ὅτι σαφῶς Διὶ ἐσκεύασται ἡ αἰγίς, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν Ἀθηνᾶς, καθὼς οἱ νεώτεροι ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν.

[1] *Supra* pp. 189 ff., 224 ff., 236, 736.

[2] *Supra* ii. 712 f. pl. xxx.

[3] *Supra* p. 533 ff.

[4] Paus. 1. 26. 5, on which see *supra* p. 758.

[5] *Supra* pp. 200, 235, 736. For Athena herself holding the double axe see *supra* ii. 625 f. figs. 529, 530, 532, iii. 190 n. 6 fig. 100.

[6] *Supra* ii. 793 f., iii. 737.

[7] *Supra* ii. 789 ff., 850, iii. 736.

[8] Aisch. *Eum.* 827 f. καὶ κλῆδας οἶδα δώματος μόνη θεῶν | ἐν ᾧ κεραυνός ἐστιν ἐσφραγισμένος.

[9] Eur. *Tro.* 77 ff.

She discloses her design to Poseidon and explains what will happen

> When homeward bound they sail from Ilion.
> On them will Zeus send rain and endless hail
> And darkling storm-winds from the upper sky—
> Saith he will give me too his fiery bolt
> To smite the Achaeans and to burn their ships.

Sundry later writers state that in the event Athena struck Aias with the lightning[1], and Heron of Alexandreia[2], taking his cue from the *Nauplios* by Philon of Byzantion[3], describes how the story was staged for his marionettes. In the fourth scene of their little play Nauplios the wrecker raised his torch, while Athena stood beside him. In the fifth and concluding scene Aias was shown swimming towards the shore, when, with a crash of mimic thunder, the fatal bolt fell[4] and the puppet hero disappeared in the waves.

It is not, however, till the third[5] century B.C. that Athena is actually represented with the thunderbolt in her hand. Antigonos Gonatas (277—239 B.C.)—or, less probably[6], his nephew Antigonos Doson (229—220 B.C.)—issued imposing tetradrachms with the reverse type (figs. 702, 703)[7] of an archaistic Athena, seen from behind, who bears a Gorgon-shield on her left arm and brandishes

[1] Verg. *Aen.* 1. 39 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 116. See further J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 938 f.

[2] Heron αὐτοματοποιϊκά 22. 3 ff. (i. 412 ff. Schmidt).

[3] *Id. ib.* 20. 1 (i. 404 Schmidt), 20. 3 (i. 408 Schmidt).

K. Tittel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 996—1000 contends that Heron's life should probably be dated in the beginning of *s.* i B.C., *ib.* 997 f. that he was a younger contemporary of the mechanician Philon, and *ib.* 1051 that, with a few alterations, he simply took over Philon's representation of the Nauplios-myth.

[4] We are not told that Athena herself flung the bolt. But that is because the text at this crucial point is defective: 22. 6 (i. 414 Schmidt) ἡ τῶν νεῶν ἔκπτωσις ἐφαίνετο καὶ ὁ Αἴας νηχόμενος < ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐπὶ (*suppl.* H. Diels) > μηχανῆς τε καὶ ἄνωθεν τοῦ πίνακος ἐξήρθη, καὶ βροντῆς γενομένης ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πίνακι κεραυνὸς ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Αἴαντα, καὶ ἠφανίσθη αὐτοῦ τὸ ζῴδιον.

[5] Browning was guilty of more than one slip when, confusing the third-century demagogue Lachares with the fourth-century sculptor Leochares, he made Aristophanes declare that 'Lachares the sculptor' had carved a naked Pallas and remark: 'Moreover, Pallas wields the thunderbolt | Yet has not struck the artist all this while' (*Aristophanes' Apology* ed. 1889 p. 232). The whole context has been convincingly cleared up by C. T. Seltman in a paper on 'The Dismantling of the Pheidian Parthenos' read to the Cambridge Philological Society on Nov. 3, 1932 (*Cambridge University Reporter* 1932—1933 p. 337 f. = *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 1932 cli—cliii. 12 f.).

[6] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 231 f.

[7] *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 340 pl. 23, 19, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 70 pl. 134, 2 and 3, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 75 pl. 41, 5, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 231 fig. 144, *id. Coins of the Greeks* p. 62 pl. 35, 3, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 223, 260 pl. 50, 8. Figs. 702 and 703 are from two specimens in my collection.

a thunderbolt with her right. An exceptional specimen at Florence (fig. 704)[1], believed by Svoronos to have been struck at Athens[2], shows the same goddess as seen from in front, advancing to the right, not the left. On tetradrachms of Philip v (220—178 B.C.) she reappears, a comparatively clumsy figure in the usual stance[3].

She is commonly called Athena *Alkís*[4] and identified with the Athena *Alkís* or, better, *Alkídemos* worshipped at Pella[5]. But the goddess of Pella, to judge from the coins of her town (figs. 705, 706)[6],

Fig. 702.

Fig. 703.

Fig. 704.

Fig. 705.

Fig. 706.

[1] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 21, 23 (=my fig. 704). A similar reverse, but not from the same die, is found on another *unicum* at Berlin (W. W. Tarn *Antigonos Gonatas* Oxford 1913 Frontispiece and p. 174 n. 20). Two further specimens are noted by Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 129 f. no. 69.

[2] On account of the small *kálathos* behind Athena (Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 130 n. 21 a): but C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 260 expresses himself with caution. We await an authoritative statement from Mr E. T. Newell.

[3] *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 73 pl. 135, 1, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 76 pl. 41, 8, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 232 fig. 145, *id. Coins of the Greeks* p. 62 pl. 35, 6, Sir G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 pp. 108, 132 f. no. 79 pl. 10, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 224 f. pl. 51, 1.

[4] So by numismatic writers in general (B. V. Head, Sir G. Macdonald, Sir G. F. Hill, S. W. Grose, etc.). W. W. Tarn *Antigonos Gonatas* Oxford 1913 pp. 177 n. 31, 200 says 'Athene Alkis or Alkidemos.'

[5] Liv. 42. 51 Pellae, in vetere regia Macedonum, hoc consilium erat....ipse (*sc.* Perseus, last king of Makedonia) centum hostiis sacrificio regaliter Minervae, quam vocant Alcidemon, facto cum purpuratorum et satellitum manu profectus Citium est. So W. Weissenborn (ed. 2 Lipsiae 1930). Older editors, *e.g.* A. Drakenborch (ed. Lugd. Batav.—Amstelaedami 1743), had printed *Alcidem.* The right reading was already divined by Turnebus (1512—1565).

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, etc. p. 90 no. 5 fig. (=my fig. 705), *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 362 pl. 25, 2, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 90 f. pl. 140, 4 and 5, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 244. Fig. 706 is from a specimen of mine.

brandished a spear, not a thunderbolt, and in this guise appears already on tetradrachms issued by Ptolemy i Soter *c.* 314 B.C. in the name of the young prince Alexander iv (figs. 707, 708)[1] and copied by Demetrios Poliorketes[2], Agathokles[3], and Pyrrhos[4]. She was therefore a warlike goddess comparable with the Thessalian

Fig. 707.

Fig. 708.

Fig. 709.

[1] *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 419 f. pl. 363, 2—10 ('Athene Promachos'), Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 58 pl. 28, 21 ('Pallas Promachos...perhaps a representation of the statue of Athena Alkis at Pella'), *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 848 f. fig. 374 (wrongly described as 'Athena Promachos, hurling fulmen'), *id. Coins of the Greeks* p. 51 pl. 28, 19 ('Athena fighting...a representation of the statue of Athena Alkis at Pella'), Sir G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 107 ff. no. 62 pl. 8 ('Athena...wielding spear in r.'), C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 223, 240 pl. 58, 2 and 3 ('a fighting Athena...a thunder-weapon in her upraised right hand'). Figs. 707 and 708 are from specimens of mine which show clearly that the supposed thunderbolt is meant for a spear.

[2] J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 301 pl. IΔ', 9 a gold *statér* with *obv.* Nike on prow, *rev.* an archaistic Athena advancing to left in the *Prómachos*-attitude with Gorgon-shield on left arm and spear in raised right hand.

[3] *Supra* p. 784 n. 7 with fig. 580.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 112 pl. 20, 12, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 13 pl. 31, 18, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 271 pl. 188, 7—10, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 84 pl. 46, 29, *id. Coins of the Greeks* p. 67 pl. 37, 18, Sir G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 162 pl. 12, 4, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 223, 247 pl. 60, 12.

During the presence of Pyrrhos in Sicily the Syracusans, by way of compliment to their gallant ally, struck bronze coins which have for reverse type Athena advancing to the right with uplifted spear. But not unfrequently the compliment was intensified and the effect heightened by the substitution of a thunderbolt for the spear. See *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 206 f. with fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 243 f. nos. 216 f. and 218 ff., *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 344 pl. 104, 6, 7 and 8—10, Sir G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 163 f. fig. 46.

Athena *Itonía* (fig. 709)[1]. Perhaps we may claim that Antigonos sought to magnify the Athena of Pella by giving her the thunderbolt, just as his Boeotian contemporaries added a thunderbolt to their own winged form of *Itonía*[2].

Athena fulminant on the bronze coinage of Athens in pre-Roman times (fig. 710)[3] may reflect some temporary *rapprochement* between the Athenians and Antigonos[4].

In any case the type was attractive and travelled far afield. It is found, under Attic influence, on a drachm of Phaselis in Lykia struck *c.* 190—168 B.C. (fig. 711)[5]. It was very popular with the Graeco-Indian kings from Menandros to Gondopharnes[6] (figs. 712,

Fig. 710.

Fig. 711.

Fig. 712.

Fig. 713.

Fig. 714.

[1] The evidence, literary, epigraphic, and numismatic, for Athena Ἰτωνία in Thessaly ('die Heimstätte der Göttin') is put together by Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2374 f. For attempts to locate her temple see A. J. B. Wace, J. P. Droop, and M. S. Thompson in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 197, 199, W. Vollgraff *ib.* p. 224, F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 175 f. Silver coins (double *Victoriati*) of the Thessalian League from 196 to 146 B.C. have *obv.* the head of Zeus wreathed with oak, *rev.* Athena *Itonía*, with spear and shield, advancing to right (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 1 ff. pl. 1, 1 and 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 456 f. pl. 30, 12 and 13, and especially the fine series in *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 225 ff. pl. 176, 13—180, 5, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 311 fig. 177. Fig. 709 is from a specimen of mine).

[2] *Supra* p. 820 n. 1 fig. 627.

[3] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 22, 53—58. Cp. for similar types in imperial times *ib.* pl. 84, 29, 30, 36—42. Fig. 710 is from *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 84 pl. 15, 2 = Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 135 pl. AA, 14, cp. E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 386 figs. 2 and 3.

[4] See W. W. Tarn *Antigonos Gonatas* Oxford 1913 for the political situation in 282/1 (p. 127), in 276—273 (p. 218), in 270 (p. 290), and later (pp. 205, 223).

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. lxvii, 81 pl. 16, 13 (= my fig. 711).

[6] P. Gardner in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings Index p. 181 ('Pallas, thundering'), G. Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 571, 588 f. ('*Athene Promachos*').

713)[1]. And it appealed of course to Domitian (fig. 714)[2], a notorious devotee of Minerva[3].

If Athena thus borrowed the thunderbolt of Zeus, while Zeus appropriated the *aigís* of Athena, small wonder that the populace came to regard the goddess as second self to the god[4], and associated the two in not a few Hellenistic cults[5]. A sample will serve. P. Aelius Aristeides, himself apparently a priest of Zeus[6] and not likely to minimise the honour due to his deity, in 164 A.D.[7] pronounced an encomium of Athena at Pergamon where Daughter and Sire were worshipped side by side[8]. I translate a few sentences from beginning and end of the oration just to show his drift:

'It seems to me that she was the deity actually foremost in honour, or assuredly one of the few who then stood first. That is why Zeus could not have ordered all things aright, had he not set Athena by his side as partner and counsellor. She alone wears the *aigís* perpetually. She alone arrays herself for

[1] Fig. 712 is from the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 44 pl. 11, 7 Menandros; fig. 713, from *ib.* p. 78 pl. 18, 2 Azes.

See further J. P. Vogel 'Études de Sculpture Bouddhique iv, Le Vajrapāni Gréco-Bouddhique' in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 1909 ix. 15 ff., A. Grünwedel 'Athene-Vajrapāṇi' in the *Jahrbuch der königlich preuszischeu Kunstsammlungen* 1916 xxxvii. 174—180 with 5 figs.

Mr C. T. Seltman first drew my attention to the seal-impression of Athena fulminant, found at Niya in Chinese Turkestan, which is figured on the title-page of several works by Sir Aurel Stein, *e.g.* M. A. Stein *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* London 1903 p. 396 f. title-vignette and fig. A on p. 395 a Kharoshthi document on a double oblong tablet (N. xv. 166) with clay impress of a Hellenistic gem, which shows an archaising Athena to right with uplifted thunderbolt and Gorgon-shield.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Emp. ii. 447 Index. Fig. 714 is from an *aureus* of 83 A.D. published *ib.* ii. 306 no. 42 pl. 60, 10.

[3] Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] i. 297 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 558, G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2990, *id. Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 255. Among the passages quoted in support are Mart. *ep.* 8. 1. 4 Pallas Caesariana, Suet. *Dom.* 15 Minervam, quam superstitiose colebat, somniavit excedere sacrario† negantemque (Stephanus *corr.* negantem F. van Oudendorp cj. negantem quoque C. L. Roth assumes lacuna before negantemque) ultra se tueri eum posse, quod exarmata esset a Iove, Dion Cass. 67. 1 *θεῶν μὲν γὰρ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἠγαλλε, κ.τ.λ.*, 67. 16 (Domitian dreamed) *τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἣν ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι ἱδρυμένην εἶχε, τὰ ὅπλα ἀποβεβληκέναι καὶ ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἵππων μελάνων ἐς χάσμα ἐσπίπτειν*, Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 7. 24 p. 142 Kayser *ἑτέρου δ' αὖ φήσαντος γραφὴν φεύγειν, ἐπειδὴ θύων ἐν Τάραντι, οὗ ἦρχε, μὴ προσέθηκε ταῖς δημοσίαις εὐχαῖς, ὅτι Δομετιανὸς Ἀθηνᾶς εἴη παῖς, "σὺ μὲν ᾠήθης," ἔφη, "μὴ ἂν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκεῖν, παρθένον οὖσαν τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἠγνόεις δ', οἶμαι, ὅτι ἡ θεὸς αὕτη Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ δράκοντα ἔτεκε."*

[4] Cp. *supra* p. 737.

[5] F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2001 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1217 ff.

[6] *Supra* ii. 127.

[7] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 702, 1494.

[8] *Supra* i. 118 f., ii. 955.

the Homeric warfare in her Father's armour. And as in a conjurer's hall Zeus and the goddess appear together in the same equipment[1].'

* * * *

'To sum up, Athena's portion is the *agorá* of the gods, where all business is transacted. Hence she is nearest to Zeus, and, whatever be the matter in hand, the same decision always commends itself to both. Here I suppose I ought to stop; for my speech has returned to its starting point, nay rather has reached its goal. If one claimed that she was the very Power of Zeus, one would not—I contend—be far wrong. Why then go into detail by expounding her particular activities? Enough to say that the works of Zeus are works common to Zeus and to Athena[2].'

(i) Zeus *Hýes.*

The whole topic of Athena and her relation to Zeus, which has occupied us for the last two hundred pages, has been (I am well aware) something of a digression. It arose naturally, indeed inevitably, from a consideration of the Parthenon pediment, the design of which we found[3] to be based, at least in part, on the curious ritual of the *Bouphónia*, an Attic equivalent for the rites of Zeus *Hyétios.*

If now we rejoin the high-road and pursue the main line of our investigation, we have next to ask whether there is any further evidence for the worship of Zeus *Hyétios*, 'the Rainy,' in the Greek area.

A gloss of the lexicographer Hesychios[4], echoed by the grammarian Theognostos[5], explains that *Hýes* (perhaps better

[1] Aristeid. *or.* 2. 10 (i. 14 Dindorf) *δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ πρεσβυτάτη θεῶν φῦναι, ἡ κομιδῇ τινῶν εὐαριθμήτων καὶ τῶν πρώτων ὄντων ἐν τῷ τότε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως ἕκαστα ὁ Ζεὺς διεῖλεν, εἰ μὴ παρέδρόν τε καὶ σύμβουλον τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν παρεκαθίσατο. καὶ γάρ τοι μόνη μὲν τὴν αἰγίδα δι' αἰῶνος φορεῖ, μόνη δὲ τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ὅπλοις εἰς τὸν Ὁμηρικὸν πόλεμον κοσμεῖται· οἷα δὲ ἐν αὐλῇ θαυματοποιῶν ἅμα τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὅ τε Ζεὺς καὶ ἡ θεὸς χρῆται.*

[2] *Id. ib.* 16 (i. 27 Dindorf) *ὡς δ' εἰπεῖν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ, τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς μέρος ἡ θεῶν ἀγορὰ < οὗ (ins.* Casaubon) > *πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ πράγματα. ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦ Διός ἐστιν ἐγγυτάτω καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἀεὶ ταὐτὸν ἐν ἀμφοῖν δοκεῖ. κάμοὶ πεπαῦσθαι καλὸν ἐνταῦθά που. ἀνελήλυθε γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ λόγος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐλήλυθε πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἔσχατον. σχεδὸν γὰρ δύναμιν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι λέγων τις αὐτὴν ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοι. ὥστε τί δεῖ μικρολογεῖσθαι τὰς ἐν μέρει πράξεις αὐτῆς διηγούμενον, ὁπότ' ἔξεστι τὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἔργα κοινὰ τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι φῆσαι καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς;*

With the description of Athena as *δύναμιν τοῦ Διὸς* cp. the stone at Thyateira inscribed Διὸς | Κερανν[ίου] | *δύναμις* (*supra* ii. 808 n. o (o)).

On *δύναμις* as a Greek equivalent of *mana* see Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 108 ff. and the literature there cited. Later developments of the 'Mana-Begriff' are discussed by O. Schmitz 'Der Begriff ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ bei Paulus' in the *Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann* Tübingen 1927 pp. 139—167.

[3] *Supra* pp. 656 f., 661 f., 720, 733, 737.

[4] Hesych. *"Υης· Ζεὺς ὄμβριος.* See M. Schmidt in ed.[1] *Id.* in ed.[2] prints *Ὑῆς* for *ὗης* cod.

[5] Theognost. *can.* 104 in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 18, 30 *"Υης Ζεύς, ὄμβριος· υἱός* (*leg.* *"Υης, Ζεὺς ὄμβριος· υἱός*).

accentuated *Hyês*[1]) means Zeus *Ómbrios*, 'the Showery[2].' Hesychios, a trustworthy source, unfortunately omits to mention the locality where Zeus was called *Hýes*. But in the preceding gloss he states that *Hyé* was a name given to Semele 'from the rain[3].' And *Hýe* as a name for Semele is attested by Pherekydes as early as the fifth century B.C.[4] It is therefore tolerably certain that *Hýes* and *Hýe*[5] (perhaps *Hyês* and *Hyé*) were Thraco-Phrygian appellatives of the sky-god whom the Greeks named Zeus and of the earth-goddess whom they named Semele. The one rained, the other was rained upon.

But if this divine pair was really Thraco-Phrygian, we should expect them, in accordance with Thraco-Phrygian belief[6], to have had a son bearing the same name and evincing the same nature as his father. And that is precisely what happened. Dionysos—as we have already had occasion to note[7]—was called *Hýes*, a name variously explained by the ancients from Kleidemos[8] (*c.* 350 B.C.[9]) onwards, but always in allusion to rain[10]. When Aischines, grown to manhood, capered through the streets, with a posse of Sabazian revellers behind him, shouting

'*Hýes Áttes, Áttes Hýes*[11],'

he was, I take it[12], much like the mystics of Eleusis[13], raising the old-world cry

'Rain Father[14], Father Rain,'

not, as Sir James Frazer[15] conjectures, calling Attis a Pig!

[1] Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* 3 (i. 59, 20 f. Lentz) *τὸ δὲ Ὑῆς περισπᾶται ἔχον τὸ ῦ ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ Θυῆς, Κυῆς ἰσοσυλλάβως κλινόμενα.*

[2] *Supra* p. 525 ff.

[3] Hesych. Ὑή· ἡ Σεμέλη ἀπὸ τῆς (ὕ)σεως. *καὶ ὑὲ δειλέ* (*an leg. ὑέ· ἀπειλή*? cp. Souid. *ὑέ· ἀπειλὴ βραδυνόντων καὶ ἀνοιγνύναι κελευόντων*. W. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* viii. 66 c doubts the connexion).

[4] Pherekyd. *frag.* 46 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 84 Müller)=*frag.* 90 a—e (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 84 f. Jacoby). *Supra* ii. 274 f.

[5] H. Usener in his discussion of *Sondergötter* was the first to distinguish this primitive pair of rain-deities as Ὑης, Ὑη (*Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 46 f.).

[6] *Supra* ii. 287 f. [7] *Supra* ii. 275.

[8] Kleidemos *frag.* 2 (Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 42 f.) quoted *supra* ii. 275 n. 11.

[9] F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 591. [10] *Supra* ii. 275.

[11] Dem. *de cor.* 260. F. Blass ed.[4] (cited *supra* i. 392 n. 4, ii. 292 n. 3) reads *ὑῆς ἄττης ἄττης ὑῆς*. But J. G. Baiter and H. Sauppe print *ὗης ἄττης ἄττης ὗης* without recorded variant.

[12] My explanation was long since anticipated by Michael Psellos (*supra* ii. 292) *περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν δικῶν* p. 109 Boissonade (quoted *supra* i. 399 n. 3, cp. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 88 *ὗις ὦ Ζεῦ Σαβάζιε, ὗις* 'du mögest regnen').

[13] *Supra* p. 299. [14] *Supra* ii. 292 f.

[15] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 22 'Perhaps the cry of "Hyes

(j) Zeus and the Hail.

At this point something must be said about one special form of rain, the frozen pellets that we term hail. For hailstones provide an obvious transition from the soft beneficent raindrops to the harder and more formidable aerolites.

Hail bulks big in modern folk-lore[1]. It could scarcely be otherwise: fruit-grower and farmer know what damage it may do and are quite ready to try any and every superstitious recipe that promises to avert the threatened mischief.

Similarly in ancient times the peasant had recourse to a singular variety of expedients, which have been admirably collected and discussed by E. Fehrle[2].

Pliny the elder (25—79 A.D.), a man of vast erudition, is shy about mentioning irrational or indecorous detail, but here and there drops a significant hint, while on occasion his love of the marvellous prompts him to include this or that item of folk-belief. He says, for example:

nat. hist. 17. 267 Most people hold that hailstones can be averted by a charm, the wording of which I should not seriously venture to quote.

28. 29 There are charms against hailstorms and against various diseases and against burns, some even attested by experience, but I am prevented from giving particulars by a feeling of extreme diffidence in view of the great variety of men's minds. So each must form his own opinions about them as he may feel inclined.

Attes! Hyes Attes!" which was raised by the worshippers of Attis, may be neither more nor less than "Pig Attis! Pig Attis!"—*hyes* being possibly a Phrygian form of the Greek *hȳs*, "a pig."' *Id. ib.* n. 4 says that this suggestion was made to him in conversation by R. A. Neil of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

I note one scrap of evidence which might be pressed in favour of Frazer's etymology. At the Weber Sale in 1919 the British Museum bought the bronze statuette (·075^{m} long by ·055^{m} high) of a boar standing on a thin base-plate. The figure is of poorish workmanship and is inscribed along the left side of the body in late lettering MYPTINHΘЄ| ΩCABAZIΩ. May we infer that Myrtine thought of Sabazios himself as a Boar?

[1] Two monographs are deserving of special mention: (1) G. Bellucci *La grandine nell' Umbria*, con note esplicative e comparative e con illustrazioni (*Tradizioni popolari italiane* no. 1) Perugia 1903 pp. 1—136 (now out of print). (2) The rich collection of classified facts contributed by Stegemann to the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1304—1320 ('Hagel, Hagelzauber').

[2] E. Fehrle 'Antiker Hagelzauber. Ein Kapitel der Geoponiker' in *Alemannia* Freiburg i. B. 1912 Dritte Folge iv. 13—27, *id. Studien zu den griechischen Geoponikern* (ΣTOIXEIA iii) Leipzig—Berlin 1920 pp. 7—26 (*Geoponika* 1. 14 'Schutz gegen Hagel').

28. 77 Hailstorms and whirlwinds, they say, are driven off if the monthly course be exposed to the actual lightning-flashes. Thus the violence of the sky is averted, and storms at sea even without the courses.

37. 124 It is said too that this stone (*sc.* the amethyst) averts hail, and locusts likewise if a prayer be added, which they show you.

More explicit are the directions given by the *Geoponika*[1], a farmer's handbook, which devotes two chapters to the subject:

1. 14 Concerning Hail. By Africanus[2].

1. Let a woman in her courses exhibit her person to hail, and she turns it aside. All wild animals too flee such a sight[3].
2. Or take a virgin's first cloth and bury it in the midst of the place, and neither vine nor seeds will be injured by hail[4].
3. And if a strap from the skin of a seal be hung from a single conspicuous vine, hail will do no damage, as Philostratos observes in his *Heroïkós*[5].
4. Some say that, if you show a mirror to the impending cloud, the hail will pass by[6].

[1] This collection of excerpts on agriculture, made at the bidding of the Byzantine emperor Constantinus vii Porphyrogennetos (912—959 A.D.), was based on an older compilation by Cassianus Bassus, a sixth-century scholar, who himself drew from two fourth-century sources, the comparatively rational and scientific *συναγωγὴ γεωργικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων* by Vindonius Anatolius of Berytos, and the more magical and mystical *περὶ γεωργίας ἐκλογαί* by the younger Didymos of Alexandreia (see K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 pp. 261—263, L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1036, E. Oder *ib.* vii. 1221—1225, W. von Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 291 f.).

[2] From the *κεστοί* of Sex. Iulius Africanus (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 119), to be dated *c.* 200 A.D. (*supra* ii. 695 n. 0).

[3] E. Fehrle in *Alemannia* 1912 Dritte Folge iv. 15 cites Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 77 (*supra* p. 876).

[4] E. Fehrle *ib.* cites Plout. *symp.* 7. 2. 2 *οἷον ἐδόκει τὸ περὶ τὴν χάλαζαν εἶναι τὴν ὑπὸ χαλαζοφυλάκων αἵματι ἀσπάλακος ἢ ῥακίοις γυναικείοις ἀποτρεπομένην.*

Fehrle in ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ iii. 7 remarks that two manuscripts, a cod. Guelferbytanus and a cod. Palatinus in the Vatican, in place of the indecent recipes (1) and (2) substitute the following: (1) *εὑρὼν λίθον χαλαζίτην* (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 189), *ἔχε. καὶ ὅταν ἴδῃς τὴν χάλαζαν, κροῦσον αὐτὸν μετὰ σιδήρου ἀπέναντι, καὶ ἀποστραφήσεται.* (2) *καὶ ἀετοῦ πτερὸν τὸ δεξιὸν λαβὼν μέσον τοῦ χωρίου χῶσον, καὶ οὔτε ἡ ἄμπελος οὔτε τὰ σπέρματα ὑπὸ χαλάζης ἀδικηθήσεται.*

[5] E. Fehrle in *Alemannia* 1912 Dritte Folge iv. 16 f. was the first to point out that for *Φιλόστρατος ἐν τῷ ἱστορικῷ* codd. we must read *Φιλόστρατος ἐν τῷ ἡρωικῷ*, the allusion being to Philostr. *her.* 3. 25 (Palamedes to the peasant) *'σὺ δ' ἐπειδὴ φιλεῖς που τὰς ἀμπέλους, εἰπέ μοι, τί μάλιστα περὶ αὐταῖς δέδοικας.' 'τί δ' ἄλλο γ',' εἶπεν, 'ἢ τὰς χαλάζας, ὑφ' ὧν ἐκτυφλοῦνταί τε καὶ ῥήγνυνται;' 'ἱμάντα τοίνυν,' εἶπεν ὁ Παλαμήδης, 'περιάπτωμεν μιᾷ τῶν ἀμπέλων κοὐ βεβλήσονται αἱ λοιπαί.'*

Pallad. 1. 35. 15 item vituli marini pellis in medio vinearum loco uni superiecta viticulae creditur contra imminens malum (*sc.* grandinis) totius vineae membra vestisse.

[6] Pallad. 1. 35. 15 nonnulli ubi instare malum (*sc.* grandinis) viderint, oblato speculo imaginem nubis accipiunt et hoc remedio nubem (seu ut sibi obiecta displiceat, seu tanquam geminata alteri cedat) avertunt.

5. Again, if you carry the skin of a hyaena or crocodile or seal round your place and then hang it up before the doors of your house, hail will not fall[1].

6. Or, if you hang many keys of different rooms on a string round your place, the hail will pass by.

7. And, if you set wooden bulls on your buildings, that will help greatly.

8. And, if you take a tortoise found in the marshes and place it on its back in your right hand, you should then carry it all over your vineyard. When you have gone the round of it, then proceed to the middle of your vineyard, set the creature still alive on its back, having heaped a little earth round it in order that it may not be able to turn itself about and get away (it will not be able to do so, if the ground under its feet is a bit hollow, for having nothing to push against it must needs stay where it is), and if you do this, no hail would fall on your field or whole estate[2].

9. Some folk say that you should carry round and deposit the tortoise at the sixth hour of the day or night.

10. Apuleius[3] of Rome asserts that, if you paint a bunch of grapes on a tablet and dedicate the same in the vineyard when Lyra is setting, the fruit remains free from injury[4]. Lyra begins to set on the 23rd of January and sets completely on the 4th of February[5].

11. This is what has been said by the ancients. But I hold that some of their sayings are too unseemly and should be rejected, and I advise all and sundry to ignore them altogether. I have included them simply that I may not seem to be omitting anything said by the ancients.

12. And strips cut from the hide of a hippopotamus, placed at each of the boundaries, stop the threatening hail.

1. 15 More concerning Hail. By Africanus[6].

[The text of this chapter is brief, but so corrupt that little can be made of it[7].]

[1] Pallad. i. 35. 14 grandini creditur obviare, si quis crocodili pellem vel hyaenae vel marini vituli per spatia possessionis circumferat et in villae aut cortis suspendat ingressu, cum malum viderit imminere.

[2] Pallad. 1. 35. 14 item si palustrem testudinem dextra manu supinam ferens vineas perambulet, et reversus eodem modo sic illam ponat in terra, et glebas dorsi eius obiciat curvaturae, ne possit inverti sed supina permaneat. hoc facto fertur spatium sic defensum nubes inimica transcurrere.

[3] Apul. *de mundo* 3 and 8 mentions hail, but says nothing of this method of averting it. Is Ἀπουλήϊος ὁ Ῥωμαϊκός a blunder for Οὐάρρων (*infra* n. 4)? Confusion is worse confounded by the Armenian version 'Paulus der Römer' and the Syriac 'Theophilus Decimus,' on which see E. Fehrle in ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ iii. 13 n. 8.

[4] Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 294 Varro auctor est, si fidiculae occasu, quod est initium autumni, uva picta consecretur inter vites, minus nocere tempestates.

[5] For τῇ πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Δεκεμβρίων codd. Fehrle restored τῇ πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Φεβρουαρίων (from τῇ πρὸ ἑνδεκα καλανδῶν Φευρουαρίων cod. Parisin. 2313).

[6] *Supra* p. 876 n. 2.

[7] H. Beckh in the Teubner ed. of 1895 prints without comment Ξύλα δαφνήσας παρθένου κνήμας ἀλληωρῆσαι· τῆς δὲ ἕκαστον καθ' ἕκαστον κλῆμα χρὴ εἶναί τε καὶ χῶσαι. He records but one variant—ἀλλιορίσαν cod. H.

Peter Needham (Cantabrigiae 1704) gave up the passage as hopeless. J. N. Niclas

Palladius in the fourth century gives several of the foregoing recipes (nos. 3, 4, 5, 8) and prefixes others of his own:

1. 35. 1 For the prevention of hail numerous remedies are current.—
Meal is covered with a russet cloth[1].
Again, bloodstained axes are raised in a threatening manner against the sky[2].
Again, the whole garden is surrounded with white vines[3].
Or else an owl is nailed up with wide-spread wings[4].
Or the iron tools to be used are anointed with bears' suet.

1. 35. 2 Some keep by them bears' fat pounded with oil and anoint the hooks with it when they are going to prune. But this cure must be worked in secret so that no pruner may be aware of it. Its efficacy, they say, is so great that no harm can be done by a frost or cloud or any wild beast. It is well to add that the thing, if bruited abroad, is useless[5].

Magic of this sort might be worked by anyone. But for its proper performance some skill was needed, and the later Greeks had recourse to professional 'cloud-chasers' (*nephodiôktai*), who knew the right spells to use[6]. At Kleonai in the Argolid official 'hail-guards' (*chalazophýlakes*) were employed, as we gather from an interesting passage in Seneca[7]:

'I will not refrain from exposing all the follies of our Stoic friends. They say that certain men are specially skilled at observing the clouds and can tell

(Lipsiae 1781) at first suggested Ξύλα δάφνης καὶ παρθένου κνήμας (a maiden's shin-bones) κατόρυξον. Εἰς ἕκαστον δὲ κλῆμα χρὴ εἶναί τε καὶ χῶσαι, but concluded in favour of Ξύλα δάφνης, τοὺς παρθένου μῆνας (a virgin's *menses*), ἀλλιόριζαν (or better ἀλλιόριζον, for ἀλλίου ῥίζαν) εἰς ἕκαστον κλῆμα χρὴ θεῖναί τε καὶ χῶσαι. I should myself prefer ξύλα δάφνης, ἀσπαλάθου κνήμας (sprigs of thorn), ἀλλίου ῥίζαν· τῆς δὲ ἀλωῆς καθ' ἕκαστον κλῆμα χρὴ θεῖναί τε καὶ χῶσαι or the like (cp. Colum. *de re rust.* 8. 5 plurimi etiam infra cubilium stramenta graminis aliquid et ramulos lauri nec minus allii capita cum clavis ferreis subiciunt: quae cuncta remedia creduntur esse adversus tonitrua, etc.).

[1] *Supra* i. 58 n. 2, ii. 522 n. 2. See now the careful study by Eva Wunderlich *Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 and an interesting review of her book by S. Eitrem in *Gnomon* 1926 ii. 95—102.

[2] *Supra* ii. 704.

[3] Colum. *de re rust.* 10. 346 f. utque Iovis magni prohiberet fulmina Tarchon | saepe suas sedes praecinxit vitibus albis.

[4] *Supra* p. 793.

[5] *Geopon.* 5. 30. 1 ἀρκείῳ στέατι τὸν φλοιὸν ἐπίχριε, καὶ οὐ ποιήσει φθεῖρας ἡ ἄμπελος, ἢ ἀρκείῳ στέατι τὰ δρέπανα χρίε μηδενὸς εἰδότος, ἐν οἷς τὰς ἀμπέλους τέμνεις· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ ἀλείμματος γνῶσις καταλύει τὴν ὠφέλειαν· καὶ οὔτε φθεῖρες οὔτε παγετὸς ἀδικήσει τὴν ἄμπελον.

[6] *Supra* p. 33 with n. 4.

[7] Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 4. 6. 1—4. 7. 2 Haase. Cp. Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 3 p. 446, 11 ff. Stählin αὐτίκα φασὶ τοὺς ἐν Κλεωναῖς μάγους φυλάττοντας τὰ μετέωρα τῶν χαλαζοβολήσειν μελλόντων νεφῶν παράγειν ᾠδαῖς τε καὶ θύμασι τῆς ὀργῆς τὴν ἀπειλήν. ἀμέλει καὶ εἴ ποτε ἀπορία ζῴου καταλάβοι, τὸν σφέτερον αἱμάξαντες δάκτυλον ἀρκοῦνται τῷ θύματι.

See further Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 45 f.

when a hailstorm is likely to come. That they might have realised from experience pure and simple, having noted the colour of the clouds commonly followed by hail. But this is hard to believe, that at Kleonai were public officials called *chalazophýlakes*, posted to look out for the coming hail. When these persons had signified the hail's approach, what think you? That folk ran for their cloaks or leather capes? Not a bit of it. They offered sacrifice for themselves, one man a lamb, another a chicken. And forthwith the said clouds, having tasted blood, took themselves off! You laugh? This will make you laugh louder. If anyone had neither lamb nor chicken, he did what he could without serious damage—he laid hands on himself. Do not imagine that the clouds were greedy or cruel. No, he just pricked his finger with a sharp-pointed pen and made his offering with this drop of blood. And lo, the hail turned aside from his plot of ground quite as much as from that on which it had been begged off by greater sacrifices.

They want a rational explanation of this practice. Some, as befits truly wise men, declare that it is impossible to bargain with hail or buy off storms with trumpery gifts, though indeed gifts vanquish the very gods. Others affirm their suspicion that there is some virtue inherent in blood, which has the power to turn aside and rout the cloud. But how in a little drop of blood could a force reside potent enough to penetrate on high and influence the clouds? Far simpler to say, "This is a lie and utter nonsense." But, if you please, the men of Kleonai[1] passed judgment upon those who had been entrusted with the duty of foreseeing the storm, on the ground that through their negligence the vineyards had been beaten down and the crops laid low.'

One step more, and magic passes upward into religion. A stone built into a wall at Amaseia in Pontos bears an inscription in late lettering[2] (fig. 715), which H. Grégoire[3] was the first to interpret as a dedication to Aither *Alexichálazos*, 'Averter of Hail.' This is the only known case of an actual dedication to Aither, though the Orphic hymn to that deity[4] prescribes saffron as an offering appropriate to him[5]. However, since Aither is invoked by the Clouds of Aristophanes[6] as their father, he may well have been asked on occasion to ward off the cloud that threatened hail.

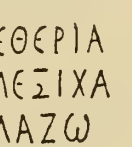


Fig. 715.

[1] F. Haase read *decuriones* with cod. E². But A. Gercke restored *Cleonaei* from *cleone* (or *deone*) of codd. Φ and *cleonis* of codd. δ.

[2] T. Reinach in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1895 viii. 84 no. 24 *bis* with facsimile on p. 78.

[3] In J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* iii) Bruxelles 1910 i. 138 f. no. 114 a with facsimile (=my fig. 715) Ἐθέρι ἀ|λεξιχα|λάζῳ. See further O. Kern in *Hermes* 1916 li. 566, *id. Die Religion der Griechen* Berlin 1926 i. 95 n. 3. Cp. the title Ἀλεξίκακος applied to Zeus (*supra* i. 422 n. 7; Plout. *adv. Stoic. de commun. not.* 33, Orph. *lith.* 1, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 7, *ib.* 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 8) and other deities (see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1464 f.).

[4] *Supra* i. 33. [5] Orph. *h. Aith.* 5 *lemma*. [6] Aristoph. *nub.* 569 f.

Proklos[1] in his account of the Boeotian Daphnephoria states that the bay-bearing procession used to go to the sanctuary of Apollon *Isménios* and *Chalázios*. If the text be sound—and there is no real reason to doubt it—the second appellative implies that the Theban Apollon too was a god 'of Hail.'

But, of course, normally it was Zeus the weather-god who sent both rain and hail[2]. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that in Phrygia he was worshipped as *Chalázios Sózon*, the god 'of Hail,

Fig. 716.

Fig. 717.

who gives Deliverance.' A *stéle* of white marble, found at *Mahmun Keui* (Thrakia Kome) near *Panderma* and now in the Museum at Constantinople, has an inscribed relief of perhaps the first century B.C. (fig. 716)[3]. A sunk panel between pilasters shows Zeus, in

[1] Proklos *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 321 b 30 ff. Bekker *παρέπεμπον δὲ τὴν δαφνηφορίαν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος Ἰσμηνίου καὶ* Χαλαζίου (χαλαζίου *Ah*: γαλαξίου *S*). K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 72 says 'Vielleicht die v.l. Γαλάξιος...vorzuziehen' and Wilamowitz in *Hermes* 1899 xxxiv. 224 argues to the same effect. But in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 410 n. 220 I retained Χαλαζίου, and Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 164 n. 3 rightly protests against the adoption of Γαλαξίου from the inferior MSS. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 571 sets the clock back.

[2] Eur. *Tro.* 78 f. (quoted *supra* ii. 1 n. 6), Loukian. *dial. deor.* 4. 2.

[3] F. W. Hasluck in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1904 xxiv. 21—23 no. 4 fig. 1, *id. ib.* 1906 xxvi. 29, *id. Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 pp. 223—225 fig. 21, 272 no. 23, Edhem Bey in

chitón and *himátion*, standing with a *phiále* in his right hand, a long sceptre in his left. Beside him is his eagle. Beyond it, a small altar decorated with a bull sinking on its knees and held by a young attendant. A draped worshipper approaches the altar from the left. The background is occupied by a sacred tree, presumably an oak. On the architrave above the pilasters is inscribed:

Zeus *Chalázios Sózon.*
In the time of Dionysios—

Then below the relief the inscription runs on:

the Thrakiokometai consecrated this *stéle* to the god
to secure good crops and the safety of their fruits
and the health and preservation of the land-lessees and
those who repair to the god and reside in
Thrakia Kome.
Meidias, son of Straton, as first mayor handed over the *stéle*
to the god and to the villagers at his own charges
as a free-will offering.

It will be noticed that, in the matter of hail, Greek religion like Greek magic was throughout concerned to avoid damage, not to cause it[1]. Things were otherwise with the vindictive witchcraft of the middle ages (fig. 717)[2].

§ 10. *Zeus and the Meteorites.*

(a) The cult of meteorites.

It remains to mention what is in some respects the most amazing and terrifying of all celestial phenomena—the fall of meteorites[3]. Scientifically speaking, we must of course group these

the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 524, Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 41 f. no. 837 fig. (=my fig. 716): Ζεὺς Χαλάζιος Σώζω[ν]. | Ἐπὶ Διον[υσί]ου || Θρακιοκωμῆται τῷ θεῷ τὴν στήλλην καθι|έρωσαν ὑπὲρ εὐκαρπίας καὶ ἀβλαβίας τῶν καρπῶν | καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν γεοκτειτῶν καὶ | τῶν συνερχομένων ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ κατοικούντων | Θρακίαν Κώμην. | Μειδίας Στράτωνος τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖ[ς κω]μήταις | διοικήσας πρῶτος τὴν στήλλην ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπαν|γειλάμενος ἀποκατέστησεν.

[1] In this respect the Rhodian Telchines (*supra* p. 296 n. 6) were exceptional.

[2] See V. Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1305—1311. My fig. 717 is reduced (⅔) from Ulricus Molitor *De laniis et phitonicis mulieribus* [Strassburg *c.* 1488—1493], where it is prefixed to cap. 3. Apparently the witch and two of her followers are travelling through the air, transformed into animals and mounted on a forked stick, while a hailstorm breaks from a dark cloud to injure the trees.

[3] The facts with regard to meteorites are well set out and illustrated by O. C. Farrington *Meteorites* Chicago 1915 pp. 1—233 with 65 figs. There is also a series of 10 cards in monochrome (set D 1) issued by the British Museum (Natural History) to illustrate its collection at South Kensington.

The folklore of the subject is touched upon by H. A. Miers 'The Fall of Meteorites

with the shooting-stars. But in popular belief they are very different, not soundless streaks of light moving across the nocturnal sky, but an explosive bombardment from above leaving the earth littered with visible débris. Hence shooting-stars are as a rule a good omen, meteorites a sign of downfall and ill-luck[1]. Accordingly these mysterious bodies, when they were not dissipated into impalpable powder, but reached the ground in some bulk, were always viewed with peculiar veneration, their sudden arrival being attributed directly or indirectly to divine agency, most often that of a sky-god.

Much material said to bear on their cult in ancient Egypt has been collected in a series of important papers by Mr G. A. Wainwright[2]. I shall therefore restrict myself in the main to evidence drawn from the Hellenic or Hellenistic area.

in Ancient and Modern Times' in *Science Progress* 1898 vii. 349—370, P. Saintyves 'Talismans et reliques tombées du ciel' in the *Revue des études ethnographiques et sociologiques* 1909 p. 176 ff. (offprint p. 1 ff. '**Les Aérolithes**'), *id. Corpus du Folklore Préhistorique en France et dans les Colonies Françaises* Paris 1934 ii. 488 Index *s.vv.* '**Aérolithes** ou **Météorites**,' W. Gundel *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* Bonn—Leipzig 1922 p. 352 Index *s.v.* 'Meteore,' *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 2446, and more systematically handled by V. Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1934 vi. 217—228.

[1] V. Stegemann *loc. cit.* p. 218. Cp. *supra* p. 475 n. 1.

[2] G. A. Wainwright 'The aniconic Form of Amon in the New Kingdom' in the *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Egypte* Le Caire 1928 xxviii. 175—189 argues that the aniconic form of Amon—evidenced by a *stéle* from Asyut (fig. 1: dynasty xviii—xix), a couple of bronze plaques from Memphis (figs. 2 and 3: 593—588 B.C.), three models from Karnak (fig. 5 after G. Daressy 'Une nouvelle forme d'Amon' *ib.* 1908 ix. 64—69 pl. 1, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, of which *a* front + *d* right side = my fig. 718: Persian or early Ptolemaic period), and a Roman sculpture at Medinet Habu (fig. 4 after Daressy *loc. cit.* pl. 2)—is normally associated with Min the thunderbolt-god and may well have been a 'meteorite, or a fragment of one, which was kept as a sacred thing, on a stand or throne, wrapped up, and decorated with a feather on top and mystic figures on the wrappings' (p. 183). Where an actual meteorite was not available, it might be represented by an *omphalós*—witness the one found by G. A. Reisner in the inner part of Amon's temple at Napata (*Gebel Barkal*) (fig. 7 after F. Ll. Griffith 'An Omphalos from Napata' in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1916 iii. 255 with fig. = my fig. 719. Material: sandstone. Date: *c.* 1 A.D.) or the omphaloid fetish in the *Ammóneion* (*supra* i. 355 ff.).

Id. 'The Relationship of Amūn to Zeus and his connexion with Meteorites' in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1930 xvi. 35—38 restates his view 'that Amūn of Thebes was a god of the air, a sky-god; that his sacred object at Thebes was a meteorite; that he was intimately connected with, if not actually derived from, his far older neighbour Min, the thunderbolt-god of Koptos; and that the omphalos of Zeus-Ammon at the Oasis of Ammonium (Sîwah) had of itself certain characteristics which associate it with the weather.' He makes three further points in support of the same thesis. (1) Zeus was identified with Amūn of Thebes as far back as 900 B.C., for D. G. Hogarth in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 107 pl. x, 1 f. published a small bronze statuette of Àmen-Râ, good early work of the New Empire, found by him in the *Psychro* Cave (*supra* ii. 926 n. 0). (2) At Kassandreia on Pallene imperial coins show the head of Zeus Ammon (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, Etc. p. 65 nos. 3

a Fig. 718. *d*

Fig. 719.

and 4 Claudius, 5 Vespasian, 6 Domitian, [*Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 273 f. nos. 1—3 Claudius, 4 and 5 Nero, 6 Vespasian, 7 pl. 19, 22 Titus and Domitian, 8 Caracalla, 9 Caracalla or Elagabalus, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 24 nos. 3194 and 3195 pl. 116, 15 Nero, 3196 pl. 116, 16 Caracalla]) and a famous meteorite is known to have been worshipped (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 150, *infra* p. 886). (3) At Gythion again there was a cult of Zeus Ammon (*supra* i. 351) and the stone of Zeus *Kappótas* (*infra* p. 939ff.), 'clearly a meteorite.'

Id. ib. 1931 xvii. 151 f. in a trenchant *critique* of K. Sethe *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (*Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1929* Phil.-hist. Classe no. 4) Berlin 1929 demurs to Sethe's view that Yahweh originated in Egypt from Amūn as a result of the Sojourn, and concludes: 'As a matter of fact there are other Egyptian gods who are as much, or more, like Yahweh than is Amūn. The probability is that they, and Amūn, and Yahweh himself, as well as many other gods of the Near East, were all local developments of the one primitive conception of the air-, storm-, or sky-god.'

Id. 'The emblem of Min' *ib.* 1931 xvii. 185—195 discusses the thunderbolt first recognised by P. E. Newberry as the symbol of Min (*supra* ii. 767 n. 2). Wainwright too traces its development chronologically from the middle prehistoric period, when it was an arrow-like weapon with triple or double or single barb at either end, through a time of transition (end of dynasty vi to beginning of dynasty xii), till from *c.* 2000 B.C. onwards it attained a final form identical with that of the normal Greek thunderbolt. 'Min thus comes into relationship with Zeus; and this is not unnatural, seeing he was the original of Amūn, who was Zeus' (p. 188). Since coins of Seleukeia in Syria exhibit both the thunderbolt of Zeus *Keraúnios* (*supra* ii. 809 figs. 771 and 772) and the omphaloid stone of Zeus *Kásios* (*supra* ii. 982 f. figs. 880—884), Wainwright is able to urge that the one is the Greek, the other the Semitic form of the same object. He recalls the contention of F. Lenormant 'Zeus Casios' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1880 vi. 142—144 (*id.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1881 iii. 41, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 935) that the Aramaean god *Qaçiu* was Hellenized into Zeus *Kásios* or Zeus *Keraúnios*: '*Qaçiu* = Zeus Casios était donc positivement un dieu-foudre ou un dieu-aérolithe, ce qui nous induit à tirer son nom de la racine originairement bilitère qui donne à l'hébreu *qâçaç*, "tailler, rompre," et *qâçah*, "tailler, couper," au syriaque *qçô*, "briser," en rapportant le sens primitif à l'explosion qui accompagne et précède de quelques secondes la chute de tout aérolithe.' On this showing, as Wainwright says (p. 189), 'meteorite, omphalos, and thunderbolt were all one and the same thing in religion.' He further dwells on the close association of 'the three partners, Amūn, Min, and Horus' (p. 190), and adopts Newberry's interesting suggestion (*Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1911 iv. 99 n. 2) that Min's worship was established at *Akhmîm* just because the rocks there are full of *Lithodomi*, a fossil much like belemnites (*supra* ii. 767 n. 2, 932 n. 1).

Id. 'Letopolis' *ib.* 1932 xviii. 159—172 argues for the existence of a similar thunderbolt-cult at Letopolis and claims that 'the way into heaven, which was offered there by a rope ladder, was derived from the flight of a meteorite' (p. 169). The cult was established at Letopolis because another *quasi*-thunderbolt, the fossil *Nerinea Requieniana*, abounds in the rocks there and seems to be characteristic of the locality.

Id. 'The Bull Standards of Egypt' *ib.* 1933 xix. 42—52 contends that the bull, which occurs on the standards belonging to four of the nomes in the Delta (the sixth, Xois; the tenth, Athribis; the eleventh, the Cabasite; the twelfth, Sebennytus), in each case has reference to the sky- or storm-god, and that the symbols in front of the said bulls, *viz.* mountain, shield (?), sickle-shaped meteorite (?), calf, are at least consistent with this interpretation.

Id. 'Jacob's Bethel' in *Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement for 1934* pp. 32—44 applies the results gained from the foregoing investigation of Egyptian meteor-cults to a study of the Palestinian Bethel. Impressed by common features (the ladder set up from earth to heaven, the gate of heaven, the golden calf, etc.) and confirmed by the equation *bethel* = *βαίτυλος*, Wainwright concludes: 'Thus, there can be no reasonable doubt that Jacob's bethel was a sacred meteorite, or an omphalos its substitute.'

Classical literature, if we exclude the speculative explanations of philosophers[1], is seldom concerned with meteorites. But epic poetry has two possible allusions. The *Iliad* makes Athena dart from heaven to earth like a brilliant and scintillating star that Zeus sends as a sign to men[2]—in short, like a meteor. And the *Hymn to the Pythian Apollon* represents that god as having landed at Krisa in the same meteoric form[3].

The most famous of all Greek meteors, the aerolite that fell at Aigos Potamos in 405 B.C., was perhaps associated with the Dioskouroi[4]. A lurid account of it has been left by Daïmachos of Plataiai, an early Hellenistic historian[5], who says[6]:

'Before the stone fell, for seventy-five days in succession, there was seen in the sky a fiery body of vast size like a flame-coloured cloud, not resting in one place but borne along with intricate and irregular motions, so that fiery fragments broken from it by its plunging and erratic course were carried in all directions and flashed fire like so many shooting-stars. However, when it had sunk to earth at that point and the inhabitants, recovering from their fear and amazement, had come together, no effect or trace of fire was to be seen[7]—only a stone

Id. 'Some aspects of Amūn' in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1934 xx. 139—153 returns to the charge and considers further the relation of Amūn to Min. 'Amūn was derived from the much older Min, with whom he had much in common. Yet they differed somehow. Min had the thunderbolt, while Amūn had the meteorite. Min became a fertility-god, while Amūn became solarized. Min belonged to the bull-gods and was related to Horus, while Amūn belonged to the ram-gods and inclined towards Seth. Amūn also differed somewhat from the other ram-gods, for their ram was not his. They were Ḥeryshef, Khnum, and the Lord of Mendes. They primarily controlled the waters on earth, a function not foreign to Amūn, who came to do so as well. But from the beginning he had been an air-, sky-, and weather-god....He was the blue firmament, the heavenly counterpart of the earthly waters. His sacred object was clearly a meteorite which came to earth from his very self. Like other meteorites its representatives were omphaloi, of which one at least suggests a fallen star in its material.'

These articles, taken together, certainly present us with a consistent picture of meteorite-cult over a wide area of the ancient world. I feel bound, however, to enter two pleas for caution: (1) The equation of thunderbolt = meteorite = *omphalós* is not universally valid. Other things beside meteorites might be reckoned as thunderbolts, *e.g.* flint implements (*supra* ii. 505 ff., 643). And other things beside meteorites might be represented as *omphaloí*, *e.g.* a tomb (*supra* ii. 219 n. 4), a mound of earth (*supra* ii. 187), a mountain (*supra* ii. 983 n. o). (2) Apart from this assumed equation, we have no adequate proof that Min or Amūn had any connexion with meteorites. That the aniconic form of Amūn was a meteoric fragment is an attractive hypothesis, but hardly more.

[1] On which see O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 pp. 638—642, 688 f.

[2] *Supra* i. 760. [3] *Supra* i. 760. [4] *Supra* i. 762.

[5] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2009.

[6] Daïm. *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 441 f. Müller) = *frag.* 8 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 16 f. Jacoby) *ap.* Plout. *v. Lys.* 12. 4 f.

[7] Cp. O. C. Farrington *Meteorites* Chicago 1915 p. 27 'Meteorites show little warmth when they arrive upon the earth....Neither are there any indications of any heating effect where meteorites have struck the earth. No bakin of the soil or charring of vegetation can be observed.'

lying there, a big one to be sure, yet little or nothing in comparison with the fiery mass observed in the sky.'

Plutarch[1] states that the great stone was still shown in his day by the dwellers in the Chersonese, who held it in reverence, and adds that Anaxagoras had predicted the possibility of a fixed star becoming loosened and falling to earth as a heavy stone. Pliny[2] improves on this: Anaxagoras in 467/6 B.C. had predicted the days within which a stone would fall from the sun, a prediction fulfilled when this burnt-looking stone, a waggon-load in size, fell in the daytime at Aigos Potamos. Both Aristotle[3] and Pliny[4] remark that there was also a comet shining in the night at that time. Pliny[5] goes on to mention that in the gymnasium at Abydos another aerolite was worshipped. It was a smallish stone, but Anaxagoras was said to have predicted that it would fall in the middle of the earth. Yet another was worshipped at Kassandreia, the ancient Potidaia, which had been founded on the spot where it fell. Pliny[6] concludes by informing us that he had himself seen such a stone which had recently fallen in the territory of the Vocontii, a tribe of Gallia Narbonensis. One other incident of the sort is on record. Kedrenos[7] the Byzantine annalist notes that in the year 460 A.D. three huge stones fell from the sky in Thrace and Eudokia wife of Theodosios ii died at Jerusalem.

Fig. 720.

[1] Plout. *v. Lys.* 12. 1 f.

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 149. The *marm. Par. ep.* 57 p. 17 Jacoby notes the year 468/7 B.C. ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ὁ λίθος ἔπεσε. Cp. Silenos of Kaleakte (?) *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 100 Müller)=*frag.* 1 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 900 Jacoby) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 2. 11, Aët. 2. 13. 9 (Plout. *de plac. phil.* 2. 13, Stob. *ecl.* 1. 24. 1[d] p. 202, 14 ff. Wachsmuth, Theodoret. 4. 18) in H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 342, Amm. Marc. 22. 8. 5, 22. 16. 22, Hieron. *in* Euseb. *ann. Abr.* 1551 (=466 B.C.), Lyd. *de ostent.* 7 p. 14, 15 ff. Wachsmuth.

Bronze coins of Aigos Potamos, struck in the fourth century B.C., occasionally show a star beneath the goat which forms their reverse type (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 187 no. 4. My fig. 720 is from a cast of this specimen kindly supplied by Mr H. Mattingly). The said star very possibly represents the famous meteorite.

[3] Aristot. *meteor.* 1. 7 344 b 31 ff.

[4] Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 149.

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 150. Cp. Lyd. *de ostent.* 7 p. 14, 20 ff. Wachsmuth ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο κατά τε Ἄβυδον καὶ Κύζικον συμβῆναί φησιν Ἀπουλήιος· ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν λίθος ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς πυρώδης μὲν τὸ χρῶμα, σιδήρῳ δὲ ἅπας κατασεσημασμένος· παραδεδόσθαι γὰρ λόγος Κυζικηνοῖς ὡς συναπολέσθαι τῷ λίθῳ τὴν πόλιν ἀνάγκη. This curious tradition is not, I think, mentioned in F. W. Hasluck's *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910.

[6] Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 150. Cp. Lyd. *de ostent.* 7 p. 15, 3 ff. Wachsmuth.

[7] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 346 B—C (i. 607 Bekker).

(b) *Baityloi*, *Baitýlia*, and Zeus *Bétylos*.

Few terms in the nomenclature of Greek religion have been more loosely used than the word *baítylos*. It is so persistently misapplied to sacred stones in general[1] that in 1903 Professor G. F. Moore[2] of Harvard felt constrained to protest against its indiscriminate employment and quite rightly insisted that *baityloi* or *baitýlia* formed a distinct class of holy stones endowed with the power of self-motion. Yet more than thirty years later Sir Arthur Evans still strews broadcast his allusions to 'baetylic' pillars and 'baetylic' altars.

Sotakos[3], a well-informed lapidarist of the early Hellenistic age[4], states that certain *cerauniae*, black and round, were sacred. Towns and fleets could be captured by their means. And they were called *baetuli*.

Sanchouniathon of Berytos in his Phoenician history[5] had more to say. Ouranos married his sister Ge and had by her four sons—Elos called Kronos, Baitylos, Dagon that is Siton, and Atlas[6]. Later we read that Ouranos invented *baitýlia* or living stones[7].

The qualities of magic potency mentioned by Sotakos and animation recorded by Sanchouniathon both come out in Photios' extracts from Damaskios' *Life of Isidoros*[8]. The Isidoros in question

[1] On the litholatry of Greeks and Romans see *e.g.* De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* pp. 22—30, 36—85, 210—215, P. Gardner in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 869[b]—871[a], E. Maass 'Heilige Steine' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1929 lxxviii. 1—25, K. Latte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 2295—2305.

[2] G. F. Moore 'Baetylia' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 198—208.

[3] Sotakos *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 135.

[4] Kind in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 1211 ('lebte frühestens im Ausgang des 4. vorchristlichen Jhdts').

[5] *Supra* i. 191, ii. 553, 715, 886 n. 0 (30), 981 n. 1, 984 n. 4, 1021, 1023, 1037 f., 1109 n. 0. See now the excellent article by Grimme in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2232—2244.

[6] Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 567 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 16 παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Οὐρανὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς (on his father Ἕλιοῦν Ὕψιστος see *supra* ii. 886 n. 0 (30)) ἀρχὴν ἄγεται πρὸς γάμον τὴν ἀδελφὴν Γῆν, καὶ ποιεῖται ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας τέσσαρας, Ἥλον τὸν καὶ Κρόνον, καὶ Βαίτυλον, καὶ Δαγὼν (*leg.* Δαγῶν') ὅς ἐστι Σίτων (*supra* i. 238 n. 0), καὶ Ἄτλαντα.

[7] Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 568 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 23 ἔτι δέ, φησίν, ἐπενόησε θεὸς Οὐρανὸς βαιτύλια, λίθους ἐμψύχους μηχανησάμενος.

[8] Phot. *bibl.* p. 342 b 26 ff. and p. 348 a 28 ff. Bekker. The passages are discussed by G. F. Moore 'Baetylia' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 200 f. and form the subject of an interesting paper by F. C. Conybeare 'The Baetul in Damascius' in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 177—183. See also T. Hopfner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 757 f. and P. Saintyves *Corpus du Folklore Préhistorique en France et dans les Colonies Françaises* Paris 1934 ii. 22 f. no. 778.

was the neo-Platonic philosopher, who was in Athens at the time of Proklos' death (485 A.D.) and shortly afterwards for a while succeeded Marinos as chief of the Athenian school[1]. The scornful and at times indignant Photios gives the following *résumé* of Damaskios' narrative.

'He says that at Heliopolis in Syria Asklepiades[2] made the ascent of Mount Libanos and saw many of the so-called *baitýlia* or *baityloi*[3], concerning which he reports countless marvels worthy of an unhallowed tongue. He declares too that he himself and Isidoros subsequently witnessed these things with their own eyes....

I saw, he says, the *baitylos* moving through the air. It was sometimes concealed in its garments, sometimes again carried in the hands of its ministrant[4]. The ministrant of the *baitylos* was named Eusebios[5]. This man stated that there had once come upon him a sudden and unexpected desire to roam at midnight away from the town of Emesa as far as he could get towards the hill on which stands the ancient and magnificent temple of Athena[6]. So he went as quickly as possible to the foot of the hill, and there sat down to rest after his journey. Suddenly he saw a globe of fire leap down from above, and a great lion standing beside the globe. The lion indeed vanished immediately, but he himself ran up to the globe as the fire died down and found it to be the *baitylos*. He took it up and asked it to which of the gods it might belong. It replied that it belonged to *Gennaîos*, the "Noble One." (Now the men of Heliopolis worship this *Gennaîos* and have set up a lion-shaped[7] image of him in the temple of Zeus.) He took it home with him the self-same night, travelling, so he said, a distance not less than two hundred and ten furlongs. Eusebios, however, was not master of the movements of his *baitylos*[8], as others are of theirs; but he offered petitions and prayers, while it answered with oracular responses.

Having told us this trash and much more to the same effect, our author, who is veritably worthy of his own *baitýlia*, adds a description of the stone and its appearance. It was, he says, an exact globe, whitish in colour, three hand-breadths across. But at times it grew bigger, or smaller; and at other times it took on a purple hue. He showed us, too, letters that were written on the stone, painted in the pigment called *tingábari*, "cinnabar[9]." Also it knocked on

[1] W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2063.

[2] A neo-Platonist, expert in Egyptian theology (J. Freudenthal *ib.* ii. 1631 no. 35).

[3] Zonar. *lex. s.v.* βαίτυλος· λίθος γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν Λίβανον, τὸ ὄρος τῆς Ἡλιουπόλεως, cp. *et. mag.* p. 192, 56 (text imperfect).

[4] For such λιθοφόροι see J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 774 f. and E. Maass in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1929 lxxviii. 18.

[5] A well-omened name appropriate to a priest (*supra* ii. 921 n. 0).

[6] Athena stands next to Keraunos on the relief from Emesa (*supra* ii. 814 n. 3 with fig. 780).

[7] *Supra* i. 571, cp. 575 with fig. 443 *a*.

[8] Cp. *supra* i. 355, 357, 552.

[9] An odd parallel may be seen in G. Pansa *Miti, leggende e superstizioni dell' Abruzzo* Sulmona 1927 ii. 39 ff. G. Mascitti, an abbot who lived at Pentima at the end of the seventeenth century, in his MS. description of Corfinium states that about 1695 there was

a wall; for this was the means by which it gave the enquirer his desired response, uttering a low hissing sound, which Eusebios interpreted.

After detailing these marvels and many others even more remarkable concerning the *baítylos*, this empty-headed fellow continues: "I thought the whole business of the *baítylos* savoured of some god; but Isidoros ascribed it rather to a *daímon*. There was, he said, a *daímon* who moved it—not one of the harmful nor of the over-material kind, yet not of those either that have attained to the immaterial kind nor of those that are altogether pure." He adds in his blasphemous way that different *baítyloi* are dedicated to different deities—Kronos, Zeus, Helios, etc.'

At this point codex *A*, the Venetian manuscript of Photios[1], appends a marginal note, which is worth translating.

'I too,' says the annotator, 'have heard of a *daimónion* of this sort in Greece. The people who live there told me that it appeared in the neighbourhood of Parnassos[2]. They recounted other things concerning it even more singular, which deserve to be passed over in silence and not set forth.'

From *Kefr-Nebo* near Aleppo came a dedication, dated 223 A.D., 'to Seimios and Symbetylos and Leon[3].' Since the Syrian god Seimios appears to have had a consort variously spelled Seimia, Semea, Sima[4], it is possible that she is here designated by a Greek appellative *Symbétylos* meaning 'Partner in his *Baítylos*[5].' But the papyri of Elephantine in the fifth century B.C. repeatedly unite two divine names in a compound of which the second element is *Bethel*, *e.g.* '*Anathbethel*, *Ishumbethel*, *Ḥerembethel*[6]. It may be, therefore, that we have here a late Syrian parallel to the older formation, and that—as O. Eissfeldt[7] suggests—Symbetylos actually represents the *Ishumbethel* of Elephantine. In which case the first element Sym- would stand for the Babylonian fire-god Ishum. But Professor

found near the valley of Virana a very ancient stone fallen miraculously from the sky. It was a '*ceraunio*' of planispherical shape, four ounces in weight, and milky white in colour. Sundry lines like little veins of cinnabar made raised letters on its surface and were read by the learned as D.DE.SVPER on one side of the stone and IPRIO on the other. To this apparent inscription some magical meaning was attached.

[1] 'Codex olim Bessarioneus, nunc inter Venetos S. Marci 450, membranaceus,' *s.* x.

[2] The mention of Parnassos suggests that this curious note may contain a Byzantine reminiscence of the stone of Kronos, which was set up γυάλοις ὕπο Παρνησσοῖο (Hes. *theog.* 499) and is often called *baítylos* (*infra* p. 936 n. 4). But the whole district was, and is, grossly superstitious. For the beliefs of the peasants at Arachova beneath Parnassos see *supra* ii. 505 n. 6, 993 n. 2.

[3] *Supra* i. 571 n. 2.

[4] *Supra* ii. 814 n. 3.

[5] So R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1904 ii. 257, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 601, E. Meyer *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*[2] Leipzig 1912 p. 58 n. 2. Cp. M. Lidzbarski *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* Giessen 1908 ii. 323 f., 1915 iii. 247 ('Der Name dieser Göttin ist nicht angegeben, aber da neben ihr noch ein Λέων genannt ist, kann es die 'Anat sein, deren Tier der Löwe ist').

[6] A. Cowley *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford 1923 p. xviii f.

[7] O. Eissfeldt 'Der Gott Bethel' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 20—22.

S. A. Cook[1] reminds us that *Ishumbethel* at Elephantine is strictly *'-s-m-bethel*, where vocalisation and meaning are alike uncertain. For, while some take *'-s-m* to be the Hebrew *shēm*, 'Name,' a reverential substitute for a divine name, he would prefer to write *Ashima-bethel*[2]. The choice between the Greek and the Semitic interpretation of *Symbétylos* is indeed far from simple.

More to our purpose, however, is a quadrangular altar (0·72m

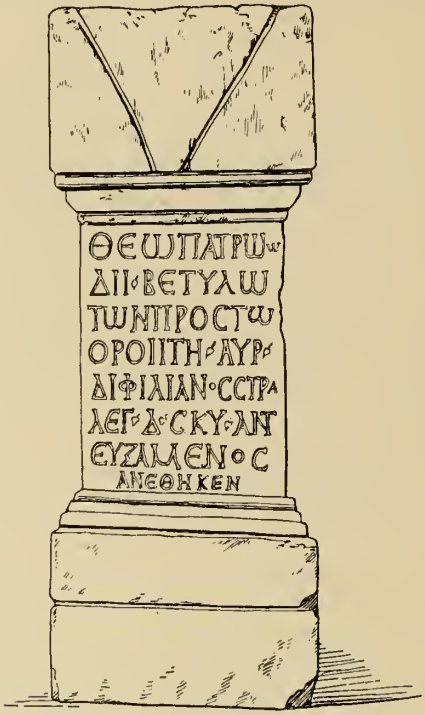


Fig. 721.

high) found in the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods at Dura-Europos (fig. 721)[3]. It is dedicated by a Syrian legionary, Aurelius

[1] S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* London 1930 pp. 144 f., 150 f.

[2] *Id.* in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1925 iii. 429, 1927 vi. 143, 180.

[3] H. Seyrig in *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* (*Preliminary Report of Fourth Season of Work October 1930—March 1931* ed. by P. V. C. Baur—M. I. Rostovtzeff—A. R. Bellinger) Yale Univ. Press 1933 pp. 68—71 no. 168 with pl. 15, 1 (=my fig. 721) Θεῷ πατρῴῳ | Διὶ Βετύλῳ | τῶν πρὸς τῷ | 'Ορόντῃ Αὐρ(ήλιος) | Διφιλιανὸς στρα(τιώτης) | λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Σκυ(θικῆς) 'Αντ(ωνειανῆς) | εὐξάμενος | ἀνέθηκεν, 'To [his] national god Zeus *Bétylos*, [god] of the dwellers along the Orontes, Aurelius Diphilianus, soldier of the 4th Legion Scythica Antoniniana, in fulfilment of a vow dedicated [this altar].'

Diphilianus, to his national god Zeus *Bétylos*. And the lettering of the inscription points to a date early in the third century A.D. But whether the appellative implies that the Greek Zeus was here worshipped under the form of a *baítylos*, or that he had succeeded to the position of some Semitic deity of the *-bethel*-type[1], is not clear[2]. Sanchouniathon's personified Baitylos[3] is hardly decisive.

It is commonly assumed as self-evident that the Greek word *baítylos* is an approximate transliteration of the Hebrew *Bēthēl*, 'House of God.' But the equation is not free from difficulties. My colleague Mr H. St J. Hart points out to me that in Scripture the name Bethel is attached to two quite distinct places. The better known one, twelve miles north of Jerusalem, is in Hebrew *Bēthēl*, in Greek *Baithḗl*[4]. The other, in the Negeb or 'Dry' plateau of Judah, is variously spelled—not only as Hebrew *Bēthēl* = Greek *Baithḗl*[5], but also as Hebrew *Bĕthūl* = Greek *Bathoúl*[6] and Hebrew *Bĕthūēl* = Greek *Bathouḗl*[7]. It may therefore be argued that the Hebrew *Bēthēl* had an alternative form *Bĕthūēl*, which gave rise to the Greek *baítylos*, *bḗtylos*[8]. Failing that, we are driven to posit some dialect (Phoenician?) in which the same connective *u*-sound occurred.

Whether Jacob's stone at Bethel was an ordinary *Maṣṣēbhah*, as I have supposed[9], or a meteoric block, as Mr G. A. Wainwright thinks possible[10], is a further problem. The name *Bēthēl* is intelligible on either hypothesis. But to cite[11] in support of the latter view certain neo-Babylonian cylinders on which appear shield-shaped objects marked with a ladder and set upright on divine seats (figs. 722—724)[12] is, I fear, to explain *ignotum per ignotius*.

[1] See *in primis* O. Eissfeldt 'Der Gott Bethel' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 1—30.

[2] H. Seyrig *loc. cit.* p. 71.

[3] *Supra* p. 887.

[4] I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 363.

[5] 1 Sam. 30. 27.

[6] Jos. 19. 4.

[7] 1 Chron. 4. 30. Cp. also the man's name Hebrew *Bĕthūēl* = Greek *Bathouḗl* (Gen. 22. 22 f.).

[8] E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1224, followed by K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2780, cp. *'Ain-El* 'Eye of God' = Αἴνυλος or Ἔνυλος (Arrian. 2. 20. 1) king of Byblos.

[9] *Supra* ii. 127 n. 7.

[10] *Supra* p. 884 n. 0.

[11] As is done by G. A. Wainwright in *Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement for 1934* p. 36 fig. 1. Cp. S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 24 pl. 5 figs. 1—3.

[12] W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* Washington 1910 pp. 193—195 figs. 544, 546—549, 550 (=my fig. 724), 550[a] (=my fig. 722), 552 (=my fig. 723), 555, 556: 'The irregular oval object resting on the divine seats, and surmounted by a star or a crescent, is not easy to explain, but it is not itself important except as the support for

Yet, whatever be the case with the stone at Bethel, there can be little doubt that the Syrian *baítyloi* or *baitýlia* really were—as G. F. Moore[1] contended—either smallish meteorites or neolithic implements believed to have fallen from heaven[2].

Fig. 722.

Fig. 723

Fig. 724.

The Syrian cult of meteorites is attested by one other record, which does not contain the actual word *baítylos*. Sanchouniathon[3] states that Astarte[4], 'as she travelled round the world, found a star fallen from the sky, picked it up, and consecrated it in the holy island of Tyre.' Sir G. F. Hill[5] would bring this statement into connexion with an omphaloid stone in a portable shrine represented on imperial coins of Tyre. But we have already ventured to explain that stone as the emerald-block of Herakles[6], who at Tyre bore

the star of Ishtar and the crescent of Sin. It may represent, in a corrupted form, the horned turban of the god as seen, two or three together, on kudurrus.'

[1] G. F. Moore in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 204.

Others, before and since, have identified *baitýlia* with meteorites: see F. Münter 'Vergleichung der vom Himmel gefallenen Steine mit den Bäthylien des Alterthums' in his *Antiquarische Abhandlungen* Kopenhagen 1816 pp. 255—298 ('Aus den Schriften der Königl. Dänischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften von Jahr 1804. Deutsch: Kopenhagen 1805; und in Gilberts Annalen der Physik, xxi. Band'), F. v. Dalberg *Ueber Meteor-Cultus der Alten, vorzüglich in Bezug auf Steine, die vom Himmel gefallen* Heidelberg 1811 pp. 1—202 with title-vignette and figs. 1—7, F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 642—647 *s.v.* 'BAETYLIA' with figs. 735—743, *id.* 'Les Bétyles' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1881 iii. 31—53, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 118 f., F. C. Conybeare in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 178, I. Benzinger *Hebräische Archäologie*[3] Leipzig 1927 p. 316, O. Eissfeldt in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 25, 28 n. 0, etc.

[2] *Supra* ii. 505 ff.

[3] Sanchouniathon (*supra* p. 887 n. 5) *ap.* Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 569 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* i. 10. 31 ἡ δὲ Ἀστάρτη ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλὴν ταύρου· περινοστοῦσα δὲ τὴν οἰκουμένην εὗρεν ἀεροπετῆ ἀστέρα, ὃν καὶ ἀνελομένη ἐν Τύρῳ τῇ ἁγίᾳ νήσῳ ἀφιέρωσε.

[4] On the Tyrian Astarte, who was identified sometimes with the moon, sometimes with the planet Venus, see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1777 f.

[5] Sir G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 61 f. pl. 4, 25 (enlarged ⅘).

[6] *Supra* i. 356 fig. 273.

the remarkable epithet *Astrochíton*, 'He of the Starry Robe[1].' Since the Tyrians treated the celestial Herakles (Melqarth[2]) as consort of the celestial Astarte[3], the two explanations are not necessarily irreconcilable.

(c) Kybele and meteorites.

An odd tale, which associates Kybele with the fall of a meteorite, is told by Aristodemos[4] of Alexandreia, a pupil of Aristarchos[5]. It appears that a certain flute-player named Olympichos was being instructed by Pindar on the mountain where he used to practise. Suddenly there was a loud report, and a flame came flashing downwards. Pindar, perceiving it, discerned a stone image of the Mother of the gods falling at his feet. Whereupon he set up close to his house an image of the Mother of the gods and of Pan. Meantime the citizens sent to enquire of the god concerning the portent. He bade them build a sanctuary for the Mother of the gods. So, astonished at Pindar's anticipation of the oracle, they joined the poet in his cult of the goddess.

We have here, if I am not mistaken, an attempt to give historicity to a myth. Pindar teaching the flute-player Olympichos on a mountain-side is but Pan teaching the flute-player Olympos[6], eponym of the Mysian mountain[7]. If historical happenings may give rise to myths, it is also true that myths may give rise to would-be historical happenings.

The story is of interest, however, because it suggests a meteoric origin not only for the sacred stone of the Mother in her temple on the Mysian Ide[8], but also for her 'Zeus-fallen image[9]' at Pessinous in Phrygia. This celebrated image is expressly said to have dropped

[1] Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 367 ff. (Dionysos at Tyre) *εἰς δόμον Ἀστροχίτωνος ἐκώμασε, καὶ πρόμον ἄστρων | τοῖον ἔπος βοόων ἐκαλέσσατο μύστιδι φωνῇ· | "Ἀστροχίτων Ἡρακλες, ἄναξ πυρός, ὄρχαμε κόσμου, | Ἥλιε, κ.τ.λ. Ib.* 408, 413, 422, 423.

[2] *Supra* i. 356, ii. 762.

[3] Sir G. F. Hill in *The Church Quarterly Review* 1908 lxvi. 133, 139 f., *id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 61.

[4] Aristodem. *ap.* schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 137 b.

[5] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 925.

[6] P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 860 ff. is curiously blind to this rather obvious parallel.

[7] *Supra* i. 100, ii. 953 n. 2.

[8] Claud. *de rapt. Pros.* 1. 202 f. hic sedes augusta deae templique colendi | relligiosa silex (M. Platnauer mistranslates 'the sacred statue').

[9] Herodian. 1. 11. 1 *αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ἄγαλμα διιπετὲς εἶναι λέγουσιν, κ.τ.λ.* On the adjective see *supra* ii. 481, 963 n. 0.

from the sky[1], and is described as a stone of sooty colour and black substance, of small size, easily carried in the hand, and rough with projecting angles[2]. The Romans in obedience to an oracle sought and obtained possession of it (205—204 B.C.)[3]. Appian[4] serves up the traditional tale:

'Now at Rome certain direful signs sent by Zeus befell, and the Decemvirs on consulting the Sibylline books declared that at Pessinous in Phrygia, where

Fig. 725.

[1] Appian. *bell. Annib.* 56, Herodian. 1. 11. 1, Amm. Marc. 22. 9. 7.

[2] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 7. 49 adlatum ex Phrygia nihil quidem aliud scribitur missum rege ab Attalo nisi lapis quidam non magnus, ferri manu hominis sine ulla impressione qui posset, coloris furvi atque atri, angellis prominentibus inaequalis, *ib.* 7. 50 et quis hominum credet terra sumptum lapidem, sensu agitabilem nullo, fuliginei coloris atque atri corporis, Deum fuisse Matrem? *Id. ib.* 6. 11, 7. 50 speaks of it as *silex*. The interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 188 says *acus Matris Deum* (G. Thilo prints †*aius matris deum* with cod. *F*).

[3] Liv. 29. 10, 29. 11, 29. 14, Ov. *fast.* 4. 255 ff., Strab. 567, Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 120, Sil. It. 17. 1 ff., Tert. *apol.* 25, Lact. *div. inst.* 2. 8, Aur. Vict. *de vir. ill.* 46. 1 ff., Ioul. *or.* 5 p. 207 f. Hertlein, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 3. 12, Amm. Marc. 22. 9. 5 f.

[4] Appian. *bell. Annib.* 56.

the Phrygians worship the Mother of the gods, something would shortly fall from heaven and must be brought to Rome. Not long afterwards news came that the image had fallen, and to Rome it was brought. Indeed the day of its arrival is still kept as a festival for the Mother of the gods. The story goes that the ship bearing it stuck in the mud of the river Tiber and could by no means be floated off until the soothsayers predicted that it would follow only if drawn by a woman pure from intercourse with strangers. Claudia Quintia[1], who had been charged with adultery, but not yet tried, and on account of fast living was thought a most likely culprit, vehemently called the gods to witness her innocence and fastened her girdle to the hull. Thereupon the goddess followed, and Claudia passed from the depth of infamy to the height of fame. But before this affair of Claudia the Romans had been bidden by the Sibylline books to transport the image from Phrygia by the hands of their best man. So they had sent the man reckoned their best at the moment—Scipio Nasica, son of Cn. Scipio who had been general in Iberia and had fallen there. Nasica was cousin of the Scipio that had robbed the Carthaginians of their empire and first earned the title Africanus. In this way the goddess was brought to Rome by the best of their men and women.'

An altar of Luna marble dedicated to the Mother of the gods by one Claudia Syntyche was found more than two centuries since at the Marmorata on the Tiber-side and is now in the Capitoline Museum[2]. A relief on the front face (fig. 725) shows the Vestal

[1] Better Claudia Quinta, on whom see F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2899 no. 435.

[2] L. Re—F. Mori *Sculture del Museo Capitolino* Roma 1806 i Atrio pl. 24, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 4. 11 f. pl. 63, 816 (=my fig. 726), Stuart Jones *Cat.*

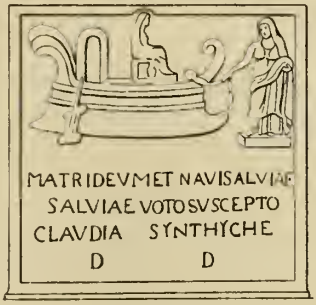


Fig. 726.

Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome p. 181 f. Sala delle Colombe no. 109 b pl. 43 (=my fig. 725), W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 442 f. no. 798, H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. xix fig. 157, E. Strong *Art in Ancient Rome* London 1929 i. 43 with fig. 38. Height 0·87^{m}. On the right face, a *pedum* and cymbals; on the left face, a Phrygian cap with lappets; on the back, pipes. The inscription is given in Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1905, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 492=30777, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4096 Matri deum et Navi Salviae | Salviae voto suscepto | Claudia Synthyche | d. d. The second word *Salviae* is probably a mere case of dittography, though L. Bloch in

Claudia standing statue-like[1] on a plinth as she draws the ship by her girdle. The sacred stone is not to be seen, unless we can identify it with the small object on deck in front of the seated goddess[2].

Once received at Rome the black stone of Kybele was treated with exceptional honours. A. Audin[3] even contends that it was regarded as a second *Palládion* imported to replace the Trojan original, whose protective power would not last beyond the fated limit of a thousand years[4]. The stone was housed at first in the temple of Victory on the Palatine[5], and subsequently in a temple of its own dedicated to the Magna Mater at the top of the Scalae

Philologus 1893 lii. 581 f. thought that it was a Greek freedwoman's indifferent Latin for *pro salute Navis Salviae.*

A replica of this inscription, brought from Rome to Verona (no. 131), is given in F. S. Maffei *Museum Veronense* Veronae 1749 p. xc no. 1, Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1906, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 493, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4097 Navi Salviae | et Matri deu d. d. | Claudia Sinty[che]....

A third inscription, likewise found at Rome and relating to the same cult, is given in Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2403 ('Velitris'), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 494, Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 106, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4098 Matrí deum | et' Naví Salviæ Q. Nunnius | Telephús mag. | col. cultó. eius | d. s. d. d. (=mag(ister) col(legii) culto-(rum) eius d(e) s(uo) d(onum) d(edit)).

Maffei supposed that *Navisalviae* was a single word designating the divinised Claudia as 'Ship-saving' on account of her exploit. But Orelli with far greater probability took *Navi Salviae* to mean 'the Ship *Salvia*,' associated in cult with the goddess whom she carried. L. Bloch *loc. cit.* points out that a trireme in the praetorian fleet at Misenum was actually called *Salvia* (E. Ferrero *L'ordinamento delle armate romane* Torino 1878 p. 29), being presumably a namesake of Kybele's well-omened vessel. A ship built with timber from the pine-woods of Mt Ide (Ov. *fast.* 4. 273 f.) was a fitting vehicle for the Mater *Idaea* (*supra* ii. 950 n. o).

[1] Ioul. *or.* 5 p. 209 Hertlein speaks of these miracles as *κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ πλείστων ἱστοριογράφων ἀναγραφόμενα, σωζόμενα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χαλκῶν εἰκόνων ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ Ῥώμῃ.* A statue of Claudia in the vestibule of the temple of the Magna Mater on the Palatine survived two conflagrations of that edifice, in 111 B.C. and 3 A.D. (Val. Max. 1. 8. 11, Tac. *ann.* 4. 64).

[2] Not impossibly Claudia would be conceived as attaching her girdle to the sacred stone of the goddess, much as the Ephesians at the time of Kroisos' invasion bound their gates and walls by cords to the columns of Artemis' temple (Ail. *var. hist.* 3. 26), or as Kylon and his men fastened a braided thread to the statue of Athena on the Akropolis at Athens (Plout. *v. Sol.* 12). The object in each case was to maintain close contact with the goddess. Cp. *supra* ii. 408 and perhaps ii. 657 figs. 591—593.

[3] A. Audin 'Le Palladium de Rome' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 46—57 (a very venturesome article).

[4] Herakl. *frag.* 12 Bywater, 92 Diels *ap.* Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 6 *Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένῳ στόματι καθ' Ἡράκλειτον ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγομένη χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν.* Audin reckons that 1000 years from the fall of Troy (1184 B.C.), when Kassandra the Trojan Sibyl announced the migration of her countrymen to Rome, would expire in 184 B.C. The importation of the Mater *Idaea* in 205, at the advice of the Sibylline books, might secure a new lease of life for the state!

[5] Liv. 29. 14.

Caci[1]. Here it remained for a good six hundred years, set in silver[2] to serve as the face of a statue[3], the base of which is still to be seen[4]. This black, *quasi*-human face, with its silver setting and its rich jewellery, must indeed have presented a singular sight, comparable with that of some black mediaeval Madonna[5].

But its original form is imperfectly known. E. Beulé[6], followed

Fig. 727.

Fig. 728.

Fig. 729.

Fig. 730.

[1] H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 51 ff., H. Kiepert—C. Hülsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 25, S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 324 f.

[2] Prudent. *peristeph.* 10. 156 f. lapis nigellus evehendus essedo, | muliebris oris clausus argento sedet.

[3] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 7. 49 (after the passage cited *supra* p. 894 n. 2) et quem omnes hodie ipso illo videmus in signo oris loco positum, indolatum et asperum et simulacro faciem minus expressam simulatione praebentem.

M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1525 thinks that the stone from Pessinous was placed in the mouth of the statue; but he appears to be mistranslating the words of Arnobius.

The statue was still existing in the time of Theodosios the Great (378—395 A.D.), for Serena his niece robbed it of its necklace (Zosim. 5. 38).

[4] H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *op. cit.* i. 3. 53 with pl. 2, *k*, S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *op. cit.* p. 325.

[5] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 313 n. 1, F. Piper *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1847 i. 157, P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1907 iv. 120.

[6] E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 317 ff. with fig. (=my fig. 730: Munich).

at first by B. V. Head[1], made the interesting conjecture that it is represented on new-style tetradrachms of Athens bearing the names Kleophanes and Epithetes (figs. 727—730)[2]. The magistrate's badge on these coins is an upright conical stone with projections suggestive of a face and seemingly with a *kteis* beneath it. Attached to its apex by a knot is a fillet or covering, which hangs down on either side and recalls Damaskios' description of the *baitylos* 'concealed in its garments[3].'

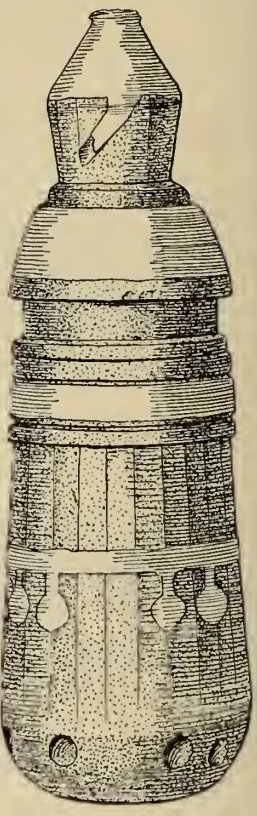


Fig. 731.

A possible parallel to the *baitylos* of Kybele, set in silver and decked with a necklace, may be found in a singular object here published for the first time (pl. lxvii and fig. 731). It is, essentially, a neolithic pounder (6¼ inches high) of dull green stone, which has been subsequently facetted and inlaid with tin[4]. Since facetted axe-hammers occur sporadically throughout central Europe towards the end of the stone age[5], and since tin-inlay is frequent on the contemporaneous pottery of the Swiss pile-dwellings[6], it may be inferred on technical grounds that this pounder was decorated *c.* 2000 B.C. Several of its features—green

[1] Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 324. But *id. ib.*[2] p. 386 says merely: '*Conical stone* (βαίτυλος) *with knotted taenia hanging over it.* Date, shortly after Sulla's conquest ([J.] Sundwall [*Untersuchungen über die attischen Münzen des neueren Stiles* Helsingfors 1908] p. 114).' And B. Pick in J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 Index p. xi is equally *non*-committal: 'BÉTYLE, entouré des deux côtés par une ténie.' Sir G. Macdonald in *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 68 had hazarded the curious idea that 'hanging down on either side, is a goatskin' [βαίτυλος from βαίτη].

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. pp. lii, 60 nos. 431 pl. 13. 2 (=my fig. 727), 432, 433, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 68 f. nos. 145 (cp. my fig. 728), 146, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 73, 3 Berlin (=my fig. 729), 4 A. Romanos, 5 Munich (cp. my fig. 730), 6 Glasgow, 7 Glasgow, 8 Athens. [3] *Supra* p. 888.

[4] On submitting this implement to the Department of Mineralogy and Petrology in the University of Cambridge, I received the following expert opinion from Dr F. C. Phillips (Feb. 24, 1937): 'The metal is tin, with a small amount of antimony. The rock is some kind of chloritic schist, much softer than nephrite, and easily worked and facetted.'

[5] Forrer *Reallex.* p. 332, J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 p. 139 f. figs. a—c., V. Gordon Childe *The Danube in Prehistory* Oxford 1929 pp. 146 fig. 90, 151 ff., 208, cp. O. Menghin *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* Wien 1931 p. 287 pl. 32, 4.

[6] R. Munro *The Lake-Dwellings of Europe* London 1890 pp. 42 with figs. 193, 6

A *baitylos*(?) from Ephesos,
now at Queens' College, Cambridge.

See page 898 ff. *with fig.* 731.

stone, surface facets, projecting bands and bosses—are seen again in an axe-hammer from the second city of Troy[1] and serve to confirm the suggested date. Even the tin-inlay, though not itself discovered at Troy, is at least postulated by the Homeric description of Achilles' shield[2] and Asteropaios' corselet[3]. However, the really remarkable thing about our pounder is the arrangement of its decoration, which transforms the neolithic tool into a *quasi*-human shape[4]. The head is surmounted by a conical tin cap, secured by three tags or tenons of tin, any one of which might suggest a nose. The shoulders are covered by a broad tin cape. The waist is represented by a deep groove. Below this is a double belt of tin. Lower down, the facetted surface looks like folds of drapery encircled by a tin band, from which hang four pairs of tin pendants symmetrically placed. Finally, at the foot, opposite each pendant is a hole for the insertion of a stud, perhaps of amber or vitreous paste. In short, we may venture to recognise a primitive idol comparable with the bottle-shaped goddesses figured on coins of Asia Minor (figs. 732—737)[5]. Now neolithic implements are

and 195, 13, 45 with fig. 193, 2, 58, 63, 68, 87, 96 with fig. 193, 4 and 5, 102, 529, A. de Mortillet 'La décoration des poteries au moyen de lamelles d'étain dans les temps prehistoriques et modernes' in the *Congrès préhistorique de France* 3e session Autun 1907 p. 796, G. Goury *L'Homme des Cités lacustres* Paris 1931 i. 297 n. 1.

[1] W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athens 1902 i. 374 f. fig. 323, *supra* ii. 635 f.

[2] *Il.* 18. 564 f., 574. [3] *Il.* 23. 560 ff.

[4] On *θυέστης* the 'pestle' in relation to *Θυέστης* the storm-god (?) see *supra* ii. 1022.

[5] In ascending order of anthropomorphism we have *e.g.* Aphrodite *Paphía* on coins of Kypros, Sardeis, and Pergamon (*supra* ii. 424 with figs. 325 f., 327, 328), Artemis (?) on coins of Pogla in Pisidia (*supra* ii. 363 with figs. 259 f.), Artemis *Ephesía* on coins of Ephesos etc. (*supra* ii. 408 n. o figs. 309—313, 566 f. fig. 462), Hera on coins of Samos (*supra* i. 444 f. figs. 313 f., iii. 645 fig. 446).

The additional examples here given are: (1) A bronze coin of Aspendos in Pamphylia, struck by Gallienus, showing two images of Artemis (?) side by side under roofs (E. Babelon *Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington* Paris 1898 p. 180 no. 3263 pl. 7, 17 (=my fig. 732) ACΠ Є NΔ[I] ΩN). (2) A bronze coin of Myra in Lykia, struck by Gordianus iii Pius, showing Artemis *Eleuthéra* (*supra* ii. 681 n. 1) with her veil (E. Babelon *op. cit.* p. 172 no. 3124 pl. 7, 5 (=my fig. 733) MYP ЄΩN). (3) A bronze coin of Hypaipa in Lydia, struck by Trajan Decius, showing Artemis *Anaîtis* with long double *chitón* and veil (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 119 no. 62 pl. 12, 13 (=my fig. 734) YΠAIΠHNΩNЄΠI CTPΦΛЄPMOΛAOV and N ЄIK ΩN I).

Similar types seated, not standing, are: (4) Kore between corn-stalk and poppy on a bronze coin of Sardeis in Lydia, struck by Caracalla (fig. 735 from a specimen of mine ЄΠI·Γ·CAΛKΛ[A]VΔ IANO[VA]P[XAT̂B]·CAP and ΔIANΩNB·NЄΩ-KOPΩN). (5) Kore between poppy and corn-stalk, with a corn-ear in her right hand, on a bronze coin of Daldis in Lydia, struck by Tranquillina (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 72 no. 14 pl. 8, 6 (=my fig. 736) ЄΠΛAVPHΦAI CTIΩNOCAPX and A·T·B·ΔA ΛΔIANΩN). (6) Kore, closely draped, between corn-stalk and poppy, on a bronze coin of Maionia in Lydia, issued in the time of Trajan Decius (fig. 737 from a specimen of mine ЄΠIAVPAΠΦI ANOVAPXAMAI and ON ΩN).

often supposed to have fallen from the sky[1]. It is therefore tempting to compare this humanised pounder with the 'Zeus-fallen' image of Artemis *Ephesia*[2]. And all the more so, when we learn that, by an impressive coincidence, the pounder actually came from Ephesos[3].

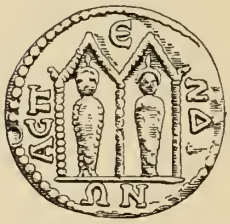


Fig. 732.

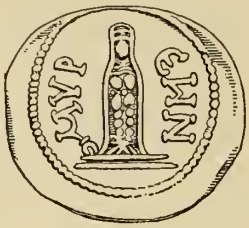


Fig. 733.

Fig. 734.

Fig. 735.

Fig. 736.

Fig. 737.

(d) The stone of Elagabalos.

Akin to the stone of Kybele at Pessinous in Phrygia was the stone of Elagabalos the god of Emesa in Syria[4]. This too was a 'Zeus-fallen' stone, of large size, conical shape, and black colour. It was marked with certain small projections and impressions;

[1] *Supra* ii. 505 ff.

[2] *Supra* ii. 963 n. o.

[3] It was obtained by Sir William Ridgeway, through Mr H. Lawson of the consular service at Smyrna, together with a miscellaneous lot of arrow-heads etc. from Ephesos. Sir William acutely detected its true character and had intended some day to publish it as a good example of an aniconic deity. On his death it was passed on to me by Dr J. A. Venn, President of Queens', and Mrs Venn, Sir William's daughter, to whom I am greatly indebted for this opportunity of publishing a relic of rare interest.

[4] On whom see F. Lenormant 'Sol Elagabalus' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1881 iii. 310—322, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 529—531 with figs. 2617 f., E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1229—1231 with the same two figs. ('der erste Teil des Wortes ist jedenfalls das syrische *elâh* "Gott," der zweite wahrscheinlich *gabal* "Berg," also "Berggott"), F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2219—2222 ('Man hat auch an El-gebal *deus formans*, *deus creator* gedacht (Réville La relig. sous les Sév. 243 f.). Lenormant setzte den zweiten Teil vielmehr mit dem babylonischen Gibil in Zusammenhang und sah in E. einen Feuergott'), Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 89 f., 365 f.

and its worshippers regarded it as an unworked image of the Sun[1]. The eagle, which on imperial coins of Emesa appears either upon (fig. 738)[2] or in front of the stone (fig. 739)[3], seems to have been an

Fig. 738.

Fig. 739.

Fig. 740.

[1] Herodian. 5. 3. 4 f. *ἱερῶντο δὲ αὐτοὶ θεῷ ἡλίῳ· τοῦτον γὰρ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι σέβουσι, τῇ Φοινίκων φωνῇ* Ἐλαιαγάβαλον *καλοῦντες. νεὼς δὲ αὐτῷ μέγιστος κατεσκεύαστο αὐτοῦ, χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ κεκοσμημένος λίθων τε πολυτελείᾳ. θρησκεύεται δὲ οὐ μόνον πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ γειτνιῶντες σατράπαι τε καὶ βασιλεῖς βάρβαροι φιλοτίμως πέμπουσι τῷ θεῷ ἑκάστου τοῦ ἔτους πολυτελῆ ἀναθήματα. ἄγαλμα μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἢ Ῥωμαίοις, οὐδὲν ἔστηκε χειροποίητον, θεοῦ φέρον εἰκόνα· λίθος δέ τις ἔστι μέγιστος, κάτωθεν περιφερής, λήγων ἐς ὀξύτητα· κωνοειδὲς αὐτῷ σχῆμα, μέλαινά τε ἡ χροιά. Διπετῆ τε αὐτὸν εἶναι σεμνολογοῦσιν, ἐξοχάς τέ τινας βραχείας καὶ τύπους δεικνύουσιν, εἰκόνα τε ἡλίου ἀνέργαστον εἶναι θέλουσιν, οὕτω βλέποντες.*

The solar character of the god is further attested by Dion Cass. 78. 31. 1 (ix. 410 Cary) *καί τι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ* Ἡλίου, *ὃν* Ἐλεγάβαλον *ἐπικαλοῦσι καὶ μεγάλως θρησκεύουσιν, ἄλλων τέ τινων μαντειῶν ἀναπεισθείς*, Iul. Capit. *v. Macrin.* 9. 2 quarum maiori filius erat Heliogabalus...nam Heliogabalum Foenices vocant solem, Avien. *descr. orb.* 1089 f. denique flammicomo devoti pectora Soli | vitam agitant (*sc.* Emeseni). Hence the spelling Ἡλιογάβαλος, *Heliogabalus*, *Eliogabalus* (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2219), the official Roman title *invictus Sol Elagabalus* (Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 366 n. 2), and such inscriptions as Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4329 (Rome) aquila | Soli | Alagabalo | Iulius Balbillus, 4330 (Rome) Ti. Iullo (*sic*) Balbillo | s. Sol. Elagabali, | Eudemon lib. | patrono optimo, 4331 (Rome) Ti. Iul. Balbillo sac. Solis, | Eutyches Augg. lib. ofici-| nator a statuis, amico | optimo. dedic. kal. Ian. | P. Cornelio Anullino II | et M. Aufidio Frontone cos. (=199 A.D.), no. 4332 (Brigetio in Illyricum) deo Soli Alagabal. Ammudati (on which see the speculations of K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1868 ff.), mil. leg. I Ad(iutricis) bis p(iae) f(idelis) cons[tantis].... See also the inscriptions listed by Ruggiero *Dizion. epigr.* ii. 2089. A bronze coin of Elagabalus commemorates ΗΛΙΑ and ΠΥΘΙΑ at Emesa (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. lxv, 240 no. 21).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 237 no. 6 pl. 27, 9 (=my fig. 738) ЄΜ ΙС Η ΝΩΝ a bronze coin struck by Antoninus Pius. The star on the stone is probably one of the marks noted by Herodian. 5. 3. 5 (*supra* p. 901 n. 1). Gold and silver coins issued by Elagabalus again show the stone ornamented with stars (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 325 no. 16 fig. (=my fig. 741) gold, Paris, no. 17 silver, Vienna, no. 18 gold, G. de Ponton d'Amécourt, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 357). Cp. the star that appears in the field of his coins (*e.g. infra* p. 902 fig. 743) and medallions (*e.g. infra* p. 904 fig. 745).

Fig 741.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. lxiv f., 239 no. 15 pl. 27, 12 (=my fig. 739) ЄΜΙСΩΝ ΚΟΛΩΝ with ΖΚΦ (527 of Seleucid era=215 A.D.) a bronze coin struck by Caracalla, showing the stone of Elagabalos at Emesa in a hexastyle temple with an

attribute plastically rendered in gold[1], and in any case is to be viewed as the solar eagle of Syrian art[2]. It led the Romans to equate Elagabalos with their own supreme deity Iupiter[3].

This stone of the Emesenes, as F. Cumont[4] insists, was in all probability an actual aerolite. It rose into sudden notoriety when its youthful high priest, Varius Avitus Bassianus, through the intrigues of his grandmother Iulia Maesa was proclaimed emperor by the troops in Syria (218 A.D.). He was saluted as Marcus Aurelius Antoninus; but, since the Syrian priest identified himself with his god, he was commonly called Elagabalus. On quitting Emesa for Rome he took his stone with him. A temple, which Marcus Aurelius had built for Faustina at the foot of Mount Tauros, Elagabalus dedicated to his own godhead[5]. Wintering at Nikomedeia, he appeared in public as a priest[6] (figs. 742, 743)[7]; and before he reached Rome he sent a large picture of himself

Fig. 742.

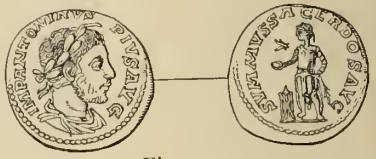


Fig. 743.

oblong (*quid?*) in its pediment. The stone is set on a base, protected by a balustrade, with a wreath-bearing eagle before it and a parasol on either side of it. Bronze coins of Iulia Domna give the great altar at Emesa decorated with niches and sculpture (*ib.* p. 238 no. 9 pl. 27, 11, nos. 10—12. Fig. 740 is from a specimen of mine).

[1] F. Studniczka in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1901 xvi. 275 f.

[2] *Supra* i. 603 f. fig. 475, ii. 186, 431.

[3] Spart. *v. Caracall.* 11. 7 Heliogabalus Antoninus sibi vel Iovi Syrio vel Soli—incertum id est—templum fecit, Lamprid. *v. Heliogab.* 1. 5 fuit autem Heliogabali vel Iovis vel Solis sacerdos, 17. 8 praeter aedem Heliogabali dei, quem Solem alii, alii Iovem dicunt.

[4] F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2219.

[5] Iul. Capit. *v. M. Ant. philos.* 26. 4 ff., Spart. *v. Caracall.* 11. 7 (*supra* p. 902 n. 3).

[6] Herodian. 5. 5. 3 f. *ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀπάρας τῆς Συρίας ἐλθών τε ἐς τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἐχείμαζε, τῆς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους οὕτως ἀπαιτούσης. εὐθέως τε ἐξεβακχεύετο, τήν τε ἱερωσύνην τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ, ᾗ ἐντέθραπτο, περιεργότερον ἐξωρχεῖτο, σχήμασί τε ἐσθῆτος πολυτελεστάτοις χρώμενος, διά τε πορφύρας χρυσοῦ ὑφάσμασι περιδεραίοις τε καὶ ψελίοις κοσμούμενος, ἐς εἶδος δὲ τιάρας στεφάνην ἐπικείμενος χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις ποικίλην τιμίοις. ἦν τε αὐτῷ τὸ σχῆμα μεταξὺ Φοινίσσης ἱερᾶς στολῆς καὶ χλιδῆς Μηδικῆς. κ.τ.λ.*

[7] Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 329 no. 58 fig. (=my fig. 742) silver, Paris, 330 nos. 59—65, 350 no. 276 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 356. Fig. 743 is from a specimen of mine. The horn set on the ground behind Elagabalus in fig. 742 suggests comparison with the horn set behind the Kabeiros on coins of Thessalonike (*supra* i. 108 f. figs. 79, 80). H. Cohen *loc. cit.* p. 329 n. 1 remarks that Elagabalus' head here and elsewhere is often surmounted by a horn-like projection, which he believes to be 'le symbole de la puissance.'

officiating in front of the stone to be set up in the Senate-house over the statue of Victory and duly worshipped by the Senators[1].

At Rome Elagabalus erected two temples for his god, one on the Palatine close to his own residence[2], the other in some suburb by way of summer quarters[3]. The exact position of both is disputed[4].

In the temple on the Palatine he surrounded the stone with the most venerated objects of Roman cult, including the stone from Pessinous[5] and others of the like sanctity[6]. He even imported the ancient image of Ourania from Carthage to be the consort of his

a Fig. 744. *b*

stone, and thus celebrated a sacred marriage between the Sun and the Moon[7]. A relic of this temple may be seen in a pilaster-cap of Carrara marble, part of which was found in the excavations of 1870—1872 on the east side of the temple of Castor[8], the rest in

[1] Herodian. 5. 5. 6 f. [2] Lamprid. *v. Heliogab.* 3. 4. [3] Herodian. 5. 6. 6.

[4] A concise summary of the evidence is given by S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 199.

[5] Lamprid. *v. Heliogab.* 3. 4 eique templum fecit, studens et Matris typum et Vestae ignem et Palladium et ancilia et omnia Romanis veneranda in illud transferre templum et id agens ne quis Romae deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur, cp. *ib.* 6. 7 ff., 7. 1.

[6] *Id. ib.* 7. 5 lapides qui divi dicuntur ex proprio templo, <simulacrum (*add.* I. Oberdick. R. Unger *cj.* typum)> Dianae Laodiciae ex adyto suo, in quo id Orestes posuerat, adferre voluit.

[7] Dion Cass. 80. 12. 1 f. (ix. 460 Cary), Herodian. 5. 6. 3 ff.

[8] G. Wissowa in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1883 lv. 164—167 pl. M (with additions *id. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* München 1904 pp. 73—77 with figs. (*a*), (*b*), (*c*)).

1899 near the same spot[1]. The cap, a work of Septimian date, shows (fig. 744, *a*, *b*)[2] the conical stone set on a lion-footed stool, which is covered with a fringed cloth. On the left stands Minerva with *aigis* and helmet; on the right, Iuno (?). Both lay a hand caressingly on the stone. The third person of the Capitoline triad, Iupiter, is identified with the stone itself and attested by the eagle placed in front of it. The scene is completed by Victory sacrificing a bull, behind which is Tellus with *cornu copiae* and child.

Once a year, at midsummer, the stone was taken from the Palatine to the suburb temple. Elagabalus himself conducted it on a chariot resplendent with gold and jewels[3] (figs. 741[4], 745, 746[5]). But these vagaries were terminated by his death in 222 A.D. The

Fig. 745.

Fig. 746.

[1] C. Huelsen in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1902 xvii. 67 n. 1.

[2] F. Studniczka 'Ein Pfeilercapitell auf dem Forum' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1901 xvi. 273—282 pl. 12 (parts of which = my fig. 744 *a*, *b*), Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 307 ff. pl. 94. The cap measures 0·56^{m} high and broad, 0·37^{m} deep.

Studniczka *loc. cit.* thought that the block might have come from the temple on the Palatine. Huelsen *loc. cit.* p. 67 would rather refer it to a small *sacellum* in the Forum. A. von Domaszewski in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1918 Abh. xiii. 150—153 held that the Palatine was full up and put the temple of Elagabalos in *Regio* xi on the site of the temple of Dis Pater (Lamprid. *v. Heliogab.* 1. 6 Heliogabalus a sacerdotio dei Heliogabali, cui templum Romae in eo loco constituit, in quo prius aedes Orci fuit, quem e Suria secum advexit). E. Strong *Art in Ancient Rome* London 1929 ii. 148 accepts the view that the capital came from the precinct of a large temple on the north-east side of the Palatine—a temple erected by Elagabalus to house the stone of Emesa and re-dedicated by his successor Severus Alexander to Iupiter *Ultor* (*supra* ii. 1102 n. 8 with figs. 940 and 941): but see the objections of S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 307.

[3] Herodian. 5. 6. 6 ff.

[4] *Supra* p. 901 n. 2.

[5] Cp. a *denarius* at Berlin (J. Leipoldt *Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Urchristentums* in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* ix—xi Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 p. xii fig. 92), a bronze medallion at Paris (Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 167 fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*^{2} iv. 325 f. no. 20 fig., Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 79 no. 1 pl. 98, 2 (=my fig. 745) 'ritoccato') and Vienna (Gnecchi *ib.*), and a billon coin struck by Elagabalus at Alexandreia in 221/2 A.D. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria etc. p. 194 no. 1520 pl. 25 (=my fig. 746)).

black stone was returned to Emesa[1], and its cult at Rome by degrees died out[2].

At Emesa, however, the cult continued to flourish. The usurper Uranius, whose full name was Lucius Iulius Aurelius Sulpicius Uranius Antoninus, issued not only bronze coins showing the temple (fig. 747)[3] or the stone in the temple with its two parasols and a lunar crescent in the gable (figs. 748, 749)[4], and billon coins showing the solar eagle with a wreath in its beak (fig. 750)[5], but

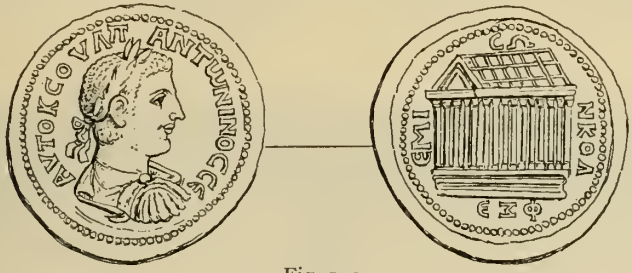


Fig. 747.

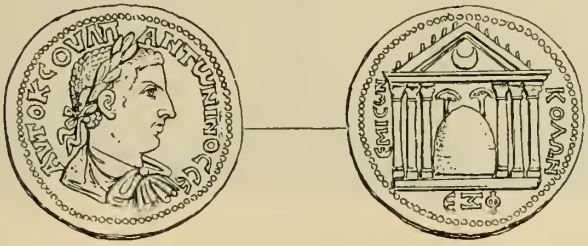


Fig. 748.

Fig. 749.

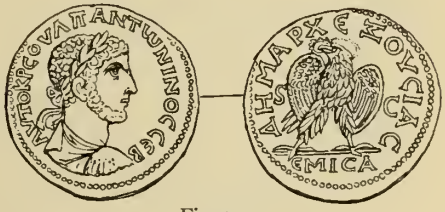


Fig. 750.

[1] Dion Cass. 80. 21. 2 (ix. 478 Cary).

[2] F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 531, F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2222.

[3] W. Fröhner 'Les monnaies d'Uranius Antoninus' in the *Annuaire de la société française de numismatique et d'archéologie* Mâcon 1886 p. 194 no. 12 pl. 7, 11 (=my fig. 747) Berlin. The date ϵΞΦ (565 of Seleucid era) = 253 A.D.

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 193 f. no. 11 pl. 7, 10 (=my fig. 748) Paris, no. 10 pl. 7, 9 (=my fig. 749) the bezel of an ancient ring formerly in the Charvet collection. The date ϵΞΦ = 253 A.D.

[5] *Id. ib.* p. 192 f. no. 8 pl. 7, 7 (=my fig. 750) London (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 240 no. 22 pl. 28, 1).

also gold pieces giving us the processional type (fig. 751)[1] and—best of all—a detailed representation of the stone itself (figs. 752, 753)[2]. It stands between parasols, clad in drapery, with a three-pointed tiara above and a *kteís* below. The front is marked by

Fig. 751.

Fig. 752.

Fig. 753.

three horizontal bands and three rows of points, the whole effect being that of a *quasi*-face.

Uranius' domination was brief (248—253 A.D.). But a fresh fillip was given to the cult, when Aurelian in 272 routed the forces of Zenobia near Emesa and entered the town to pay his debt of gratitude to its guardian god. After founding temples on the spot and enriching them with vast donations[3] he returned to Rome in 273 and there built the famous temple of the Sun, whose porphyry columns are still to be seen at Constantinople in the church of

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 191 no. 4 pl. 7, 4 (=my fig. 751) G. de Ponton d'Amécourt.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 189 f. no. 1 pl. 7, 1 (=my fig. 752) London ('Rapporté d'Orient par un consul anglais, acheté par Prosper Dupré et plus tard (1854) par Edouard Wigan, qui l'offrit au Musée britannique'), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 503 no. 1 fig., F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 644 fig. 738, ii. 529 fig. 2618, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 908 f. fig. My fig. 753 is from a fresh cast of the original, kindly supplied by Mr H. Mattingly (scale $\frac{2}{1}$).

[3] Vopisc. *v. Aurelian.* 25. 2—6.

Saint Sophia[1]. The Sun worshipped by Aurelian was in all probability a fusion of several oriental *Ba'alim*, among whom not the least in importance was Elagabalos[2].

(e) The stone of Dousares.

Dousares[3], the ancestral god of the Nabataean Arabs, was likewise represented by a black stone. Clement[4] of Alexandreia says simply: 'The Arabs used to worship their stone.' Our next witness, Maximus Tyrius[5], is more explicit: 'The Arabs worship I know not whom; but their image I have seen—it was a square stone.' A century later Arnobius[6], who cannot claim to be an eye-witness, calls it contemptuously 'a shapeless stone.' Finally Souidas[7], drawing from some unknown source, writes as follows:

'Theusares, that is the god Ares at Petra in Arabia. The god Ares is worshipped by them, for him they honour above all others. The image is a black stone, square and unshapen, four feet high by two feet broad. It is set on a base of wrought gold. To this they offer sacrifice and for it they pour forth the victims' blood, that being their form of libation. The whole building abounds in gold, and there are dedications galore.'

The evidence of the texts is borne out by that of the coins. At Adraa in the *Ḥaurân* imperial bronze pieces show a hemispherical stone set on a cubical base (Arabic *ka'bah*) or seat (Aramaean *môtab*), which is approached by a flight of steps (figs. 754—756)[8].

[1] H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 453—456, S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 pp. 491—493.

[2] Fr. Richter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1146—1149.

[3] A good account of Dousares is given by E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1206 f., and a yet better one by F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1865—1867. T. Nöldeke in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 663, 665 is more sketchy.

[4] Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 46. 2 p. 35, 14 f. πάλαι μὲν οὖν οἱ Σκύθαι τὸν ἀκινάκην, οἱ Ἄραβες τὸν λίθον, οἱ Πέρσαι τὸν ποταμὸν προσεκύνουν, κ.τ.λ.

[5] Max. Tyr. 8. 8 Ἀράβιοι σέβουσι μέν, ὅντινα δὲ οὐκ οἶδα· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἶδον, λίθος ἦν τετράγωνος.

[6] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 11 ridetis temporibus priscis Persas fluvios coluisse, memoralia ut indicant scripta, informem Arabas lapidem, acinacem Scythiae nationes, etc.

[7] Souid. *s.v.* Θεὺς Ἄρης· τουτέστι θεὸς Ἄρης, ἐν Πέτρᾳ τῆς Ἀραβίας. σέβεται δὲ θεὸς Ἄρης παρ' αὐτοῖς· τόνδε γὰρ μάλιστα τιμῶσι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα λίθος ἐστὶ μέλας, τετράγωνος, ἀτύπωτος, ὕψος ποδῶν τεσσάρων, εὖρος δύο· ἀνάκειται δὲ ἐπὶ βάσεως χρυσηλάτου. τούτῳ θύουσι καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῶν ἱερείων προχέουσι· καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἡ σπονδή. ὁ δὲ οἶκος ἅπας ἐστὶ πολύχρυσος, καὶ ἀναθήματα πολλά.

[8] R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 168 with fig. 37 (=my fig. 754) M. Aurelius ΔΟΥCΑΡΗC ΘΕΟCΑΔΡΑΗ[ΝΩΝ] and the date ΞΘ (?) (69 of the era used in the Roman province of Arabia=174/5 A.D.), *ib.* p. 168 f. fig. 38 (=my fig. 755) Gallienus, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Arabia etc. pp. xxiii, 15 pl. 3, 5 (=my fig. 756) Gallienus with date ΡΝ (150 of the Arabian era=255/6 A.D.), S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 25 pl. 33, 3.

At Bostra other pieces represent a triad of stones, surmounted by flat disks (? shew-bread) and again put on a plinth or platform reached by steps (figs. 757—760)[1]. At Charachmoba a unique coin of Elagabalus has a figure seated before an erection, on which is

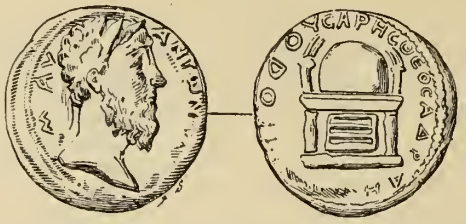


Fig. 754.

Fig. 755.

Fig. 756.

Fig. 757.

Fig. 758.

Fig. 759.

Fig. 760.

Fig. 761.

Fig. 762.

[1] F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 370 pl. 21, 12 (=my fig. 757) Herennius Etruscus and Valens Hostilianus [- - -]ADVCARIACOLMЄT[- - -], R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 169 f. fig. 39 (=my fig. 758) Trajan Decius ACTIADVSA[RIACOLME]TRBOSTRЄNORVM, C. R. Morey in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1911 xv. 73 f. pl. 3, 2 Elagabalus ΔOV... ΘЄ... (?) and pl. 3, 3 Herennius Etruscus and Valens Hostilianus, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Arabia etc. pp. xxvii f., 26 no. 48 pl. 4, 12 (=my fig. 759) Trajan Decius and Herennius Etruscus ACTIA DVSAR[IACOLMЄTRE]OSTRЄ NORVM and p. xxvii n. 3 pl. 49, 14 (=my

a pile or pillar between two smaller stones (fig. 761)[1]. All these are best interpreted as stones of Dousares[2], and it has been well suggested that on a coin of Petra struck by Severus the object held in the hand of the city-goddess is none other than Dousares' sacred pillar (fig. 762)[3].

Dussaud[4] remarks that the same triad of stones is to be seen on other Nabataean monuments. Thus at *el-Umta'iyyeh*, some hours

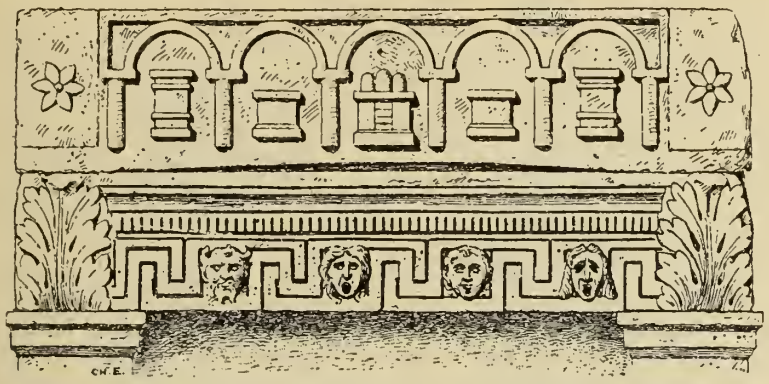


Fig. 763.

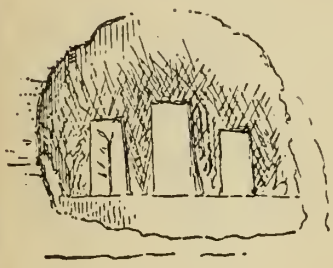


Fig. 764.

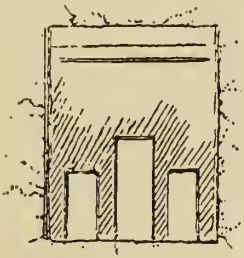


Fig. 765.

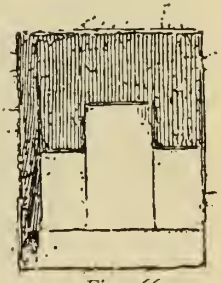


Fig. 766.

south-west of Bostra, the lintel spanning the main gate of an ancient pagan temple shows in relief the three stones on their stepped base with altars right and left, all visible between the pillars of a long arcade (fig. 763), while at *Medáin Sâlih* (*el-Héjr*)

fig. 760) Elagabalus ΔΟΥ with ΟC (probably for ΘЄ[ΟC]), S. A. Cook *op. cit.* p. 25 pl. 33, 4.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Arabia etc. pp. xxxi, 27 no. 3 (my fig. 761 is from a cast) ΧΑΡ ΑΚΜ[W ...].

[2] See Sir G. F. Hill *ib.* pp. xxiii, xxvii f., xxxi.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. xxxviii n. 2 pl. 49, 21 (=my fig. 762) ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗΠΕΤ ΡΑΜΗΤΡΟ-ΠΟΛΙC.

[4] R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 173 f. fig. 41 (=my fig. 763).

rock-cut niches adjoining the hewn chamber called *el-Diwán* offer similar groups of sacred stones (figs. 764—766)[1]. Such triads of stones, *maṣṣēbhôth*, are indeed wide-spread throughout the Semitic world[2] and presumably stand in some relation to the *'ăshērîm*[3]—tree-stems or sacred posts frequently figured in Cypriote art[4]. Possibly the plurality of the *'ăshērîm* led to the pluralisation of the *maṣṣēbhôth*. But the problem is a complex one and still awaits solution[5].

[1] C. M. Doughty *Travels in Arabia Deserta*[2] London 1921 i. 120 figs. 1—3 (=my figs. 764—766).

[2] See *e.g.* S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 24 pl. 6, 2.

[3] L. B. Paton in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1910 iii. 186[a–b], G. L. Robinson *ib.* 1913 vi. 678[b]—679[a], D. M. Kay *ib.* 1915 viii. 487[a–b], T. Davidson *ib.* 1918 x. 51[a–b], G. A. Barton *ib.* 1918 x. 92[b]—94[b], A. Alt in Ebert *Reallex.* i. 235 f., W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3] London 1927 p. 187 ff. with the comments of S. A. Cook *ib.* p. 560 ff.

[4] Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* pp. 172 ff., 410 pl. 69.

[5] The analogy of Woodhenge and Stonehenge in the west suggests that the sacred tree or trees were genetically prior to the standing stone or stones. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that a tree, which in time became a leafless tree or bare trunk (*e.g. supra* ii. 681 figs. 621—624), might be conventionalised into a post or pole (*supra* ii. 157 n. 1). And, since any object of timber ultimately decays, it might—like the wooden columns of the oldest Greek architecture—be replaced by the substitution of a permanent stone pillar (*supra* ii. 56 ff.). If so, the earlier forms would of course continue to subsist alongside of their later equivalents. Some such evolution has in fact already been indicated and exemplified (*supra* ii. 149).

Nevertheless this pedigree remains, in part at least, conjectural. Confining ourselves to verifiable facts, we might conclude with A. Lods *La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité israélite* Paris 1906 p. 201 f.: 'nous avons la preuve que la *maṣṣèbâh* servait à un véritable culte des morts....Il serait pourtant possible aussi que, au temps de David, on regardât la *maṣṣèbâh* funéraire comme destinée simplement à *perpétuer le souvenir* du défunt....Mais, même dans ce cas, la stèle n'était pas un simple aide-mémoire pour les vivants; c'était une sorte d'incarnation du défunt lui-même, lui permettant de "faire figure parmi les vivants" [F. M. J. Lagrange *Études sur les religions sémitiques*[2] Paris 1905 p. 199]....La *maṣṣèbâh* a donc, au fond, le même sens lorsqu'elle est dressée sur une tombe et lorsqu'elle est érigée dans un sanctuaire; elle est le corps, la demeure d'un esprit.' *Id. Israel from its Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century* trans. S. H. Hooke London 1932 pp. 87 f. with pl. 5, 1 and 2, 94 f., 116 n. 2, 227, 258—263 ('the most probable explanation seems to be that advanced by Robertson Smith: the purpose of the sacred stone was to provide the god who had manifested himself in a particular place, with an abode, a body, and to enable the worshippers to establish permanent relations with him. The reason why a stone was selected for this purpose was because it was the most suitable object to receive the sacrificial blood'). As such, the *maṣṣēbhôth* had a long history, not to say pre-history, behind them; for, whether they marked a sepulchre or a sanctuary, they cannot be separated from the megalithic erections of Palestine and Syria, and so take us back through the Bronze Age to Neolithic times (see now P. Thomsen in Ebert *Reallex.* viii. 106—115 pls. 34—37 and especially *id. ib.* pp. 139—143 pl. 44).

At a late stage in their evolution they began, like the standing stones of Sardinia or the *menhirs-sculptés* of France, Siebenbürgen, etc., to be shaped into *quasi*-human form—witness a curious block of grey, polished, stone (height 0·74[m]) found in 1922 on

Souidas' attempt to explain Dousares as a form of Ares[1] is, of course, a piece of puerile etymology, though Cumont[2] may be right in thinking that the same whimsy gave rise to the genitive *Dousáreos* found earlier in inscriptions[3]. When viticulture was introduced into Arabia, Dousares as principal god of the country may have taken it under his protection: Isidoros of Charax on the Tigris, a geographer of *s.* i A.D.[4], made Dousares a Nabataean name

a Fig. 767. *b*

the 'niveau syro-phénicien' at Laodikeia ad Libanum (*Qadesh*) and regarded by the finder, not as an unfinished statue, but as the schematic figure of a bearded deity (M. Pézard *Qadesh, mission archéologique à Tell Nebi Mend 1921—1922* (Haut-commissariat de la République française en Syrie et au Liban. Service des antiquités et des beaux-arts. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique T. xv) Paris 1931 p. 40 f. pl. 29 fig. 1 (=my fig. 767, *a*, *b*)).

[1] *Supra* p. 907. [2] F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1867.

[3] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii nos. 2023 (*Mélah-es-Sarrar*) Νάγος Χαίρου | *ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Δου|σάρεος ἐπόησε | τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τ|ῶν ἰδίων ἔτει νθ'* (59 of the Arabian era =164/5 A.D.), 2312 (*Soueida*, Soada) [·····]αθος M[··] | [···· *ἱερεὺς Δο]υσάρεος θε[οῦ*] | [·····]ετ *ἀνικήτου* | [*ἀνέστη*]*σεν.*

F. H. Weissbach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2064 ff.

for Dionysos[1]. The same native god was perhaps Hellenized as Zeus *Epikárpios* at Bostra[2], for a Nabataean vizier is known to have erected a votive offering to Zeus *Dousáres Sotér*(?) at Miletos[3]. A solar aspect of the god has also been deduced from the occurrence of Helios' epithet *Aníketos* in connexion with him[4].

As regards the ritual of Dousares, apart from Souidas[5] our sole informant is Epiphanios[6], bishop of Constantia in Kypros. This

[1] Hesych. *s.v.* Δουσάρην· τὸν Διόνυσον. Ναβαταῖοι. ὥς φησιν Ἰσίδωρος.

[2] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 1907 (Bostra, in the first half of *s.* ii A.D.) [ἐκ προνοίας - - -] | Φρό[ντ]ωνος τοῦ κυρίου ἡγεμόνος, | ἡ πόλις Ἐπικαρπίῳ Διὶ τὸν βωμὸν | ἱδρύσατο, ἐπὶ Σαβείνου Ἀμρειλίου | προέδρου τὸ β′ καὶ συναρχόντων. On Zeus Ἐπικάρπιος see *supra* i. 236 n. 10, ii. 260 n. 0, 1065, 1177 n. 2, 1186 and Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐπικάρπιος· Ζεὺς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ. Cumont *loc. cit.* p. 1867 says: 'Ob mit dem Zeus ἐπικάρπιος von Bostra... auch D[usares] gemeint ist, muss dahingestellt bleiben.'

[3] *Supra* ii. 317 n. 2.

[4] *Supra* p. 911 n. 3. See also *supra* i. 193 n. 1.

Another form of Zeus recognised at Bostra was Zeus *Ámmon*, who appears on the coins sometimes with a solar disk on his head (*e.g.* F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 368 pl. 21, 9 (=my fig. 768) Iulia Mamaea COLONIA BOSTRA) as on a coin of Alexandreia (*supra* i. 360 fig. 276), sometimes with a *kálathos*

Fig. 768.

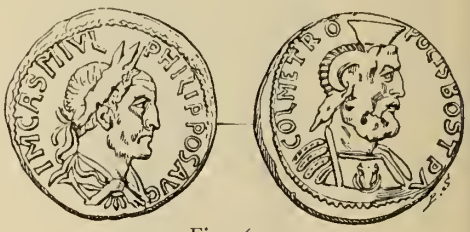


Fig. 769.

(R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 179 f. fig. 42 (=my fig. 769) Philippus Senior COLMETRO POLISBOSTRA) as in another Alexandrian type (*supra* i. 361 fig. 277). Dussaud asks: 'Ne serait-ce pas Dusarès ayant emprunté les traits de Jupiter Ammon?'

Sun-worship pure and simple is attested for the Nabataeans by Strab. 784 ἥλιον τιμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος ἱδρυσάμενοι βωμόν, σπένδοντες ἐν αὐτῷ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ λιβανωτίζοντες.

[5] *Supra* p. 907.

[6] Epiphan. *panar. haeres.* 51. 22. 9—11 πρῶτον μὲν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐν τῷ Κορείῳ <οὗ>τω καλουμένῳ· ναὸς δέ ἐστι μέγιστος τουτέστιν τὸ τέμενος τῆς Κόρης. ὅλην γὰρ τὴν νύκτα ἀγρυπνήσαντες ἐν ᾄσμασί τισι καὶ αὐλοῖς τῷ εἰδώλῳ ᾄδοντες καὶ πανυχίδα διατελέσαντες μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων κλαγγὴν κατέρχονται λαμπαδηφόροι εἰς σηκόν τινα ὑπόγαιον καὶ ἀναφέρουσι ξόανόν τι ξύλινον <ἐν> φορείῳ καθεζόμενον γυμνόν, ἔχον σφραγῖδά τινα σταυροῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου διάχρυσον καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατέραις χερσὶν ἄλλας δύο τοιαύτας σφραγῖδας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς δυσὶ γονάτοις ἄλλας δύο, ὁμοῦ δὲ [τὰς] πέντε σφραγῖδας ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ τετυπωμένας καὶ περιφέρουσιν αὐτὸ τὸ ξόανον ἑπτάκις κυκλώσαντες τὸν μεσαίτατον ναὸν μετὰ αὐλῶν καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ ὕμνων καὶ κωμάσαντες καταφέρουσιν αὐτὸ αὖθις εἰς τὸν ὑπόγαιον τόπον. ἐρωτώμενοι δὲ ὅτι τί ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ μυστήριον ἀποκρίνονται καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ σήμερον ἡ Κόρη (τουτέστιν ἡ παρθένος) ἐγέννησε τὸν Αἰῶνα.

τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν Πέτρᾳ τῇ πόλει (μητρόπολις δέ ἐστι τῆς Ἀραβίας, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἐδὼμ ἡ

prelate in a noteworthy passage of his *panárion*, 'A Medicine-chest to cure all Heresies' (374—378 A.D.[1]), is concerned to record pagan parallels to the Christian Epiphany[2] as celebrated on the night of January 5 to 6:

'First at Alexandreia in the *Kóreion* as they call it—a very large temple, the precinct of Kore[3]. All night long they keep vigil, chanting to their idol with songs and flutes. The nocturnal service over, at cock-crow torch-bearers go down into an underground chamber and bring up a wooden image, sitting naked on a litter, with the imprint of a golden cross on its forehead, two similar imprints on its hands, and other two on its knees, all told, five golden marks impressed upon it. They carry the image itself seven times round the central part of the temple with flutes, timbrels, and hymns. And after the procession they bring it down again to its underground quarters. If asked what they mean by this mystery, they make answer: "This day and hour Kore (that is, the Virgin) has given birth to Aion[4]."

ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς γεγραμμένη) ἐν τῷ ἑκεῖσε εἰδωλείῳ οὕτως γίνεται, καὶ Ἀραβικῇ διαλέκτῳ ἐξυμνοῦσι τὴν παρθένον, καλοῦντες αὐτὴν Ἀραβιστὶ Χαμοῦ τουτέστιν Κόρην εἶτ' οὖν παρθένον καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγεννημένον Δουσάρην τουτέστιν μονογενῆ τοῦ δεσπότου.

τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἐλούσῃ γίνεται τῇ πόλει κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα, ὡς ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ Πέτρᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ.

[1] A. Jülicher in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 193 (374—377 A.D.), W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 1448 (374—378 A.D.).

[2] K. Holl 'Der Ursprung des Epiphanienfestes' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* Phil.-hist. Classe 1917 p. 402 ff. with the observations of F. Boll in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 190 f.

[3] O. Puchstein in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1387.

[4] For Aion at Alexandreia K. Holl *ad loc.* cp. a billon coin of Antoninus Pius issued there in 138/9 A.D. (*Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 459 no. 404 pl. 87, 27) and in 144/5 A.D. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria etc. p. 117 no. 1004 pl. 26. Fig. 770 is from a specimen of mine): other examples of both issues are listed by J. G. Milne *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins* Oxford 1933 p. 40 nos. 1600—1604 and p. 42 nos. 1734—1737. Holl also quotes Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 8 pp. 164, 166 Duncker—Schneidewin *καθάπερ αὐτὸς ὁ ἱεροφάντης, οὐκ ἀποκεκομμένος μέν, ὡς ὁ Ἄττις, εὐνουχισμένος δὲ διὰ κωνείου καὶ πᾶσαν παρῃτημένος τὴν σαρκικὴν γένεσιν, νυκτὸς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρὶ τελῶν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἄρρητα μυστήρια βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε λέγων· 'ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον Βριμὼ Βριμόν,' τουτέστιν ἰσχυρὰ ἰσχυρόν.... αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ παρθένος ἡ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα καὶ συλλαμβάνουσα καὶ τίκτουσα υἱόν, οὐ ψυχικόν, οὐ σωματικόν, ἀλλὰ μακάριον Αἰῶνα Αἰώνων*, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1 p. 64, 6 ff. Wünsch (cited *supra* ii. 337 nn. 1 and 2), Souid. *s.v.* Ἡραΐσκος (of Egypt, a neo-Platonic connoisseur of deities, under Zenon emperor of the east (474—491 A.D.))· ...*οὕτω διέγνω τὸ ἄρρητον ἄγαλμα τοῦ Αἰῶνος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατεχόμενον, ὃν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐτίμησαν, Ὄσιριν ὄντα καὶ Ἄδωνιν ὁμοῦ κατὰ μυστικὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς φάναι θεοκρασίαν*, and an inscription of the Augustan age from Eleusis (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1125 Κόϊντος Πομπήϊος Ἄυλου υ[ἱὸς] | *ἐποίει καὶ ἀνέθηκε* | *σὺν ἀδελφοῖς* Ἄυλωι *καὶ* Σέξτωι | Αἰῶνα | *εἰς κράτος* Ῥώμης *καὶ διαμονὴν* | *μυστηρίων.* | Αἰὼν ὁ αὐτὸς *ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ* | *φύσει θείαι μένων κόσμος τε εἷς* | *κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, ὁποῖος ἔστι καὶ ἦν* | *καὶ ἔσται, ἀρχὴν μεσότητα τέλος* | *οὐκ ἔχων, μεταβολῆς ἀμέτοχος,* | *θείας φύσεως ἐργάτης αἰωνίου πάντα*, on which remarkable outburst of philosophic praise see O. Weinreich 'Aion in Eleusis' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 174—190). As to the five golden crosses imprinted on Aion, Weinreich *loc. cit.*

Fig. 770.

Again, at Petra (the metropolis of Arabia, that is the Edom mentioned in the Scriptures) in the idol-house there the same thing takes place. They hymn the Virgin in the speech of Arabia, calling her in Arabic *Chaamoû*[1], that is

p. 187 n. 2 approves a suggestion of F. Boll, that they represented the five 'Lebensterne' of the Egyptians, *i.e.* the five planets, but also cites the oracle given by Ammon to Alexander (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 178 from pseudo-Kallisth. 1. 33. 2 ὦ βασιλεῦ <σοι> Φοῖβος ὁ μηλόκερως ἀγορεύει· | εἴ γε θέλεις αἰῶσιν ἀγηράτοισι νεάζειν, | κτίζε πόλιν περίφημον <ὑπὲρ Πρωτηίδα νῆσον,> | ἣς προκάθητ' <Αἰὼν> Πλουτώνιος <αὐτὸς> ἀνάσσων | πενταλόφοις κορυφαῖσιν ἀτέρμονα κόσμον ἑλίσσων).

See further C. Lackeit *Aion, Zeit und Ewigkeit in Sprache und Religion der Griechen* 1. Teil: Sprache Königsberg 1916, 11. Teil: Religion ('im Erscheinen'), *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 64—68, H. Junker 'Über iranische Quellen der hellenistischen Aionvorstellung' in the *Bibliothek Warburg. Vorträge 1921—1922* p. 125 ff., E. Norden *Die Geburt des Kindes* Leipzig—Berlin 1924 p. 24 ff., L. Troje 'Die Geburt des Aion—ein altes Mysterium' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1923—1924 xxii. 87—116, O. Kern 'Plutos in Alexandreia' *ib.* p. 199 f., M. Zepf 'Der Gott Αἰών in der hellenistischen Theologie' *ib.* 1927 xxv. 225—244, F. Cumont in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1928 p. 274 ff., J. Scheftelowitz 'Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit in der indischen und iranischen Religion (Kāla und Zruvan)' in the *Beiträge zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte* 1929 iv. 1—58.

These lucubrations tend to show that the Hellenistic cult of Aion was a semi-philosophical synthesis of several elements, all derived from the near east—the Chaldaean connexion of eternity with astrology; the old Persian god Zervan, underlying the later Mithraic Kronos or Aion (*supra* ii. 1053); the Phoenician Oulomos 'Eternity' (*supra* ii. 1037), and Aion the human son of Baaut 'Night' and Kolpias 'Wind' (*supra* i. 191); the Egyptian Heh, god of Eternity, who as Aion came to be equated with Osiris and Adonis, and appears not only as a sun-god (Osiris) but even as a moon-goddess (Isis); and finally the Gnostic series of Aiones, whose supreme summation was the absolute Aion. In short, it would appear that the cult of Aion was the product of a comprehensive religious movement, which in some ways recalls the all-embracing ontology of Neo-Platonism.

[1] The text of Epiphanios, here dependent on a single manuscript (Marcianus 125) reads Χααμοῦ, which is kept by both K. W. Dindorf and K. Holl. The latter cites in support B. Moritz 'Der Sinaikult in heidnischer Zeit' in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1916 Abh. ii. 18, who records numerous inscriptions with such names as Χααμου, Χααμμος, Χαμμέους, Χαμμω, Χαιαμος, etc.

But E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1206 would read Χααβοῦ, adding '...dagegen bedeutet Ka'abû allerdings eine blühende Jungfrau; dabei ist...der Nachdruck nicht auf die Jungfräulichkeit, sondern auf die strotzende Fülle zu legen. Ob diese Mutter des Dusares mit dem in Mekka verehrten Steinklotze, der Ka'aba, an die sich bekanntlich auch die Verehrung mehrerer Göttinnen, der Allât, der 'Uzza und der Manât, anschloss (*Qoran* 53, 19 f.), identisch oder nahe verwandt ist, muss bei dem gänzlichen Mangel genauer Nachrichten dahingestellt bleiben.'

F. Cumont, too, in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1866 writes: 'Dieses Baetylion, das als jungfräuliche Mutter des Gottes angesehen wurde, wie die *Petra genitrix* der Mithrasmysterien, war Χαάβου genannt, d. h. wohl כעבר "der Würfel."'

R. Eisler in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 630 prints Χααβοῦ and notes: 'der hs. Lautbestand Χααμοῦ entspricht der bekannten, auch im Babylonischen nachweisbaren Aussprache von *m* wie *w*; ...das *-ov* ist die im Nabatäischen auch für Feminina übliche Endung auf ו; zum Namen selbst, dessen Identität mit der altnekkanischen "Ka'aba" bekannt ist, sowie über seine Doppelbedeutung "Würfel" und "Jungfrau," wörtlich '"Mädchen mit reifer, voller Brust,"' vgl. Blochet, *Le culte d'Aphrodite Anahita chez les Arabes du Paganisme*, *Revue de linguistique* xxxv 1902, p. 5 ff. und Eisler, Philol. LXVIII, p. 121 ff.'

"Kore" or "Virgin," and her offspring *Dousáres*, that is "Only-begotten of the Lord[1]."

In the town of Elousa[2] also the same thing takes place that night as happens there in Petra and at Alexandreia[3].'

[1] The derivation of Δουσάρης is disputed. The name is commonly interpreted as *Dhû*, 'Lord' (=north Semitic *Ba'al*), of *Sharâ*, a place-name. This might be one of several localities (J. Wellhausen *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2] Berlin 1897 p. 51), but was probably a mountain-range in Arabia (cp. Steph. Byz. Δουσαρή· σκόπελος καὶ κορυφὴ ὑψηλοτάτη Ἀραβίας. εἴρηται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δουσάρου. θεὸς δὲ οὗτος παρὰ Ἄραψιν καὶ Δαχαρηνοῖς τιμώμενος. οἱ οἰκοῦντες Δουσαρηνοί, ὡς Δαχαρηνοί)—the scriptural 'mount Seir' (Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 952). G. Dalman *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer* Leipzig 1908 i. 49 hazards a Sumerian etymology *Dŭ-šar-ra*='Allbesieger.' In any case the notion that Δουσάρης meant μονογενὴς τοῦ δεσπότου is absurd.

[2] Elousa (*Ḥalaṣa*) was a town in Idumaea, 71 miles from Jerusalem (I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2457). The local cult is mentioned incidentally by Hieron. *v. Hilarion.* 25 (xxiii. 42 B—C Migne) vadens (*sc.* St Hilarion) in desertum Cades ad unum de discipulis suis visendum, cum infinito agmine monachorum pervenit Elusam eo forte die, quo anniversaria solemnitas omnem oppidi populum in templum Veneris congregaverat. colunt autem illam ob Luciferum, cuius cultui Saracenorum natio dedita est....quos ille blande humiliterque suscipiens, obsecrabat ut Deum magis quam lapides colerent.' R. Eisler in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 630 n. 0 comments 'Σαρακηνοί von *šrk* "Morgenstern" wie Ἀγαρηνοί von *ḥağar* "Stein."'

On the ancient Arabian worship of the Morning Star see also Io. Damask. *de haeres.* 101 (xciv. 764 A—B Migne) οὗτοι μὲν οὖν (*sc.* οἱ Σαρακηνοί) εἰδωλολατρήσαντες καὶ προσκυνήσαντες τῷ ἐωσφόρῳ ἄστρῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἣν δὴ καὶ Χαβὰρ (*v.l.* Χαβέρ) τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐπωνόμασαν γλώσσῃ, ὅπερ σημαίνει μεγάλη, Gutberlethus cap. 1 (e Catechesi Saracenorum: quoted by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1227) ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τῷ Ἑωσφόρῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἣν κατὰ τὴν Ἀράβων γλῶσσαν Χάβαρ λέγουσιν, ὅπερ ἔστι μεγάλη (parallels *infra* p. 917 n. 7), Bartholomaeus Edess. (*s.* ix A.D.) *confut. Agaren.* p. 307 Le Moyne (civ. 1385 C Migne) ὃν οἱ Ἄραβες δοκιμάζετε, <ὃν> τὸ ἑωσφόρον ἄστρον, Ζεβὼ Ἀφροδίτη (*sic*) Κρόνον καὶ Χαμὰρ λέγετε. The cult is further discussed by W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3] London 1927 pp. 56 n. 3, 281 ff., T. Nöldeke in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 665[b], cp. S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 218 n. 3.

[3] Cp. Kosmas of Jerusalem (*s.* viii A.D.) *commentarii in Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni carmina* 52 (xxxviii. 464 Migne) ταύτην (*sc.* Christmas) ἦγον ἔκπαλαι δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτὴν Ἕλληνες, καθ' ἣν ἐτελοῦντο κατὰ τὸ μεσονύκτιον, ἐν ἀδύτοις τισὶν ὑπεισερχόμενοι, ὅθεν ἐξιόντες ἔκραζον· "Ἡ παρθένος ἔτεκεν, αὔξει φῶς.' ταύτην Ἐπιφάνιος ὁ μέγας τῆς Κυπρίων ἱερεύς φησι τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ Σαρρακηνοὺς ἄγειν τῇ παρ' αὐτῶν σεβομένῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἣν δὴ Χαμαρᾶ τῇ αὐτῶν προσαγορεύουσι γλώττῃ. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1227 n. [z] quotes a slightly different version from T. Gaisford *Catalogus sive notitia manuscriptorum qui a cel. E. D. Clarke comparati in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adservantur* Oxonii 1812 i. 43 ταύτην <τὴν> ἑορτὴν Ἕλληνες ἦγον ἐτησίαν ἔκπαλαι καθ' ἣν ἐτέχθη Χριστὸς ἡμέραν αὐξίφωτον καλοῦντες. ἐτελοῦντο δὲ κατὰ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ἀδύτοις ὑπεισερχόμενοι, ὅθεν ἐξιόντες ἔκραζον· "Ἡ παρθένος ἔτεκεν· αὔξει φῶς.' ταύτην, ὡς Ἐπιφάνιος γράφει, τὴν ἑορτὴν ἦγον καὶ Σαρακηνοὶ πάλαι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς σεβομένην τιμῶντες Ἀφροδίτην, ἣν δὴ Χαβαρα (*sic* without accent) τῇ αὐτῶν προσαγορεύουσι γλώσσῃ. F. Boll in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1910 Abh. xvi. 16, 40 ff. publishes a calendar from Lower Egypt drawn up *c.* 200 A.D. by the astrologer Antiochos, in which Dec. 25 is marked as Ἡλίου γενέθλιον· αὔξει φῶς. Nevertheless K. Holl in his note on Epiphan. *panar. haeres.* 51. 22. 11 insists 'dass Epiphanius—ob mit Recht oder Unrecht—hier nicht den 25. Dez., sondern den 6. Januar meint.'

This curious passage, whatever else it implies, at least asserts that at Petra in the fourth century Dousares was viewed as the offspring of Chaamou, a goddess comparable with Kore, the Greek Queen of the Underworld, and further that his birth was the subject of an annual mystery-show. Of his sire we hear nothing except the improbable claim that *Dousáres* meant the 'Only-begotten of the Lord.' Beyond these obvious pronouncements it would not be safe to speculate[1].

We are not then, so far as I can see, in a position to state definitely that the black stone of Dousares was an actual meteorite. At the same time we must concede that it is found in suspiciously stellar company. Its analogues at Alexandreia and at Elousa were both of the starry order. For Aion at Alexandreia was marked

[1] R. Eisler in successive articles ('Kuba—Kybele' in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 118—151, 161—209, 'Kuba—Kybele' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1909 pp. 368—372, 'Das Fest des "Geburtstages der Zeit" in Nordarabien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 628—635) has maintained that throughout the near east the Semites worshipped a great matriarchal goddess under various connected or connectible names—Χααβοῦ, Χαμάρ, Χαβάρ, Χαβέρ, Χουβάρ, Κουβάρ, Καβήρ, Καβέρ. In Asia Minor she was the Mother of the gods, *Kybele*, the *Matar Kubile* of Phrygian inscriptions (F. Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2250), whose cult had spread to Greece by *s.* vi B.C. and reached Rome in 204 B.C.

These names, linked together 'durch das Band des Gleichklangs und der Buchstabengleichheit, die Basis aller morgenländischen Wortmystik und religiösen Begriffsbildung,' were associated with three distinct word-groups: (1) Arabic *ka'ab*, Greek *κύβος*, Latin *cubus*, English *cube*—the goddess being represented by a stone block (cp. Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 63 p. 114, 8 Wünsch Κυβέλη ἀπὸ τοῦ κυβικοῦ σχήματος). (2) Arabic *ka'aba* 'to have swelling, prominent, or protuberant breasts' (see E. W. Lane *An Arabic-English Lexicon* London and Edinburgh 1885 Book I Part vii p. 2615 f.), *ka'ab* 'maiden with full breast,' *ku'ub* 'bosom,' *ku'ba* 'virginity.' Cp. the Hittite Mother of the gods, whose sign is ◁ ▷ a pair of breasts (F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 52 n. 2), the Ephesian Artemis (*supra* ii. 405 n. 4 figs. 307—315), and the Persian Anahita from Arabic *nahada* 'to be full-breasted' [E. Blochet 'Le culte d'Aphrodite-Anahita chez les Arabes du Paganisme' in the *Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée* 1902 xxxv. 8 n. 1 '*nâhida* désigne une "fille aux seins arrondis"; ce mot est très probablement une transcription du nom de la grande déesse perse Anâhita, l'aspect iranien de l'Astarté sémitique.' But my colleague Prof. H. W. Bailey tells me that this derivation is frankly impossible: *Anāhita* means 'Undefiled.' Again, Eisler blunders badly when in this connexion he speaks of 'der kleinasiatischen "Demeter" Μεγαλόμαζος und Δεκάμαζος': see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 84 n. 2, 1178 n. 7]. (3) Greek *κύββα*, *κύμβη*, *κύπελλον*, Latin *cupa*, and other words for '*cup*' or 'hollow.' The Meccan *Ka'aba*, a feminine substantive, was originally a goddess embodied as an aerolite and annually draped in accordance with an ancient marriage-rite. In her case the 'hollow' was of course the womb, cp. the *kteís* on the stone of Kybele (?) (*supra* p. 897 f. figs. 727—730) and on that of Elagabalos (*supra* p. 906 figs. 752, 753).

From *μήτρα* Eisler passes on to *ὀμφαλός*, contending that the Lydian Omphale was a form of Kybele—witness her lion-skin etc.—and dealing with many other topics which do not immediately concern us. On the whole, his articles are brim-full of learning and abound in novel suggestions, some of which deserve to be followed up; but they are, to my thinking, largely vitiated by an admixture of doubtful or worse than doubtful etymologies.

with five golden crosses, a star-spangled child; and Venus at Elousa was worshipped 'on account of the Morning Star.' The phrase recalls Astarte's discovery of a star dropped from the sky[1]—Lucifer fallen from heaven[2]. If we were right in regarding the dropped star of Tyre as a meteorite, the black stone of Dousares may have been meteoric too.

That conclusion was reached more than a century since by F. Münter[3] and F. v. Dalberg[4], who went on to argue that the black stone still to be seen in the Ka'bah at Mecca was in pre-Islamic times the meteoric form of an Arab deity, either Dousares himself (Münter) or the Moon (V. Dalberg). They rightly drew attention to Arab beliefs concerning the origin of the stone[5] and its early history[6]. Of these the most important is contained in an extract from Niketas Choniates[7] written between 1204 and

[1] *Supra* p. 892. [2] Isa. 14. 12, cp. Luke 10. 18.

[3] F. Münter *Antiquarische Abhandlungen* Kopenhagen 1816 p. 281 f.

[4] F. v. Dalberg *Ueber Meteor-Cultus der Alten, vorzüglich in Bezug auf Steine, die vom Himmel gefallen* Heidelberg 1811 p. 93 ff.

[5] F. v. Dalberg *op. cit.* p. 95 f. 'Die Araber behaupten, der Engel Gabriel habe ihn vom Himmel zur Erbauung der Ka'abah gebracht... Der Sage nach soll er anfänglich *weiss* und *schimmernd* gewesen seyn (vielleicht weil er als ein glühender Stein herab fiel), nachher aber wäre er der Thränen willen, die er für die Sünden der Menschen vergoss, ganz *schwarz* geworden, und habe seinen ersten Glanz verlohren.' So R. F. Burton *Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Meccah and Medinah*[3] London—Belfast 1879 p. 493 n. 3 'Moslems agree that it was originally white, and became black by reason of men's sins. It appeared to me a common aërolite covered with a thick slaggy coating, glossy and pitch-like, worn and polished. Dr Wilson of Bombay showed me a specimen in his possession, which externally appeared to be a black slag, with the inside of a bright and sparkling greyish-white, the result of admixture of nickel with the iron. This might possibly, as the learned Orientalist then suggested, account for the mythic change of color, its appearance on earth after a thunderstorm, and its being originally a material part of the heavens. Kutb el-Din expressly declares that, when the Karamitah restored it after twenty-two years to the Meccans, men kissed it and rubbed it upon their brows; and remarked that the blackness was only superficial, the inside being white.'

[6] F. Münter *op. cit.* p. 282 n. 48 'Wenigstens sagt die Morgenländische Fabel: eum esse cum pretiosis Paradisi lapidibus cum Adamo in terram demissum; ac postea—fügt sie hinzu—diluvii tempore rursus in coelum sublatum. Sim. Assemanni Saggio sull origine, culto, litteratura e costumi degli Arabi avanti Maometto. Padoua 1788. p. 21.'

[7] F. Lenormant *Lettres assyriologiques et épigraphiques sur l'histoire & les Antiquités de l'Asie antérieure* Paris 1872 ii. 126 n. 1 cites an unpublished passage of Niket. Chon. *θησαυρὸς ὀρθοδοξίας* from cod. Gr. Flor. xxiv, plut. ix, fol. 259 r° *ἀναθεματίζω καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν εἰς τὸ Μέκε οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, ἐν ᾧ φασι κεῖσθαι μέσῳ λίθον μέγαν ἐκτύπωμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔχοντα, τιμᾶσθαι δὲ τοῦτον ὡς ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἄγαρ ὁμιλήσαντος τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ἢ ὡς αὐτῷ τὴν κάμηλον προσδήσαντος ὅτε τὸν Ἰσαὰκ ἔμελλε θύειν· τοὺς δὲ εἰς προσευχὴν ἐκεῖ ἀπιόντας μὲν μίαν (leg. μίαν μὲν) αὐτῶν χεῖρα πρὸς τὸν λίθον ἐκτείνειν, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ τὸ οὖς κατέχειν τὸ ἴδιον, καὶ οὕτω κυκλοτερῶς ἑαυτοὺς περιφέρειν ἕως ἂν πέσωσι σκοτοδινιάσαντες* and further *ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τῷ πρωϊνῷ ἄστρῳ ἤγουν τῷ ἑωσφόρῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἣν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀρράβων γλῶσσαν Χαβὰρ ὀνομάζουσι, τουτέστι μεγάλην.*

With this second anathema cp. *supra* p. 915 n. 2 and Const. Porphyrogen. *de*

1210 A.D.[1] but based on the earlier evidence of Euthymios Zigabenos (*c.* 1100 A.D.)[2]. From this it appears that the stone was marked with the shape of Aphrodite, presumably a *kteis*[3], and associated traditionally with the union of Hagar and Abraham. It was long since surmised by Falconnet[4] that the allusion must be to a natural stone simulating the womb. Such stones were known to early naturalists as 'hystérolithes[5],' 'Hysterolithen[6].'

Sir Richard Burton, who made his famous pilgrimage to Mecca in 1853, has described and illustrated the Ka'bah as decked in its annual attire, a covering of brilliant black with a golden band

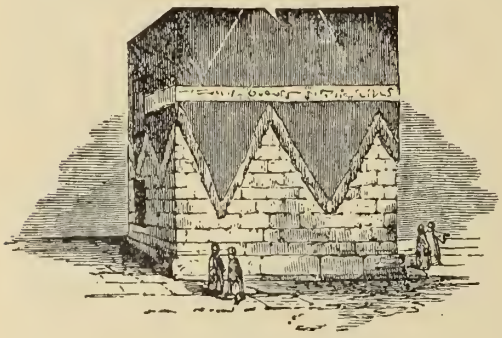


Fig. 771.

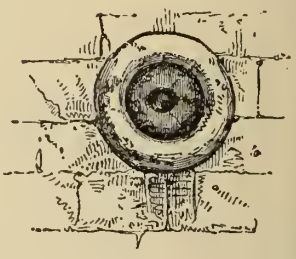


Fig. 772.

administr. imp. 14 (iii. 92 Bekker) προσεύχονται δὲ (*sc.* οἱ Σαρακηνοί) καὶ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἄστρον, ὃ καλοῦσι Κουβάρ, καὶ ἀναφωνοῦσιν ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ αὐτῶν οὕτως "Αλλὰ οὐὰ Κουβάρ,' ὅ ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Ἀφροδίτη. τὸν γὰρ Θεὸν Ἄλλὰ προσονομάζουσι, τὸ δὲ οὐὰ ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ συνδέσμου τιθέασι, καὶ τὸ Κουβὰρ καλοῦσι τὸ ἄστρον, καὶ λέγουσιν οὕτως "Αλλὰ οὐὰ Κουβάρ'—an exact statement variously distorted by Euthym. Zigaben. πανοπλία δογματική 28. 1 (cxxx. 1333 A Migne), Kedren. *hist. comp.* 425 B—C (i. 744 Bekker), Glykas *ann.* 4. 277 D (p. 515 Bekker).

[1] K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 p. 92.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 82 ff. F. Münter *op. cit.* p. 282 n. 48 already quotes Zigabenos from F. Sylburg *Saracenica sive Mohamethica* Heidelbergae 1595 p. 85.

[3] The expression ἐκτύπωμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης used by Zigabenos and Niketas is well illustrated by Lenormant *op. cit.* p. 127 f. from Plout. *de fluv.* 12. 2 (Sagaris) γενναῖται δ' ἐν αὐτῷ λίθος αὐτόγλυφος καλούμενος· εὑρίσκεται γὰρ τετυπωμένην ἔχων τὴν Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν. τοῦτον τὸν λίθον ἐὰν εὕρῃ τις, σπανίως εὑρισκόμενον, τῶν ὑποτεμνομένων οὐ ξενίζεται, ἀλλ' εὐψύχως φέρει τῆς παρὰ φύσιν πράξεως τὴν ὄψιν· καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Ἀρετάζης ἐν τοῖς Φρυγιακοῖς (Aretades of Knidos *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 316 Müller)). Anna Komn. *Alexias* 10. 284 D (ii. 30 f. Schopen) ἔνθεν τοι καὶ τὴν Ἀστάρτην αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν Ἀσταρὼθ προσκυνοῦσι καὶ σέβονται καὶ τοῦ ἄστρου τὸν τύπον περὶ πλείονος τίθενται καὶ τὴν χρυσῆν παρ' ἐκείνοις Χοβάρ is more vague. But there can be little doubt that the τύπος in question was a *kteis*.

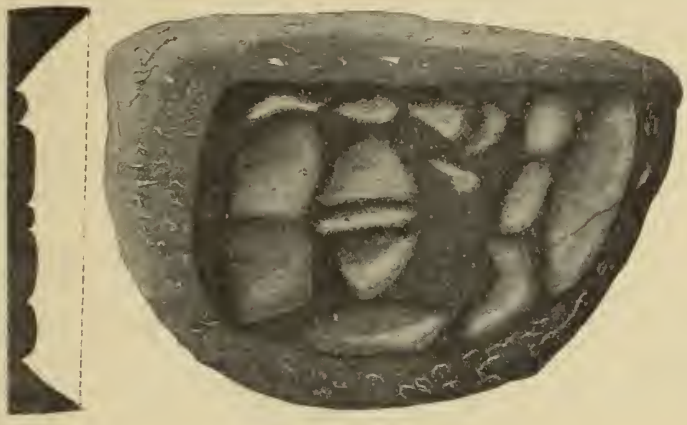
[4] Falconnet 'Dissertation sur les Bætyles' in the *Mémoires de littérature tirez des registres de l'académie royale des inscriptions et belles lettres* Paris 1729 vi. 528 compares 'la Pierre de la Mere des Dieux' with 'ces Pierres figurées, que les Naturalistes appellent *Hysterolithes*.' *The Oxford English Dictionary* Oxford 1933 v. 516 *s.v.* '**Hysterolite**' says: 'internal casts of a fossil shell (*Orthis Striatula*) were so called by old authors.'

[5] F. Lenormant *op. cit.* ii. 128.

[6] R. Eisler in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 135.

bearing inscriptions (fig. 771)[1]. He adds a sketch of the Black Stone, which is now built into the south-east corner of the Ka'bah near the door and forms part of the sharp external angle at a height of four feet nine inches above the ground (fig. 772). He endorses the words of Burckhardt, who says[2]:

'It is an irregular oval, about seven inches in diameter, with an undulating surface, composed of about a dozen smaller stones of different sizes and shapes, well joined together with a small quantity of cement, and perfectly well smoothed: it looks as if the whole had been broken into many pieces by a violent blow, and then united again[3].... It appeared to me like a lava, containing several small particles of a whitish and of a yellowish substance. Its



a *b*

Fig. 773.

color is now a deep reddish-brown, approaching to black. It is surrounded on all sides by a border composed of a substance which I took to be a close cement of pitch and gravel of a similar, but not quite the same, brownish color. This border serves to support its detached pieces; it is two or three inches in breadth, and rises a little above the surface of the stone[4]. Both the border and

[1] R. F. Burton *Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Meccah and Medinah*[3] London—Belfast 1879 p. 436 ff. with p. 437 plan of Ka'ba, p. 439 view of Ka'ba (=my fig. 771).

[2] *Ib.*[3] p. 494 f. quoting J. L. Burckhardt, with sundry notes of his own by way of corrections or additions. My fig. 772 reproduces the sketch of the Black Stone given by Burton on p. 494.

[3] On the injuries suffered by the stone at various times see D. S. Margoliouth in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 513[a-b].

[4] Fig. 773, *a* and *b*, are reduced (scale $\frac{3}{4}$) from the half-size section and elevation of the Black Stone and its border given by Sir William Muir *The Life of Mahomet from original sources*[3] London 1894 p. 27. Muir says: 'This stone, which is semi-circular, measures some six inches in height and eight in breadth; it is of a reddish-black colour, and notwithstanding the polish imparted by myriads of kisses, bears to the present day in its undulating surface marks of a volcanic origin.' But see L. Beck *Die Geschichte des Eisens in technischer und kulturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* Braunschweig 1884 i. 18:

the stone itself are encircled by a silver band, broader below than above, and on the two sides, with a considerable swelling below, as if a part of the stone were hidden under it[1]. The lower part of the border is studded with silver nails.'

The silver setting of the Black Stone is of interest, for it forms a point of comparison with the Black Stone of Kybele which was likewise set in silver[2].

(f) The stone *siderítes* or *oreítes*.

If the meteoric stone was sometimes regarded as a mother, marked with a *kteís*[3], and draped in a veil[4], it was also on occasion viewed as a babe, carried in the arms, and wrapped in swaddling bands. An example of the latter treatment is afforded by the stone known indifferently as *siderítes* the 'iron-stone' or *oreítes* the 'mountain-stone.'

Of this Pliny[5], our earliest authority, has little to say. He is aware of its twofold name, but adds merely that the stone is globular in appearance and unaffected by fire.

Much more may be learnt from Damigeron[6] the Mage, who wrote a lapidary attributed to *s.* ii. A.D. Some fragments of the original Greek have come down to us[7], but the whole text is available only in a Latin version[8] of *s.* v fathered upon an Arabian king Euax[9], who in a prefatory letter greets the emperor Tiberius. This prose work was rewritten in Latin hexameters by Marbode,

'Es ist dies das älteste aufbewahrte Meteorit, da sich das angebliche Meteoreisen von Pompeji durch die Untersuchung von Gustav Rose als künstliches Eisen erwiesen hat.'

[1] Burton *op. cit.*[3] p. 494 n. 3 observes: 'Ibn Jubayr declares the depth of the stone unknown, but that most people believe it to extend two cubits into the wall. In his day it was three "Shibr" (the large span from the thumb to the little finger tip) broad, and one span long, with knobs, and a joining of four pieces, which the Karamitah had broken. The stone was set in a silver band.'

[2] *Supra* p. 897.

[3] *Supra* pp. 898, 906, 916 n. 1, 918.

[4] *Supra* pp. 898, 906, 916 n. 1, 918.

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 176 oritis globosa specie a quibusdam et sideritis vocatur, ignes non sentiens.

[6] On Damigeron see M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2055 f., O. Rossbach *ib.* vii. 1113 f., Joan Evans *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance particularly in England* Oxford 1922 p. 20 ff., W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 983, 1072.

[7] V. Rose in *Hermes* 1875 ix. 471—491, F. de Mély *Les Lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge* Paris 1898 ii. 1 pp. xiii, 125—133, Joan Evans *op. cit.* p. 20.

[8] Printed at the end of E. Abel *Orphei Lithica* Berolini 1881 p. 161 ff. and, from two earlier MSS., in Joan Evans *op. cit.* Append. A p. 195 ff. Where the texts differ I follow that of Miss Evans.

[9] M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 849 f.

bishop of Rennes, between 1067 and 1081, and in that form became the most popular lapidary of the middle ages. More than a hundred manuscripts of it are extant, not to mention versions in six or seven languages[1].

The Latin Damigeron[2] distinguishes three varieties of *oreítes* or *siderítes*. The first is deep black and round[3]. It is good for bites. If pounded and rubbed in with rose unguent, it quickly cures wounds made by wild animals. If tied on to the sufferer, it makes his sinews unite[4]. Whoever takes it with him will foil any attack by wild beasts. Hence it is worn by the Magi when they cross the desert. The second sort is green with whitish spots. If genuine, it will not be consumed by the fiercest fire[5]. It is invaluable as a protection against all dangers and alarms. The third kind looks like an iron plate smooth on one side but studded with sharp nails on the other[6]. Great are its virtues. Kings bind it upon their concubines to prevent them from losing their good looks, or from producing imperfect offspring, or from failing to conceive at all. Indeed, so powerful is its effect on childbirth that, placed on a pregnant woman, it will at once bring on her delivery[7].

The 'Orphic' *Lithiká*, a work assigned on stylistic and other grounds to the latter part of the fourth century[8], expatiates in a tasteless way on the virtues of the stone as recorded by Damigeron[9], but prefixes a passage[10] of much mythical and magical interest drawn from some unknown source—hardly Damigeron, certainly not Orpheus[11].

Helenos—we read—advised the Greeks to fetch Philoktetes from Lemnos to Troy, and the arrival of Philoktetes meant the

[1] For a detailed and documented account see Joan Evans *op. cit.* p. 33 ff.

[2] Damig. *de lapid.* 16 Abel, 39 Evans.

[3] Cp. Plin. *loc. cit.* (*supra* p. 920 n. 5).

[4] Cp. Orph. *lith.* 364 f. (*infra* p. 922 n. 1).

[5] Cp. Plin. *loc. cit.* (*supra* p. 920 n. 5).

[6] Cp. Orph. *lith.* 363 *ὑποτρηχύν* (*infra* p. 922 n. 1).

[7] The text of the last two sentences is defective and stands in need of emendation (see Abel *ad loc.*). But the general sense is clear from a passage in the prose epitome of Orph. *lith.* p. 147, 2 f. Abel *καὶ στείραις δὲ γυναιξὶ περιδεσμούμενον εὐτοκίαν φασὶ παρέχειν.*

[8] See E. Abel's 'praefatio' pp. 1—4.

[9] Orph. *lith.* 390—473.

[10] *Ib.* 357—389.

[11] In spite of Tzetz. *posthom.* 571 ff. *καὶ τότε μὲν Ἕλενος, θεόφοιτος μάντις ἀμύμων,* | ...*ἐκ σιδηρίταο, κατ' Ὀρφέα, μαντιπόλοιο,* | *λίθου ἀνδρολόγοιο, μαθὼν ὅσα τεύχετο Τροίῃ,* | *εἶπε Φιλοκτήταο βίην κομίσαι ἀπὸ Λήμνου, κ.τ.λ.* and *chil.* 6. 614 ff. *ἡ σιδηρῖτις λίθος τις τυγχάνει, κατ' Ὀρφέα,* | *ἣν ἀεννάοις ταῖς πηγαῖς εἰ λούοι τις, ὡς γράφει,* | *καὶ οἷς ἑτέροις δέ φησιν ἀνερωτήσας ταύτην,* | *ὥσπερ παιδὸς νεογιλοῦ ταύτης φωνὴν ἀκούσοι,* | *μαντευομένης ἀληθῶς περὶ πραγμάτων πάντων.* | *εἶτα δὲ ἀποψύχεται, καθάπερ τεθνηκυῖα.* | *ἐκ ταύτης καὶ ὁ Ἕλενος πόρθησιν Τροίας ἔφη.*

death of Paris. But how came Helenos to give such fateful advice? It was because Phoibos Apollon had bestowed upon him—

> A voiceful stone, the unerring *siderítes*,
> Which some the live *oreítes* please to call,
> Round, somewhat rough, strong, black of hue, and dense,
> While over and about it every way
> Stretch sinews like to wrinkles drawn upon it[1].

For ten days Helenos observed rules of ceremonial purity touching bed and bath and food. Meantime he washed the wise stone[2] in flowing water, and tended it like a babe with clean garments. He offered sacrifices to it as if it were a god, and brought breath into it by the use of potent spells[3]. He lit lights in his hall, and dandled the godfearing stone[4] in his arms as a mother might dandle her infant. Anyone who does the same will at last hear the stone utter a cry like that of a new-born babe whimpering for milk. It will then and there answer truly any questions that you may choose to ask it. After which, if you lift it and look closely at it, you can see it die down in wondrous fashion[5]. It was through hearkening to this prophetic stone[6] that Helenos told the sons of Atreus how his fatherland might be taken.

Helenos the seer was, like his sister Helene, a genuine figure of Trojan mythology. And Troy was dominated by the mountain-range of Ide, where iron was first discovered by the Idaean Daktyloi[7]—Kelmis, Damnameneus, and Akmon—servants of the mountain-mother[8]. It was, therefore, natural that the 'iron-stone' or 'mountain-stone' described by Damigeron should sooner or later be connected with Helenos. Moreover, it is often maintained that the earliest iron to be worked was meteoric iron[9]. That is doubt-

[1] Orph. *lith.* 360 ff. *τῷ γὰρ Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος ἔχειν λίθον αὐδήεντα | δῶκε σιδηρίτην νημερτέα· τόν ῥα βροτοῖσιν | ἤνδανεν ἄλλοισιν καλέειν ἔμψυχον ὀρείτην, | γυρόν, ὑποτρηχύν, στιβαρόν, μελανόχροα, πυκνόν· | ἀμφὶ δέ μιν κύκλῳ περί τ' ἀμφί τε πάντοθεν ἶνες | ἐμφερέες ῥυτίδεσσιν ἐπιγράβδην τανύονται.*

[2] *Ib.* 369 *πέτρον ἐχέφρονα.*

[3] *Ib.* 371 f. *καὶ θεὸν ὡς λιπαρῇσιν ἀρεσσάμενος θυσίῃσι, | λᾶαν ὑπερμενέεσσιν ἀοιδαῖς ἔμπνοον ἔρδεν.*

[4] *Ib.* 374 *θεουδέα πέτρον.*

[5] *Ib.* 387 *θεσπεσίως γὰρ ἀποψύχοντα νοήσεις.*

[6] *Ib.* 389 *φοιβήτορι λᾶι.*

[7] *Supra* ii. 949 n. 5.

[8] *Phoronis frag.* 2 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 1129 *ἔνθα γόητες | Ἰδαῖοι Φρύγες ἄνδρες ὀρέστεροι οἰκί' ἔναιον, | Κέλμις Δαμναμενεύς τε μέγας καὶ ὑπέρβιος Ἄκμων, | εὐπάλαμοι θεράποντες ὀρείης Ἀδρηστείης, | οἳ πρῶτοι τέχνην πολυμήτιος Ἡφαίστοιο | εὗρον ἐν οὐρείῃσι νάπαις, ἰδέντα σίδηρον, | ἐς πῦρ τ' ἤνεγκαν καὶ ἀριπρεπὲς ἔργον ἔδειξαν.*

[9] F. X. M. Zippe *Geschichte der Metalle* Wien 1857 p. 110 f. ('Eine Masse dieser Art war es ohne Zweifel, an welcher der erste Schmied das Eisen kennen lernte'), H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste* Leipzig 1887 iv. 207 f. ('Man nimmt nun vielfach an, und es ist das ja auch sehr leicht möglich, dass die Schmiedearbeit ihre ersten Versuche—selbstverständlich nicht zu einem bestimmten

ful[1]: it would be safer to say that sundry simple or unsophisticated communities are known to have used meteoric iron for making their tools and weapons[2]. We cannot, then, decide offhand whether the stone called *siderites* or *oreites* came from a telluric outcrop brought to light by an accidental conflagration[3], or whether it was

Zeitpunkt oder an einem bestimmten Ort—an dem freilich nur in sehr geringer Menge, aber überall auf der Oberfläche der Erde zerstreut sich findenden Meteoreisen gemacht habe'), J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Univ. of California Press 1930 pp. 433 ('Much confusion might have been saved if it had been more clearly recognized that, as meteoric iron may fall from time to time on any part of our planet, occasional discovery and use of this "metal of heaven" (as the Egyptians believed it to be) cannot be excluded at any period and in any region'), 591 n. 118, *id.* in E. Eyre *European Civilization its Origin and Development* Oxford 1935 i. 135 ('In Egypt where iron is occasionally found worked, from Predynastic times to the Nineteenth Dynasty, it was always *ba-n-pet*, "the metal of heaven," even when eventually imported and well known. Probably most Sumerian iron was of similar origin; and it must be remembered that the actual rarity of meteorites does not represent their frequency before men learnt their value and picked them up'), 165, A. Neuburger *The Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients* trans. H. L. Brose London 1930 p. 20 ('the most ancient iron implements were probably meteorites...a meteoric stone manipulated by hand constitutes a good hammer. Moreover, it can be sharpened on a stone, and so forth').

[1] L. Beck *Die Geschichte des Eisens in technischer und kulturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* Braunschweig 1884 i. 18, 30 ('Da nun die Schmiedbarkeit des meteorischen Eisens erwiesen ist, könnte es nahe liegen, die kontroverse Frage, von der wir ausgingen, ob nämlich die Menschen der Urzeit zuerst das Meteoreisen aufgesucht und verarbeitet hätten, zu bejahen. Es hat auch diese Annahme bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung etwas Verführerisches. Je mehr man aber auf die Sache eingeht, je mehr muss man zu der Überzeugung kommen, dass diese Theorie falsch ist'), 33 ('Die Thatsache, dass aus dem unbekannten Himmelsraume zuweilen Massen metallischen Eisens auf die Erde herabfallen, war schon in sehr früher Zeit bekannt; doch bildete die Auffindung solcher Massen nicht den Ausgangspunkt der Eisenindustrie, vielmehr wurden sie erst als Eisen erkannt, nachdem die Ausschmelzung der Eisenerze bereits bekannt war'), L. de Launay in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1076 ('En ce qui concerne précisément les métaux natifs, on a voulu faire jouer aux météorites un rôle, à notre avis, très exagéré, en supposant que le premier fer avait pu en être extrait. D'abord, les météorites sont fort rares: ce qu'on pourrait, à la rigueur, expliquer par le soin avec lequel les anciens les auraient recueillies; mais, surtout, celles d'une certaine taille seraient très difficiles à façonner; car le fer natif nickélifère qui constitue celles, dites holosidères, dont on aurait pu être tenté de faire des outils, ne fond qu'à une haute température et ne peut être découpé qu'avec de l'acier. Quant aux météorites plus ou moins pierreuses (syssidères et sporadosidères), il n'y avait pas plus de raison pour en extraire le fer que de toute autre roche à silicates ferrugineux'), W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 598 ff.

[2] E. B. Tylor *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization*[3] London 1878 p. 205 (Indians of Rio de la Plata, Esquimaux), J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1913 ii. 2. 543 n. 1 ('Plusieurs auteurs ont exprimé l'hypothèse que l'industrie sidérurgique aurait pu débuter par l'utilisation du fer météorique. On allègue que dans la langue des Egyptiens le mot *ba-en-pet* (fer du ciel) s'oppose au mot *ba-en-ta* (fer de la terre) et que les Mexicains de la vallée du Toluka utilisent le fer météorique pour la fabrication d'instruments'), Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 240[b] (Egyptian *bi-n-pet*, Coptic *benipe*, 'd. h. Himmelsmetall = Meteoreisen').

[3] *Supra* ii. 949 n. 5, cp. Lucr. 5. 1241 ff., Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 87.

indeed a meteorite like others already found in the service of Kybele. It may be that the varieties distinguished by Damigeron include both the telluric and the meteoric sort. Certainly the epithets chosen in the *Lithiká*—somewhat rough, black, dense, covered with sinews like wrinkles—would be easy to parallel from actual meteorites of the kind called siderites[1].

(g) *Ákmon.*

The name *Ákmon* in this Idaean context raises a point of interest. In a familiar passage of the *Iliad*[2] Zeus awakes on the summit of Ide and, angered at Hera's deception[3], threatens her with the lash. He goes on to taunt her with past punishment[4]:

> Dost thou not mind how thou wast hung aloft,
> While to thy feet I fastened anvils twain
> And bound thy hands too with a golden bond
> That none might break? In the *aithér* and the clouds
> Thou hangedst helpless, ay and all the gods
> In long Olympos were exceeding wroth,
> Yet could not take thy part or loose thy chain.

W. Leaf[5] observes that the word rendered 'anvils' (*ákmonas*) 'originally meant large stones, especially meteoric stones, commonly known as thunderbolts.' And Eustathios[6] informs us that some texts here added a couple of lines:

> Till I unfettered thee and cast the clogs
> Down on Troy-land—for future folk to see.

This sounds like a piece of local lore. Two conspicuous blocks in the Trojan plain were pointed out as being the very 'anvils' dropped by Zeus. Moreover, since the term used of them (*mýdros*) means properly 'a glowing mass of metal[7],' Leaf[8] is justified in concluding that 'such blocks can only have been meteoric masses.'

[1] See O. C. Farrington *Meteorites* Chicago 1915 pp. 78 ff. ('Crust of meteorites'), 85 ff. ('Veins of meteorites'). L. Beck *op. cit.* p. 19 states that the earliest exact description of meteoric iron is in Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 147 item ferro in Lucanis (*sc.* pluisse) anno ante quam M. Crassus a Parthis interemptus est (53 B.C.) omnesque cum eo Lucani milites, quorum magnus numerus in exercitu erat. effigies quo pluit ferri spongiarum similis fuit.

[2] *Il.* 15. 4 ff.

[3] *Supra* i. 154, ii. 950 n. 0, 1020, iii. 35, 180.

[4] *Il.* 15. 18 ff.

[5] W. Leaf *A Companion to the Iliad* London 1892 p. 256.

[6] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1003, 13 ff. εἰς δὲ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον προσγράφουσί τινες καὶ τούτους τοὺς στίχους· 'πρίν γ' ὅτε δή σ' ἀπέλυσα ποδῶν, μύδρους δ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ | κάββαλον, ὄφρα πέλοιτο καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.' καὶ δείκνυνταί, φασιν, ὑπὸ τῶν περιηγητῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι μύδροι, οὓς ἀνωτέρω ἄκμονας εἶπεν.

[7] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 302, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 648. Cp. Hesych. σμύδρος· διάπυρος σίδηρος.

[8] W. Leaf *op. cit.* p. 256.

F. Münter[1] thought it not impossible that the meteorites in question might yet be identified.

But the philologists have more to tell us. R. Roth[2] of Tübingen in 1853 first drew attention to a group of related words, which may be amplified as follows[3]:

ek *ákmon*		sky[4]	thunderbolt (?)[5]	pestle[6]	anvil
skrit *áśman-*	stone	sky (?)[7]	stone missile, thunderbolt	hammer-stone	anvil
stan *asman-*	stone	sky	stone missile, thunderbolt		
Persian *asman-*		sky			
v Persian *āsmān*		sky			
dian *'sm'n*		sky			

Roth rightly inferred that there must have been a time when men of Indo-Europaean speech thought the sky to be made of stone[8],

[1] F. Münter *Antiquarische Abhandlungen* Kopenhagen 1816 p. 275 n. o.

[2] R. Roth 'Akmon, der vater des Uranos' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1853 ii. 44—46.

[3] In arranging this table I have been helped by my friend Professor H. W. Bailey, whose own researches in the subject will shortly be published.

[4] Hesych. *s.v.* ἄκμων· ...οὐρανός.

[5] Hes. *theog.* 722 ff. ἐννέα γὰρ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων | οὐρανόθεν κατιὼν δεκάτῃ κ' (so Thiersch for δ' codd.) ἐς γαῖαν ἵκοιτο· | ἐννέα δ' αὖ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων | ἐκ γαίης κατιὼν δεκάτῃ κ' (so Thiersch for δ' codd.) ἐς Τάρταρον ἵκοι. The passage belongs to the 'emblemata vetustissima,' which F. Jacoby in his ed. p. 87 attributes to rhapsodes of *s.* vii—vi[1]. Cp. F. Schwenn *Die Theogonie des Hesiodos* Heidelberg 1934 p. 17 n. 2. H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott p. 51 says 'ἄκμων...orig. prob. *meteoric stone, thunderbolt*,' and illustrates that meaning by quoting χάλκεος ἄκμων οὐρανόθεν κατιών from this Hesiodic passage. An Iapygian parallel has been considered *supra* ii. 30 f.

[6] Hesych. ἄκμονα· ἀλετρίβανον. Κύπριοι. Cp. the neolithic pounder discussed *supra* p. 898 ff.

[7] H. Grassmann *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda* Leipzig 1873 p. 139 recognises the following senses: '**áçman** (1) *Fels*...; (2) der *Stein als Werkzeug* zum Schlagen, Hammer, Hammer und Ambos und andere, ursprünglich aus Stein gemachte Werkzeuge des Schmiedes; (3) der *Donnerkeil*; (4) der bunte *Edelstein*...; (5) der *Himmel*, der als steinernes Gewölbe gedacht ist.' Sir M. Monier-Williams *A Sanskṛit-English Dictionary*[2] Oxford 1899 p. 114 says: '*Áśman* a stone, rock...any instrument made of stone (as a hammer &c.)...thunderbolt...the firmament.'

[8] Cp. the Chinese identification of the heavens with jade (A. E. Crawley in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 591[b]), the Mohammedan belief in seven heavens made of emerald, white silver, large white pearls, ruby, red gold, jacinth, and shining light (G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 p. 349), the Jewish belief in 'a paved work of sapphire stone' (Ex. 24. 10, cp. Ezek. 1. 26), and the like. See also *supra* i. 357 n. 4.

an inference now accepted by all philologists[1]. Further it may be contended that the weapon of the sky-god—whether the thunderbolt of Zeus, the *vajra* of Indra, or the hammer of Thor[2]—was at first just a fragment of the stony vault broken off and hurled downwards. As such it would be essentially akin to a meteorite.

When the Stone Age passed into the Bronze Age, and the Bronze Age into the Iron Age, the thunderbolt—originally a stone missile[3]—

a

b

Fig. 774.

[1] *E.g.* G. Curtius *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*[4] Leipzig 1873 p. 131, H. Reichelt 'Der steinerne Himmel' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1913 xxxii. 23—57 (criticised by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 39), Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 499[b] f.

[2] Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 433[a–b]. *Supra* ii. 64 n. o with fig. 26, 547 n. o, 620.

[3] The double axe of bronze, so frequent in Cretan cult (*supra* ii. 513 ff.), was preceded by the double axe in stone. The Tyszkiewicz axe-head with a Sumerian inscription (*supra* ii. 510 with fig. 389, E. Unger in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 449 pl. 213, a—c) is strictly an axe-hammer rather than a double axe. But the British Museum possesses (no. 54429) a small votive double axe in brown flint, acquired at Luxor and certainly of pre-dynastic date (H. R. Hall in S. Casson *Essays in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Sir Arthur Evans in honour of his 75th birthday* Oxford 1927 p. 42 pl. 5 (=my fig. 774, *a* and *b*.

took on metallic forms[1]. But to the last a memory of the old thunderstone lingered in the by-ways of Greek mythology and odd corners of Greek folklore. The sky-dynasty comprised three successive sovereigns—Ouranos, Kronos, Zeus[2]. Of these, Ouranos was reckoned as the son of Akmon[3], if not as Akmon himself[4]. Kronos too was equated with Akmon[5]. And Zeus himself (as we shall see in the next two sections) exhibits certain features of both cult and myth strongly reminiscent of the same tradition.

(h) The stone of Kronos.

The stone *siderítes* or *oreítes*, wrapped in swaddling bands and treated as a babe[6], recalls the stone swallowed by Kronos as a substitute for the infant Zeus. If the one myth was connected with Kybele and Mount Ide in the Troad, the other concerned Rhea and the mountains of Crete.

Scale ¼)). See also J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 p. 105 f. figs. a, b.

[1] *Supra* ii. 764 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 739 f.

[3] Hes. *frag. fals.* 6 Rzach *ap.* schol. Palat. *in* Simiae *alas Amor.* 1 p. 266 Diehl Ἀκμονίδαν δέ φησι τὸν οὐρανόν. Ἡσίοδος· Γαῖα μὲν Ἄκμονα ἔτικτεν, ἀπὸ δ' Ἄκμονος ὁ Οὐρανός. T. Bergk *Poetae lyrici Graeci*[4] Lipsiae 1882 iii. 68 f. acutely conjectured that this hexameter Γαῖα μὲν Ἄκμον' ἔτικτ', ἀπὸ δ' Ἄκμονος Οὐρανὸς <ἔσκεν (*add.* Natalis Comes?)> was taken from the *Titanomachía* (cp. Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* i. 75, 11 ff. οἱ δὲ ἄκμονα τὸν αἰθέρα· Αἰθέρος δ' υἱὸς Οὐρανός, ὡς ὁ Τιτανομαχίαν γράψας (*frag.* 1 Kinkel)), a Cyclic poem ascribed by some to Eumelos or Arktinos (Athen. 277 D) and by others very possibly to Hesiod.

Antim. *Theb. frag.* 44 Wyss *ap.* Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 42 λέχρις δὲ δρεπάνῳ τέμνων ἄπο μήδεα πατρός | Οὐρανοῦ Ἀκμονίδεω λάσιος Κρόνος ἀντιτέτυκτο ('was represented as a pendant figure' on some work of art: see B. Wyss *ad loc.*).

Kallim. *frag.* 147 Schneider *ap. et mag.* p. 49, 47 ff. Ἄκμων σημαίνει τόν τε σίδηρον ἐφ' οὗ οἱ χαλκεῖς τύπτουσι, καὶ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ τὸν πατέρα· οὕτως γὰρ αὐτὸν γενεαλογοῦσι. Καλλίμαχος· τῷ περὶ δινήεντ' Ἀκμονίδην ἔβαλεν (so Schneider for τῷ περὶ δινήεντι ἀκμονίδην ἔβαλεν. Bentley had proposed τῷ περιδίνηεντ' ἀκμονίδην ἔβαλεν).

Cornut. *theol.* 1 p. 1, 1 ff. Lang ὁ οὐρανός...τινὲς δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν Ἄκμονος ἔφασαν αὐτὸν υἱὸν εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.

Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀκμονίδης· ὁ Χάρων. καὶ ὁ Οὐρανός. Ἄκμονος γὰρ παῖς = Bekker *anecd.* i. 367, 12 f. M. Schmidt *ad loc.* notes: 'Possis ὡς Χάρων sc. Lampsacenus; editum tamen tuetur Bekk. 367, 12.' Charon with his hammer (*supra* ii. 627 n. 3, 641 fig. 557) might be dubbed 'Son of Anvil' (cp. T. Bergk *op. cit.*[4] iii. 69).

[4] Alkm. *frag.* 111 Bergk[4], 103 Edmonds *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1154, 24 ff. Ἄκμων δὲ ὅτι καὶ ὁ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ, ὡς ἐρρέθη, λέγεται πατὴρ...καὶ ὅτι Ἀκμονίδαι οἱ Οὐρανίδαι, δηλοῦσιν οἱ παλαιοί. ὡς δὲ Ἄκμονος ὁ Οὐρανὸς ὁ Ἀλκμάν, φασιν, ἱστορεῖ. But in view of Eudok. *viol.* 29 ὡς δὲ Ἄκμων ὁ Οὐρανός, ὁ Ἀλκμὰν ἱστορεῖ and, indeed, of Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1150, 59 ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου πατὴρ Ἄκμων ἐκαλεῖτο κ.τ.λ. it seems certain that Alkman used Ἄκμων as the equivalent of Οὐρανός.

[5] Hesych. ἄκμων· ἀπαθής (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 146 with O. Schneider *ad loc.*). Κρόνος. οὐρανός. ἢ σίδηρον, ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ χαλκεὺς χαλκεύει. ἔστι δὲ καὶ γένος ἀετοῦ.

[6] *Supra* p. 920 ff.

Hesiod[1], our primary source, tells the tale in the following form:

'And Rhea, wedded to Kronos, bare splendid children—Hestia and Demeter and Hera of the golden sandals and strong Hades, who dwells beneath the ground with pitiless heart, and loud-sounding Ennosigaios[2] and Zeus the magician[3], father of gods and men, by whose thunder the wide ground itself is shaken.

And these great Kronos would swallow, as each came forth from the holy womb of his mother to her knees, with intent that none of Ouranos' proud children save himself should have kingly honour among the immortals. [For he learned from Gaia and starry[4] Ouranos that it was fated for him, mighty as he was, to be overcome by his own son, through the designs of great Zeus. Wherefore he kept no blind vigil, but ever on the watch would swallow his own children; and grief unforgettable had hold of Rhea.] But when she was about to bear Zeus, father of gods and men, then straightway she besought her dear parents (Gaia, to wit, and starry Ouranos) to devise some counsel with her, that she might in secret bear her dear child and might require the vengeance of her own father[5] (for the children[6], whom great Kronos of the crooked blade[7] was wont to swallow). And they verily heard and hearkened to their dear daughter, and told her all that was fated to happen touching Kronos the king and his stout-hearted son[8]—[So they sent her to Lyktos[9], to the fat land of Crete, when she was about to bear the youngest of her children, Zeus the great[10]. Him huge Gaia received from her to nourish and to rear in wide Crete.] [[Thither she[11] came, carrying him through the swift black night, to Lyktos first; and taking

[1] Hes. *theog.* 453—506 (cp. Apollod. 1. 1. 5—1. 2. 1). I have given a rendering of the text as it stands in the critical edition of F. Jacoby (Berolini 1930). Sentences enclosed in square brackets are his 'emblemata vetustissima' (*supra* p. 925 n. 5), double square brackets being used for patches upon patches. Sentences in curved brackets are 'serioris aevi emblemata, interpolationes.' The letters $^{a-a, b-b}$ indicate 'singulorum versuum duplex recensio,' $^{p-p}$ a line condemned by F. A. Paley. See further the shrewd observations of F. Schwenn *Die Theogonie des Hesiodos* Heidelberg 1934 pp. 127—130.

[2] *Supra* p. 7. [3] *Supra* p. 743. [4] *Supra* i. 8, ii. 1023.

[5] Literally 'might get paid the Erinyes of her own father' (*sc.* Ouranos), whom Kronos had mutilated (*supra* ii. 447 n. 8). Cp. *Il.* 21. 412 οὕτω κεν τῆς μητρὸς Ἐρινύας ἐξαποτίνοις.

[6] Reading παίδων with the manuscripts. But the reason assigned for Ouranos' vengeance is not the true reason, and the line is rightly regarded as an interpolation. A. Rzach adopts G. F. Schoemann's cj. παίδων θ' (*sc.* Ἐρινῦς).

[7] *Supra* ii. 549, 845. C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1926 xxxix. 194 n. 1 objects to my interpretation of ἀγκυλομήτης that the ending -της implies an agent, and cites in support of the orthodox view the epic word ποικιλομήτης. But nouns in -της are by no means always *nomina agentis* (see *e.g.* K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 236 f.), and ποικιλομήτης, which occurs once in the *Iliad* (11. 482, with variants ποικιλομῆτιν, ποικιλόμητιν), six times in the *Odyssey*, and always of Odysseus, may be a later formation based on a misunderstanding of ἀγκυλομήτης. I should say the same of all the post-Homeric compounds of -μήτης listed by E. Fraenkel *Geschichte der griechischen Nomina agentis auf -τήρ, -τωρ, -της (-τ-)* Strassburg 1910 i. 45.

[8] Jacoby says: 'post 476 lacunam indicavi, cum ἐγγυάλιξεν 485 ne retentis quidem interpolationibus habeat quo referatur.'

[9] *Supra* ii. 925 n. 1. Later, Lyttos (*supra* i. 652 ff., ii. 723 n. 0, 934 n. 0, 948 n. 0 (4)).

[10] Cp. *supra* ii. 344 f., 350.

[11] Rhea. The change of subject makes it clear that at this point we pass from a primary to a secondary patch.

him in her arms she hid him [a]in a sheer cave beneath the coverts of earth divine[a], [b]on Mount Aigaion[1] thickly clad with woods[b].] But to him she handed a great stone wrapped in swaddling bands, [p]even to the son of Ouranos, ruling in might, the former king of the gods[p]. That he then took in his hands and bestowed in his own belly, poor wretch, nor marked in his mind how that in place of the stone his own son was left behind, unvanquished and unvexed, who was soon like to overcome him by might and main and drive him forth from honour, himself to rule over the immortals.

[And quickly[2] thereafter waxed the strength and splendid limbs of the prince; and as the year came round again, [a]beguiled by Gaia's prudent promptings[a], great Kronos of the crooked blade brought up again his offspring, [b]vanquished by the arts and might of his own son[b]. And he vomited first the stone that he swallowed last[3]. This Zeus set up in the wide-wayed earth at goodly Pytho beneath the glens of Parnassos, to be a sign thenceforward and a marvel to mortal men.

And he freed from their baleful bonds the brothers of his father, sons of Ouranos whom his father in the flightiness of his thoughts had bound. Grateful they were to him and mindful of his benefits, for they gave him thunder and the burning bolt and lightning, which ere that huge Gaia had hidden. Trusting in these he rules over mortals and immortals.]

The swallowing of the stone by Kronos was variously located. Some said that it happened on Mount Thaumasion in Arkadia[4]; others, on a rocky summit called Petrachos at Chaironeia in Boiotia[5].

Be that as it may, the myth was accepted on the authority of Hesiod and made a lasting impression on the writers and artists of the ancient world.

The fifth century minimised the horrors. A red-figured *kratér* with columnar handles, painted by one of the Attic 'Manieristen[6]' *c.* 460—450 B.C., found in Sicily and now in the Louvre[7], has for obverse design (fig. 775, *a*)[8] a noble figure of king Kronos[9], originally

[1] *Supra* ii. 925 n. 1.

[2] Praeternatural rapidity of growth is characteristic of gods (*supra* i. 647, 695) and heroes and even of divine trees (*supra* p. 760).

[3] Of his previous digestive feats we hear only that he swallowed a horse, or at least a foal, in place of Poseidon (*supra* i. 181 n. 0). But a different account is given in Myth. Vat. 3. 15. 10 (*infra* p. 936 n. 5).

[4] *Supra* i. 154 n. 10. [5] *Supra* i. 154, ii. 901 n. 1.

[6] J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 118 ff., *id. Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 250 no. 39.

[7] Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* iii. 1092 no. G 366, *id. Vases antiques du Louvre* 3me Série Paris 1922 p. 236 no. G 366, *id.* in the *Corp. vases ant.* Louvre iii 1. *d* pl. 28, 5 (obverse), 6 (reverse), 7 (detail) with text p. 18 nos. 5—7.

[8] J. de Witte 'Cronos et Rhéa' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1875 1. 30—33 pl. 9 (=my fig. 775, *a*), M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1551 ff. fig. 3, M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2017.

[9] Cp. the fifth-century head of Kronos on a silver coin of Himera (*supra* ii. 558 fig. 436).

a

b

Fig. 775.

white-haired[1], who sceptre in hand and swathed in an ample *himátion* stands ready to receive from Rhea the well wrapped and carefully held substitute for the infant Zeus[2]. Rhea, like an epic queen, is accompanied by a couple of handmaids[3], who, to judge from the obvious alarm of the first and the simulated stance of the second, are both quite aware of the plot. The reverse (fig. 775, *b*)[4] shows the sequel. Kronos in the same pose as before, only with staff instead of sceptre, has received the stone. And Rhea, her mission accomplished, turns herself about, partly to conceal her satisfaction, partly to give a message to the sympathetic Nike, who hurries from the presence of Kronos. Zeus, as Hesiod said, 'was soon like to overcome him by might and main[5].'

Again, a red-figured *pelíke* of *c.* 460—450 B.C., said to have come from Rhodes and now at New York, represents the famous ruse as conceived by 'the Nausikaa Painter'(?) (fig. 776)[6]. On the left stands Rhea, one foot supported[7] on a rock (was she not a mountain-mother?) while she holds out the stone, convincingly dressed and capped like a long-clothes baby, towards the expectant Kronos. He stands on the right, raising one hand in amazement and holding his sceptre in the other. Clearly this scene[8] is but

[1] See E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3me Série Paris 1922 p. 236 no. G 366.

[2] A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 95 is over-sceptical when he says: 'Verfehlt ist auch der Versuch in den Vasenbildern *Gazette archéol.* 1 pl. 9 und 3 pl. 18 die Übergabe des Steins durch Rhea an Kronos zu erkennen; was *de Witte* für den Stein hält, ist eine eigentümliche Verhüllung der Arme (vgl. übrigens *Petersen*, *Arch. Ztg.* 37 S. 12).'

[3] οὐκ οἴη, ἅμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δύ' ἕποντο (*Il.* 3. 143, *Od.* 1. 331, 18. 207, and similar passages). J. de Witte *loc. cit.* suggested that the two attendants of Rhea were the nymphs Adrasteia and Ide, to whom along with the Kouretes she entrusted the infant Zeus (Apollod. 1. 1. 6).

[4] E. de Chanot 'Cronos, Rhéa et Nicé' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1877 iii. 116 pl. 18 (=my fig. 775, *b*). M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1552 f. attempts to cast doubt on the authenticity of this reverse design. But quite unjustifiably, as E. Pottier *op. cit.* p. 236 points out ('des doutes non justifiés et non vérifiés, car il n'avait pas examiné l'original').

[5] *Supra* p. 929.

[6] J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 122 (either by the Nausikaa Painter or by an associate), *id. Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 254 no. 3 ('Folgende Vasen sind den Werken des Oinanthemalers einerseits, andererseits denen des Nausikaamalers eng verwandt und weisen vielleicht auf die Identität der beiden Maler. Nausikaamaler=später Oinanthemaler?'), *id. Greek Vases in Poland* Oxford 1928 p. 44 n. 1 (such vases 'can hardly be kept apart from those of the Oinanthe Painter'), G. M. A. Richter *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 100 f. no. 72 pls. 75 (=my fig. 776) and 173 (photograph of whole vase) ('by Nausikaa Painter (?)').

[7] An early example of 'the supported foot,' on which see *supra* p. 706 f. and P. Jacobsthal *Die Melischen Reliefs* Berlin—Wilmersdorf 1931 pp. 190—192 ('Das Motiv des hochauftretenden Fusses in frühklassischer Malerei').

[8] The scene on the reverse side of the New York *pelíke* is not mythological at all, but

a slight elaboration of two figures on the contemporary Paris *kratér*.

Later Greek art was almost equally reticent. Pausanias[1] says:

'The Plataeans have a temple of Hera worth seeing for its size and its sculptural decoration. As you enter there is Rhea bringing to Kronos the stone wrapped in swaddling bands as if it were the child that she had borne. This Hera they call *Teleía*[2]. It is an upright figure of large size. Both are made in Pentelic marble, wrought by Praxiteles.'

Fig. 776.

The precise character and arrangement of these sculptures is matter for conjecture. To me it seems probable that the statue of

social. A woman talks with a youth, who leans on his staff and gesticulates. Between them stands a chair. On the wall hangs a bag.

[1] Paus. 9. 2. 7 Πλαταιεῦσι δὲ ναός ἐστιν Ἥρας, θέας ἄξιος μεγέθει τε καὶ ἐς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὸν κόσμον. ἐσελθοῦσι μὲν Ῥέα τὸν πέτρον κατειλημένον σπαργάνοις, οἷα δὴ τὸν παῖδα δν ἔτεκε, Κρόνῳ κομίζουσά ἐστι· τὴν δὲ Ἥραν Τελείαν καλοῦσι, πεποίηται δὲ ὀρθὸν μεγέθει ἄγαλμα μέγα· λίθου δὲ ἀμφότερα τοῦ Πεντελησίου, Πραξιτέλους δέ ἐστιν ἔργα.

[2] Cp. *supra* i. 20, ii. 893 n. 2, 1150.

Hera *Teleía*[1] stood on a square plinth decorated in relief with the figures of Kronos and Rhea, both statue and plinth being, rightly or wrongly, ascribed to Praxiteles[2]. Obvious parallels are afforded by Pheidias' statue of Athena *Parthénos* on its sculptured plinth[3], and Praxiteles' statues of Leto and her children on 'the Mantinean base[4].' If so, it is likely enough that a Romanised copy of the Praxitelean relief survives in a beautiful composition on the *ara Capitolina* (fig. 778)[5]. Kronos, a kingly figure[6], enthroned on the right, rests one hand on the veil that covers his head[7] and extends the other to receive the stone from Rhea, who, veiled likewise, advances with dignity from the left. H. Stuart Jones[8] observes:

[1] For numismatic evidence see Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 111, J. de Foville 'Les statues de Héra à Platées d'après les monnaies' in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1906 x. 253—261 figs. 1—3.

[2] Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 102 argues that, since the temple of Hera at Plataiai was built in the year 427/426 B.C. (Thouk. 3. 68), its sculptures must be assigned to 'the elder Praxiteles,' whose *floruit* he would date *c.* 445—425. The same opinion is expressed by several modern critics, *e.g.* Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 179 n. 0, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 241.

But the existence of this 'elder Praxiteles,' postulated by W. Klein in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1880 iv. 1—25, is still highly problematic: see *e.g.* U. Koehler 'Praxiteles der ältere' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1884 ix. 78—82, P. Perdrizet 'Note généalogique sur la famille de Praxitèle' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1898 xi. 82—95, C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 77 ('le pseudo-Praxitèle l'Ancien').

[3] *Supra* ii pl. xlv.

[4] Paus. 8. 9. 1, with the remarks of G. M. A. Richter *op. cit.* p. 198 f. figs. 679—681. *Supra* p. 660 figs. 471, 472.

[5] In addition to the bibliography given *supra* i. 43 n. 1 see now Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 276 f. Salone no. 3 a (2) pl. 66 (=my fig. 778).

[6] Not uninfluenced by the type of Zeus as conceived by Alexander the Great (*supra* ii. 760 f. figs. 704—707).

[7] On the veiled Kronos see M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1558—1563 figs. 9—16, 18, M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2015—2017. To the examples cited by them may be added a malachite cameo (cp. *supra* p. 538 n. 0) of Graeco-Roman date in my possession (fig. 777: scale $\frac{3}{2}$). The engraver has, quaintly enough, tried to represent 'hunc maestum, senem, canum, caput glauco amictu coopertum habentem, filiorum suorum voratorem' (Myth. Vat. 3. 1. 1) by using the darkest part of the stone for the sinister face, a lighter green for the hair and beard, and a white streak for the top of the veil.

Fig. 777.

The significance of Kronos' veil is far from clear. A. Jeremias *Der Schleier von Sumer bis heute* (*Der Alte Orient* xxxi Heft 1/2) Leipzig 1931 pp. 1—70 omits Kronos altogether. M. Pohlenz *loc. cit.* p. 2017, after dismissing earlier views, suggests 'alte Kultelemente wie bei der Harpe.' A. H. Krappe in his *Balor With the Evil Eye* Columbia University 1927 p. 23 ff. and in his courageous survey *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 250 conjectures that the Greek Kronos and the Italian Saturn had, like the Irish Balor, a third eye in the back of the head, which being an evil eye 'had to be covered up lest it should strike innocent people with its destructive glance.'

[8] Stuart Jones *op. cit.* p. 277.

'The group is evidently composed for a relief. Its gentleness, and the absence alike of the barbarous and the ludicrous, may well indicate the Attic art of the fourth century as the source of the composition.'

Fig. 778.

Very different is the impression produced by a tomb-painting (fig. 779)[1] which came to light in 1865 on the road from Ostia to

[1] C. L. Visconti in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 312—319 (not earlier than *c.* 200 A.D., perhaps even later; but probably copied by an indifferent artist from a good exemplar), *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 28, 3 (part of which = my fig. 779), M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1569 ff. fig. 18 (but see A. Rapp *ib.* iv. 95), B. Nogara *Le nozze Aldobrandine i paesaggi con scene dell' Odissea e le altre pitture murali antiche conservate nella*

Laurentum. Kronos and Rhea, both veiled, are sitting side by side. Rhea, in blue *chitón* and red *himátion*, presses her hands nervously together. Kronos, completely draped in a large yellow *himátion*, bends forward to seize a naked boy, who flings up his arm in a gesture of frantic supplication. But the ogre, with grim face and horrible wide mouth, has him by hair and hand and leg. His fate is apparently sealed; for the old and terror-stricken *paidagogós*, who, clad in a yellowish *chitón* and a blue *himátion*, appears, stick in hand, from the background, will obviously arrive too late. But just in the nick of time a handmaid[1], in reddish *chitón* and yellow

Fig. 779.

himátion, rushes forward to present Kronos with the stony substitute. There can, I think, be little doubt that this sensational picture—very possibly with some symbolic meaning[2]—presents the subject of Kronos' *teknophagía*, which we know to have been the theme of a late Greek pantomime[3].

biblioteca Vaticana e nei musei pontifici Milano 1907 p. 63 f. fig. 2, pl. 45, A, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 6 no. 4.

[1] I cannot agree with Visconti, who *loc. cit.* took the *paidagogós* and the handmaid to be Ouranos and Gaia! Nor yet with M. Mayer, who *loc. cit.* thought that the artist had combined two moments in the myth—Kronos about to rend and devour one of his sons *in propria persona*, and Kronos about to receive another of his sons *in effigie*. Least of all can I accept the verdict of A. Rapp, who *loc. cit.* includes this wall-painting in a list of monuments 'Ohne Wahrscheinlichkeit...auf Rhea gedeutet.'

[2] The infant devoured to all seeming and yet escaping from death would make an appropriate decoration for a tomb. Cp. the subjects of *sarcophagi* noted *supra* ii. 417, 478, iii. 135.

[3] Loukian. *de salt.* 80 οἱ δὲ εὔρυθμα μέν, τὰ πράγματα δὲ μετάχρονα ἢ πρόχρονα, οἷον ἐγώ ποτε ἰδὼν μέμνημαι. τὰς γὰρ Διὸς γονὰς ὀρχούμενός τις καὶ τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου τεκνοφαγίαν παρωρχεῖτο καὶ τὰς Θυέστου συμφορὰς τῷ ὁμοίῳ παρηγμένος· κ.τ.λ.

The myth as a whole is a complex involving two originally distinct elements. On the one hand, there is the folk-tale *motif* of the Unnatural Parent who eats his Children[1]. On the other hand, the acceptance of a swathed stone as a substitute for Zeus suggests the ritual of litholatry and in particular recalls the draped meteorites worshipped in sundry Levantine cults[2]. The stone swallowed by Kronos is described by late writers as bearing more than one significant name. It was *dískos*, perhaps with a solar connotation[3]. It was *baítylos* because of its wrappings[4]. It was *abaddir*[5], a Semitic term meaning 'mighty father[6].'

[1] Stith Thompson *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (FF Communications No. 108) Helsinki 1934 iii. 207 G 72 '*Unnatural parents eat children.*' See also J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1910 iii. 208[b]—209[a], Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God p. 192.

Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1992 is reminded of *Rotkäppchen* (J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 234 ff. No. 26), in which the little girl rescued from the belly of the wolf fetches great stones and fills him up with these. See also A. H. Krappe *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 281.

[2] *Supra* pp. 888, 898, 906, 916 n. 1, 918, 922.

[3] *Supra* i. 299.

[4] Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* 6 (i. 163, 17 f. Lentz) *βαιτύλος ὁ λίθος ὃν ὁ Κρόνος κατέπιεν*, Theognost. *can.* 330 (Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 61, 21) *βετύλος ὁ λίθος ὃν ὁ Κρόνος κατέπιεν*, Hesych. *βαίτυλος· οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ δοθεὶς λίθος τῷ Κρόνῳ ἀντὶ Διός*, Bekker *anecd.* i. 224, 10 f. *βαίτυλος· λίθος. οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ δοθεὶς τῷ Κρόνῳ ἀντὶ τοῦ Διός, παρὰ τὸ τύλον ὄντα κεκρύφθαι*, *et. Gud.* p. 102, 47 *βαίτυλος· ὁ ἐσπαργανωμένος λίθος*, *et. mag.* p. 192, 56 ff. *βαίτυλος δὲ ἐκλήθη καὶ ὁ λίθος ὃν ἀντὶ Διὸς ὁ Κρόνος κατέπιεν· εἴρηται δὲ ὅτι ἡ Ῥέα βαίτῃ αἰγὸς σπαργανώσασα τῷ Κρόνῳ δέδωκε* (*leg.* *ἔδωκε*)· *βαίτη δὲ σημαίνει τὴν διφθέραν*, Apostol. 9. 24 *καὶ βαίτυλον ἂν κατέπιες· ἐπὶ τῶν ἄγαν λιμβῶν. βαίτυλος δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἐσπαργανωμένος λίθος, ὃν Κρόνος κατέπιεν ἀντὶ τοῦ Διός.* G. F. Moore in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 202 says: 'A comparison of these passages plainly shows that they are all ultimately derived from one source.'

[5] Priscian. *inst.* 2. 6 (i. 47, 9 Hertz) 'abaddir' vel 'abaddier,' 5. 18 (i. 153, 19 Hertz) 'abaddir,' 6. 45 (i. 234, 16 f. Hertz) 'abaddir' quoque ('abaddier,' *ὁ βαίτυλος*), declinatum non legi, 7. 32 (i. 313, 24 ff. Hertz) quidam addunt 'hic abaddir,' *ὁ βαίτυλος*, 'huius abaddiris,' lapis, quem pro Iove devoravit Saturnus, sed in usu hoc non inveni, Myth. Vat. 1. 104 sed tunc quum natus esset Juppiter, ut partum ejus celaret mater, misit Saturno gemmam in similitudinem pueri celsam, quam ABIDIR vocant, cujus natura semper movetur. quam accipiens pater dentibus collisit et consumsit, 3. 15. 10 primo ergo tradidit ei Neptunum, quem in mare submersit, et factus est deus marinus. secundo dedit ei Plutonem, quem in foveam suffocavit, et factus est deus inferorum. tandem nato Jove mirae pulchritudinis, ipsius miserta misit Saturno lapidem nomine *abidir*, quem pulveratum devoravit. deinde egestus et formatus est in speciem humanam et vivificatus, cp. G. Goetz *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* Lipsiae 1888—1901 iii. 8, 52 *βαιπυλος* abaldir, 83, 6 beutylos abaddir, 289, 53 *βετυλος* auiaddir (with *corr.* abbadir), v. 589, 4 Abadir lapis, 632, 1 Abaddir lapis, 615, 37 Abadir est lapis quem deuorauit saturnus pro ioue filio suo, vi. 1. 1 abderites id est Saturnus, 125 Baetulum (bellium *cod.*) lapis que<m> ferunt comedisse Saturnum pro filio suo Ioue (=v. 563, 3), *Gloss. Pap.* cited in the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* i. 43, 27 ff. abaddir deus dicitur, quo nomine lapis vocatur, quem devoravit Saturnus pro Iove. dicitur quoque abaddir vel Abdira vel Abderites, quem Graeci badelion vocant.

We gather from Augustine that the term was used of certain deities by the Punic

These two elements, the folk-tale *motif* of the child-devourer and the ritual usage of a *baitylos*, were perhaps first fused in ancient Crete. For, on the one hand, the Kouretes had of old sacrificed children to Kronos[1] and saved the infant Zeus by deceiving his father[2], while, on the other hand, pillar-cults were admittedly rife[3] and even natural stones might on occasion be treated as divinities[4].

Further, in view of the relations between 'Minoan' Crete and Pytho[5], it is not surprising to find that what purported to be the actual stone swallowed by Kronos was still to be seen at Delphoi in the second century of our era.

population of north Africa (Aug. *epist.* 1. 17. 2 miror quod nominum absurditate commoto in mentem non venerit habere tuos et in sacerdotibus eucaddires (*v.l.* eucaddares) et in numinibus abaddires). This is confirmed by an actual inscription found in Mauretania at Manliana (*Miliana*) on the slopes of the Lesser Atlas (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii Suppl. 3 no. 21481 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4478 Abaddiri · sa|ncto · culto|res iuniores | suis sumtis · | aram constitu., | pro[v.] · · · · · · ·).

[6] S. Bochart *Geographia sacra, seu Phaleg et Canaan*[4] Lugduni Batavorum 1707 lib. ii cap. 2 p. 708 'Abaddir אב אדיר Hebraicè est pater magnificus....Sed fallor aut *Abdir* vel *Abaddir*, cum pro lapide sumitur, corruptum ex Phœnicio אבן דיר *eben dir* vel *aban dir* lapis sphæricus. Talis enim Bætyli forma,' F. Münter *Antiquarische Abhandlungen* Kopenhagen 1816 (*supra* p. 892 n. 1) p. 266 '*Abdir* oder *Abaddir*...eine Benennung, deren Ursprung ungewiss ist, da sie sich entweder von אבן אדיר, *der göttliche Stein*, herleiten lässt, oder nach einer andern, wenn gleich weniger wahrscheinlichen Meinung, von אב אדיר, *der göttliche Vater*; oder auch, dem Bochart zufolge, von אבן דיר, *der runde Stein*, um die oft rundliche Form der Steine zu bezeichnen, worauf die Alten aufmerksam waren,' F. v. Dalberg *Ueber Meteor-Cultus der Alten* (*supra* p. 892 n. 1) Heidelberg 1811 p. 73 'Abadir, der grosse mächtige Herrscher,—Pater magnus,' W. Gesenius *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta quotquot supersunt* Lipsiae 1837 p. 384 'Vix dubitandum, quin sit אב אדיר *pater* (deus) *potens*, cf. אָב de diis gentilium Jer. 2. 27, et אֱלֹהִים אַדִּירִים 1 Sam. 4, 8..., non אבן דיר lapis sphaericus, quod magis placet Bocharto...: nihil enim frigidius, quam lapidem, eumque talem in quo numen latere credebatur, lapidem appellare,' G. F. Moore in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 204 'The natural interpretation of the name is "mighty or noble father"; the epithet *addir* is repeatedly applied in the Old Testament to God, and occurs in other Phoenician compound names; cf. *Baliddir* in a Numidian inscription (*Ephem. Epigraph.* VII, no. 792).' There can, then, be little doubt that R. Thurneysen was wrong when in the great German *Thes. Ling. Lat.* i. 16 f. he wrote: '*vocabulum peregrinum inc. orig. incipit fortasse a nomine semitico, quod hebraice sonat* אָבֶן "lapis."'

[1] *Supra* ii. 548 f.

[2] *Supra* i. 647 n. 8.

[3] Sir A. J. Evans 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Relations' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 99—204, *supra* ii. 528 ff.

[4] Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1928 ii. 1. 342 'the late Shrine found in the Little Palace at Knossos with its grotesque fetishes consisting of natural concretions,' 346 fig. 198, *ib.* ii. 2. 520, J. D. S. Pendlebury *A Handbook to the Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1935 p. 52 'on the stone balustrade were placed the "fetish" figures of natural stone, the objects of adoration of the period of reoccupation (L.M. III.).'

[5] *Supra* ii. 189 n. 8. See also L. Lerat 'Trouvailles mycéniennes à Delphes' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1935 lix. 329—375 figs. 1—24, pls. 19—24.

'As you leave the tomb of Neoptolemos,' says Pausanias[1], 'and pass on up the hill you come to a stone of no great size. On this they pour olive oil every day, and as each festival comes round they put upon it wool of the unspun sort. There is also a belief with regard to it that this stone was given to Kronos instead of the child and that Kronos spewed it out again.'

The stone oiled and clad in wool was certainly a *baitylos* and possibly, as Sir James Frazer[2] and others[3] have conjectured, an aerolite. What it looked like we know from a silver *simpulum* with gilded details, found in 1633 at Wettingen near Basel[4], which is decorated with the seven deities presiding over the days of the week[5] (fig. 780). Kronos, the god of Saturday, stands beside a pillar topped by an oval stone: this can be none other than his Delphic monument.

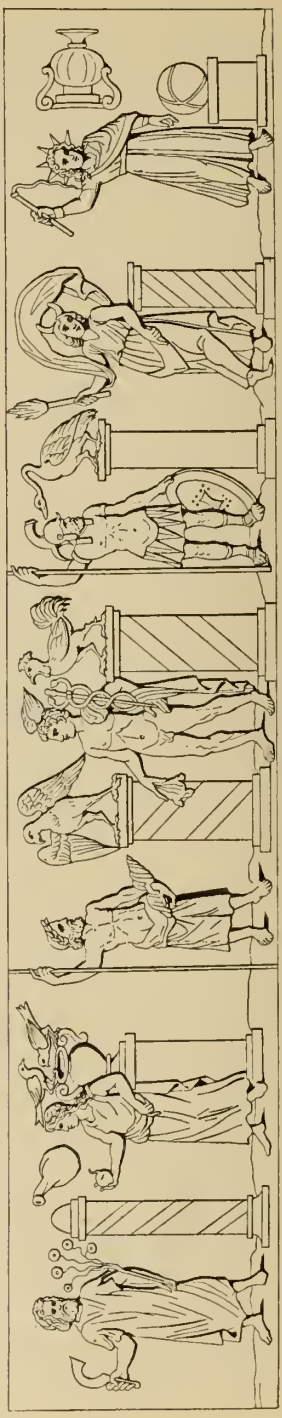


Fig. 780.

[1] Paus. 10. 24. 6 ἐπαναβάντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος (*sc.* Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως) λίθος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας· τούτου καὶ ἔλαιον ὀσημέραι καταχέουσι καὶ κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἑκάστην ἔρια ἐπιτιθέασι τὰ ἀργά· ἔστι δὲ καὶ δόξα ἐς αὐτόν, δοθῆναι Κρόνῳ τὸν λίθον ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδός, καὶ ὡς αὖθις ἤμεσεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κρόνος.

[2] Frazer *Pausanias* v. 355 ('Perhaps the sacred stone at Delphi may have been meteoric).'

[3] *E.g.* F. Münter *Antiquarische Abhandlungen* Kopenhagen 1816 p. 277, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 773, 775, K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2781 ('die Aërolithennatur genügt zur Erklärung des griechischen Mythos').

[4] M. Merian *M[artini] Z[eilleri] Topographia Helvetiæ, Rhætiæ, et Valesiæ* Franckfurt am Mayn 1654 p. 58 with fig. 6, F. Keller in the *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* 1864 xv. 133 ff. pls. 13 and 14, 1, J. de Witte in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 1 f. pl. 1 (part of which = my fig. 780), M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1522 and 1568 f. with fig. 17, W. H. Roscher *ib.* iii. 2539 fig. 2, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 525 no. 1.

[5] *Supra* i. 753, ii. 69 f. fig. 28, iii. 209 f. with figs. 128 and 129.

(i) Zeus *Kappótas*.

Pausanias[1] in his account of south-western Lakonike says:

'About three furlongs from Gythion is an unwrought stone. The story goes that Orestes sat upon it and was thereby stayed from his madness; wherefore the stone was named Zeus *Kappótas* in the Doric tongue.'

Attempts to determine the exact site of this famous stone have led to some divergence of opinion. On the one hand, E. S. Forster[2] in an article dealing with Laconian topography writes as follows:

'Near the modern Gymnasium, at the side of the Sparta road, is an abrupt face of reddish stone some ten metres high, cut into the side of the hill of Kumaro and now called Πελεκητό. At a point about four metres above the level of the neighbouring road is the rock-cut inscription Μοῖρα Διὸς Τεραστίω[3]. It was cut by hammering with a round-pointed instrument, which made dot-like incisions.

The distance from this spot to the centre of the ancient site agrees well with the "about three stades" of Pausanias, and it may, I think, be regarded as certain that this inscription marks the site of the sanctuary of Zeus Kappotas. Τεράστιος must then be regarded as the official title of the god, Καππώτας as a local popular epithet. The spot as figured by Le Bas—Waddington [(fig. 781)[4]] shows a rocky platform at the foot of the cliff, which perhaps was the "unwrought stone" mentioned by Pausanias.'

On the other hand, W. Kolbe[5], writing six years later in his *Inscriptiones Laconiae*, reverts to the view put forward by W. M. Leake[6], that the stone called Zeus *Kappótas* was to be seen in antiquity some two hundred yards further south at the point where the rock still shows an archaic inscription in small letters difficult to decipher and interpret, but possibly prescribing penalties for any who should shift or damage the sacred object[7].

[1] Paus. 3. 22. 1 Γυθίου δὲ τρεῖς μάλιστα ἀπέχει σταδίους ἀργὸς λίθος· Ὀρέστην λέγουσι καθεσθέντα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τῆς μανίας· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ λίθος ὠνομάσθη Ζεὺς Καππώτας κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Δωρίδα.

[2] E. S. Forster in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 222 f.

[3] [*Supra* ii. 31 n. 7.]

[4] Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 32 pl. Itin. 25 (=my fig. 781). R. Weil in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1876 i. 151 ff. compares this 'Felsanlage' with that of Zeus *Hýpsistos* at Athens (*supra* ii. 876 n. 1 no. (1)).

[5] W. Kolbe in *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i. 217.

[6] W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 i. 248.

[7] R. Weil in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1876 i. 154 f., Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 72, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 261 no. 260, A. N. Skias in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892 pp. 185—191 no. 1, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 60 ff. no. 4564, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 693, J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 55, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1155 *μεδένα* | *ἀποστρυθῆσται·* | *αἰ δέ κα ἀποστρυ*|*[θ]ῆται, ἀϝαϝᾶταϝι* | *ἓ ho δόλος·* | *-ραι δὲ hόπε* | *νόμος,* | *ἀποστάτο.* The interpretation depends on the meaning assigned to the unknown verb *ἀποστρυθῆσται.* H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott has '**ἀποστρυθάομαι**, perh. = *disturb, move*, dub. in *IG* 5 (1). 1155. 2

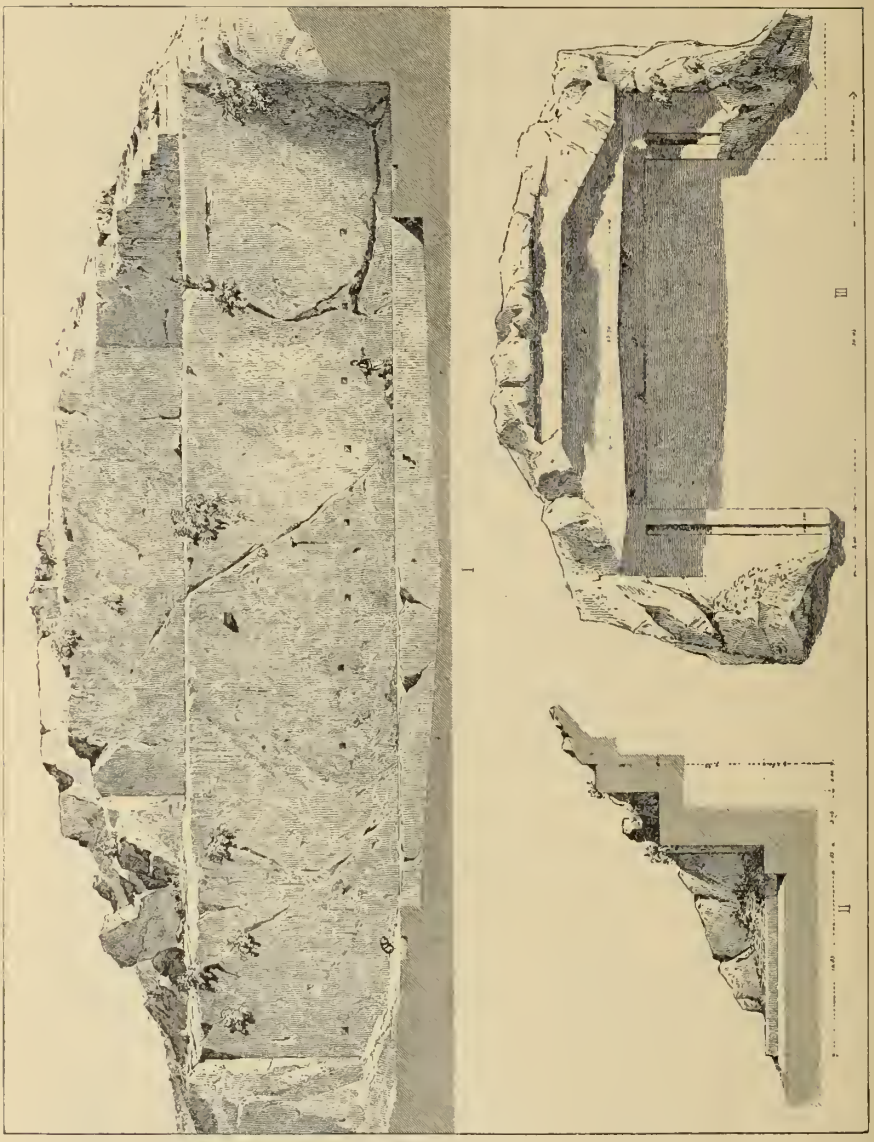


Fig. 781.

Neither of these explanations is quite satisfactory. The first assumes that Zeus *Kappótas* was the popular name of the god officially called Zeus *Terástios*. But it is not easy to find a strict parallel to such double nomenclature. Besides, Pausanias' phrase 'an unwrought stone' (*argòs líthos*) suggests something isolated and smaller than 'a rocky platform at the foot of the cliff.' The second explanation is even more precarious. We are invited to think that a verb of unknown meaning in an inscription which does not mention Zeus at all perhaps referred to misdemeanants guilty of knocking bits off his sacred rock. I should sooner conclude that the relic in question was a comparatively small stone long since buried or lost.

The belief that 'Orestes sat upon it and was thereby stayed from his madness' recalls other curative stones[1], and implies a possible[2], but not very probable[3], derivation of *Kappótas* from *katapaúein*, 'to stay.' Equally unconvincing is M. Mayer's[4] con-

(Gythium).' A. N. Skias *loc. cit.* suspected that ἀποστρυθῆσται meant λιθοτομεῖν or the like. L. Ziehen *loc. cit.* agrees that this gives the required notion. And W. Kolbe *loc. cit.* concludes: 'Neque vero de latomia cogitandum est, immo ne quis lapidem aërium laedat, interdicitur. Hunc ergo in modum titulum verterim: "ne quis decutiat; si quis decusserit, poenam dabit (sive ipse) sive servus."'

[1] See E. Maass 'Heilige Steine' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1929 lxxviii. 8 ff. and K. Latte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 2299. For the connexion of such stones with Orestes cp. Paus. 2. 31. 4 and 8. 34. 2.

Zeus himself, when enamoured of Hera, would repair to the Leucadian rock and sit there till he felt better (Ptol. Hephaist. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 153 a 19 ff. Bekker *ζητούσης δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν λέγεται τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, ὡς μάντις ὢν ἐγνώκει διότι ὁ Ζεὺς ἀεὶ ἐρῶν Ἥρας ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ ἐκαθέζετο καὶ ἀνεπαύετο τοῦ ἔρωτος. καὶ πολλοὶ δὲ ἄλλοι καὶ πολλαὶ ἔρωτι κάμνουσαι ἀπηλλάγησαν τοῦ ἔρωτος, ἐπεὶ τῆς πέτρας καθήλαντο*): on which consult Frazer *Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 73.

Even portable stones might be possessed of great curative and preservative virtue, whether they were of natural origin like the *oreítes* (*supra* p. 921), or artefacts such as neolithic celts (*supra* ii. 506 ff.). An interesting modern survival of the latter variety is recorded by T. F. G. Dexter *The Sacred Stone* New Knowledge Press, Treberran, Perranporth (1929) p. 37 § 76: 'Captain William Thomas, of Perranporth, tells me that he knew an old Cornish woman named Fanny Francis who had a remarkable cure for a bad leg—to rub it in "essence of thunder." This precious liquid was obtained by boiling a "thunderbolt" (apparently a neolithic implement) in a saucepan for twenty minutes. The owner of the "thunderbolt" was a miner at Pool who "lent it out" at 3d. a time! The Captain adds: "I knew the woman well and have heard her prescribe."'

[2] H. Hitzig and H. Blümner *ad loc.*: "wie Πωσινῖκος für Παυσινῖκος, A.M. II 442. III 162.' [U. Köhler in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1878 iii. 163 published a base from Gythion, which in a list of names includes (line 12 f.) *Πωσινίκου τοῦ Ἀριστοκλέ|ους κ.τ.λ.* The name should be accented Πωσίνικος.]

[3] The Dorians said *παύσασθαι*, not *πώσασθαι*, to judge from Theokr. 15. 87 *παύσασθ', ὦ δύστανοι, κ.τ.λ.*

[4] M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1540 f.: Καππώτας for Καππότας (*καταπίνω*). The same etymology is propounded by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 778 (wrongly numbered 787) n. 7, 1106 n. 0.

tention that *Kappótas* means 'the Swallower.' For though in the Hesiodic myth Zeus swallowed Metis[1] and in the Orphic theogony Zeus swallowed Phanes and all that in him was[2], yet where a stone is in question we should inevitably think of Rhea's ruse and desiderate either Kronos the Swallower or Zeus the Swallowed. There is more to be said for S. Wide's[3] suggestion that *Kappótas* involves the root *pet- pōt-*, which appears in the verb *pōt-á-omai*, 'I fly.' Only, we must not translate 'the Down-flier[4]' or imagine that the reference is to a winged thunderbolt. There is little or no evidence to show that Greek thunderbolts were winged before the fifth century[5], and this cult savours of a much hoarier antiquity. Rather, it should be borne in mind that the same root *pet- pōt-* had another meaning, 'to fall' as well as 'to fly[6].' H. Usener[7] and F. Solmsen[8]—a strong combination—between them went far towards proving that Zeus *Kappótas* really meant Zeus 'the Fallen,' and that his stone was in all likelihood a meteoric block.

If so, it must be conceded that among the peasants of Gythion we are face to face with extremely archaic beliefs. Zeus is the Sky[9]. The Sky is made of stone[10]. A bit of it breaks off and falls[11]. That is Zeus 'the Fallen.' On this showing, our third volume ends where our first volume began, with the primary and yet age-long conception of the animate Sky.

[1] *Supra* p. 743 f. [2] *Supra* ii. 1027, iii. 745.

[3] S. Wide *Lakonische Kulte* Leipzig 1893 p. 21: 'In der Weise erkläre ich den Zeus Kappotas: er ist der vom Himmel gefallene ἀργὸς λίθος (καππώτας=κατα-πώτ-ας aus der Wurzel πετ- πωτ-, vgl. πωτ-ά-ομαι). Man denkt dabei gewöhnlich an Meteorsteine; aber es liegt viel näher anzunehmen, dass nach den Volksvorstellungen diese Steine von dem Blitz herabgeschleudert wären, wie bei den Germanen die Donnerkeile.'

Cp. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 46, H. Hitzig and H. Blümner *ad loc.*, Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1918, K. Latte *ib.* iii A. 2299.

[4] E. Maass in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1929 lxxviii. 7 f.: Καππώτας='Herniedergeflogen.'

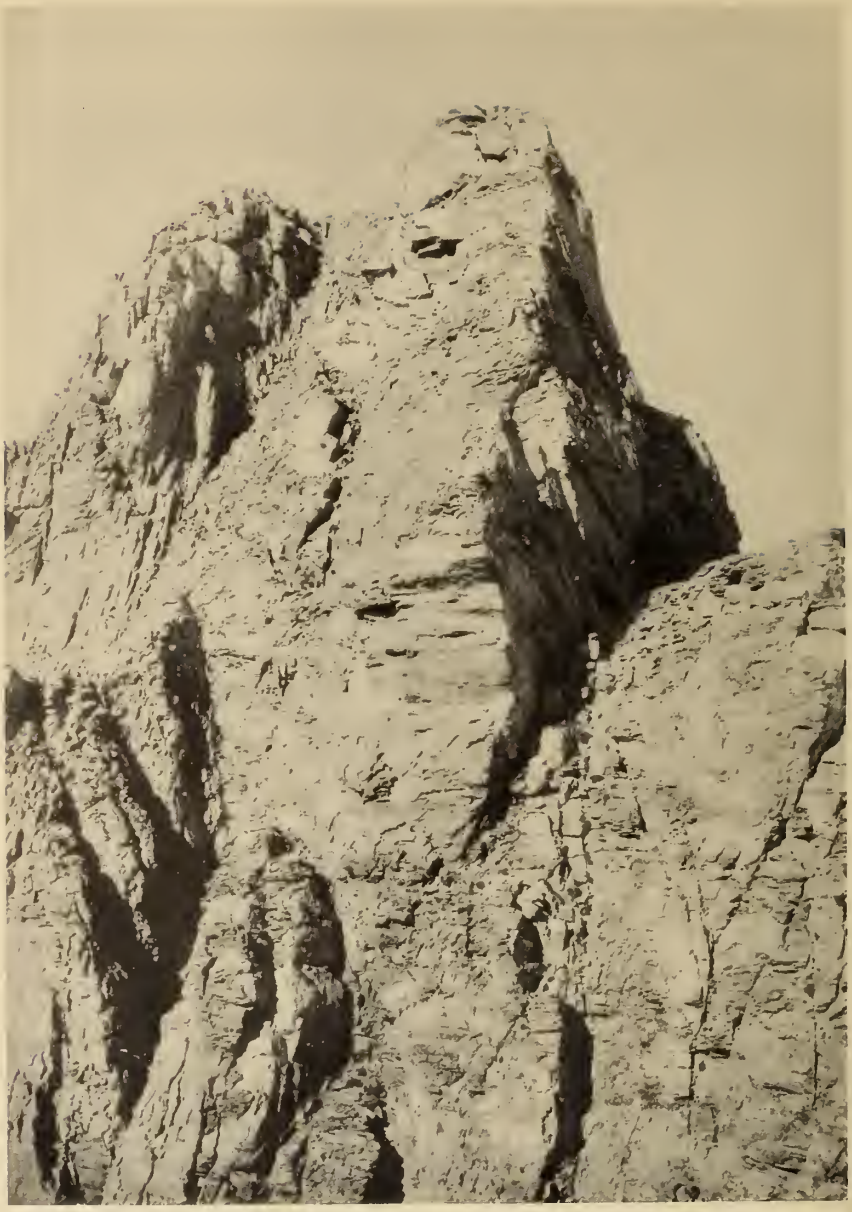
[5] *Supra* ii. 777, 780 f.

[6] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] pp. 364 f., 370, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 776, 787, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 19 ff. ('pet-..."auf etwas los- oder niederstürzen, fliegen, fallen"').

[7] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 12 'Vielmehr gehört πωτ- zu Wurzel πετ- (Aor. dor. ἔπετον=ἔπεσον) wie πωτᾶσθαι zu πέτεσθαι, vgl. στρέφειν στροφή στρωφᾶσθαι. Es ergibt sich also mit Καππώτας "dem herabgefallenen" ein Synonymon zu Καταιβάτης, und mit Ζεὺς Καππώτας eine neue Parallele zu Ζεὺς Κεραυνός. Der Stein, der diesen Namen trug, konnte nur ein Meteorstein sein, der als leibhaftiger Donnerkeil verehrt wurde.'

[8] F. Solmsen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1907 lxii. 337 'Morphologisch ist diese schöne... Deutung am leichtesten zu rechtfertigen, wenn man Καππώτας als Verkürzung von Καππωτατάς auffasst und mit att. κυβιστης aus *κυβιστητής zu κυβιστᾶν (vgl. hom. κυβιστητήρ und Kretschmer Vaseninschr. 88) und προσαίτης ἐπαίτης aus προσαιτητής ἐπαιτητής zu αἰτεῖν...zusammenstellt.'

[9] *Supra* i. 1 ff. and *passim*. [10] *Supra* p. 925 f. [11] *Ib.*



The highest peak of Mount Olympos (*Mitka*, the 'Needle').

See page 943 *n.* 3.

§ 11. *General Conclusions with regard to Zeus as god of the Dark Sky.*

We have now gone the round of our subject, surveyed its main lines, and explored in detail some at least of its ramifications. It remains in a few concluding paragraphs to gather up results and attempt some estimate of their significance.

Starting from the primitive belief in an animate Sky, we surmised that already in remote pre-Homeric times *Zeús*, 'the Bright One[1],' had developed from Sky to Sky-god and was conceived after the fashion of an earthly weather-making monarch[2]. He dwelt in isolated splendour where the summit of Mount Olympos (pl. lxviii)[3] towers up through the cloudy *aér* into the cloudless *aithér*[4]. Universally recognised as head of the Hellenic pantheon, he came in the Hellenistic[5] age to be connected more or less closely with sun[6], moon[7], and stars[8]—other manifestations of the same celestial brightness[9].

Even when the sky was dark with a lowering storm, 'the Bright One' might be seen to flash downwards in a dazzling streak[10]. This was regarded sometimes as his destructive glance[11], more often as his irresistible weapon[12]—a double axe[13], a spear[14], a sword[15], a lightning-fork or thunderbolt[16]. Zeus, who thus sent the lightning and the thunder, was naturally thought to send all kinds of weather, rain, snow, or hail[17]. Indeed, any phaenomenon of a meteorological sort was apt to be dubbed *Diosemía*, a 'Zeus-sign,' and viewed as an omen of serious import[18].

Prominent among such *Diosemíai* was the Earthquake[19], attributed either to Zeus or to Poseidon, a specialised form of Zeus[20], whose trident was originally the lightning-fork of a storm-god[21]. Clouds, again, played a certain *rôle* in the ritual and mythology of Zeus[22], as Aristophanes was aware when he wrote and rewrote his *Nephélai*[23] or elaborated that brilliant extravaganza his *Nephelo-*

[1] *Supra* i. 1 ff. [2] *Supra* i. 9 ff.
[3] *Mitka*, the highest peak of Mt Olympos, photographed from the Ridge by Mr C. M. Sleeman, Sept. 3, 1926. See further *supra* ii. 904 n. 6.
[4] *Supra* i. 101 with pl. ix, 1 and 2. [5] *Supra* i. 777 f.
[6] *Supra* i. 186—730. [7] *Supra* i. 730—740. [8] *Supra* i. 740—775.
[9] *Supra* i. 777. [10] *Supra* ii. 11. [11] *Supra* ii. 501 ff.
[12] *Supra* ii. 505 ff. [13] *Supra* ii. 513 ff. [14] *Supra* ii. 704 ff.
[15] *Supra* ii. 712 ff. [16] *Supra* ii. 722 ff. [17] *Supra* ii. 1 ff.
[18] *Supra* ii. 4 ff. [19] *Supra* iii. 1 ff.
[20] *Supra* i. 717 n. 2, ii. 31 n. 8, 582 ff., 786 f., 846, 850, 893 n. 0, iii. 20.
[21] *Supra* ii. 789 ff., 850, iii. 20. [22] *Supra* iii. 30 ff. [23] *Supra* iii. 69 f.

kokkygía[1]. The Winds too were not unconnected with Zeus[2]. Their guardian Aiolos was one with Aiolos forefather of the Aeolians, and perhaps began life as a tribal chieftain believed to embody the sky-god[3]. Zeus' titles *Oúrios*, *íkmenos*, *Euánemos*, *Bóreios* afford more definite proof of his power over the Winds[4]. A further group of his epithets—*Érrhos*, *Ersaîos*, *Iknaîos*, and the like—associates him with the Dew[5]. The *Errhephóroi* were 'Dew-bearers' who carried dew, conceived as the very seed of the sky-father, down into the womb of the earth-mother[6], while the dew-sisters Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse are best explained as successive names of the earth-mother herself[7]. More obvious and constant is the relation of Zeus to Rain[8]. Rain-magic is found at several of his cult-centres, in Arkadia, in Thessaly, on the Akropolis at Athens[9]. Moreover, the belief was rife that Zeus descended in rain to fertilise the earth—witness the poets in general[10] and the myth of Danaë in particular[11]. His appellatives *Ómbrios*[12], *Hyétios*[13], *Hýes*[14], *Chalázios*[15] speak for themselves. Lastly, Zeus on occasion let fall a meteorite, a fragment of the solid sky, or even himself fell in meteoric form[16]. In which context we can cite, not only the Syrian Zeus *Bétylos*[17] and the Arabian Zeus *Dousáres*[18], but also the Laconian Zeus *Kappótas*[19] and the stone devoured by Kronos[20].

Such in rough outline were the physical foundations of the cult of Zeus. I have used them throughout as providing a convenient framework for a somewhat discursive investigation of his worship. But the more nearly we study these aspects of it, the more clearly we perceive that they were after all just the ground-plan or lower storey of a greater and grander whole. Resting upon them and rising all the time, here a little and there a little, was a structure of fresh religious concepts, whose height and breadth—pinnacles of individual aspiration and prospects of interracial understanding—were quite without parallel in the pagan world. The fact is that always and everywhere the cult of a Sky-god[21] has proved to be an

[1] *Supra* iii. 44 ff. [2] *Supra* iii. 103 ff. [3] *Supra* iii. 106 ff.
[4] *Supra* iii. 140 ff. [5] *Supra* iii. 261 ff. [6] *Supra* iii. 165 ff., 602.
[7] *Supra* iii. 237, 241 ff., 603. [8] *Supra* iii. 284 ff. [9] *Supra* iii. 314 ff.
[10] *Supra* iii. 451 ff. [11] *Supra* iii. 455 ff. [12] *Supra* iii. 525 ff.
[13] *Supra* iii. 561 ff. [14] *Supra* iii. 873 f. [15] *Supra* iii. 875 ff.
[16] *Supra* iii. 881 ff. [17] *Supra* iii. 890 f. [18] *Supra* iii. 912.
[19] *Supra* iii. 939 ff. [20] *Supra* iii. 927 ff.

[21] G. Foucart 'Sky and Sky-gods' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 580ᵇ—585ᵇ, R. Pettazzoni *Dio: formazione e sviluppo del monoteismo nella storia delle religioni* i *L'Essere celeste nelle credenze dei popoli primitivi* Roma 1922 pp. 1—397 (to be followed by ii *Il Dio supremo nelle religioni politeistiche* and iii *Il Dio*

elevating and widening force. Inevitably so, for it tends to raise the thoughts of men from earth to heaven. And the quick-witted Greeks were prompt to seize the opportunity of such uplift and expansion.

Almost every section of this treatise serves to illustrate the process. Zeus *Hýpsistos*[1], for example, was 'the Highest,' not only literally, but metaphorically too. He may have started, like Zeus *Hýpatos*[2], as a Hellenic mountain-power. But he ended by becoming identified with the supreme deity of more than one non-Hellenic people, and not least of the Jews. This took place in the Hellenistic age, which also saw the rise of Zeus the Sun[3] and his fusion with a variety of solar gods all round the eastern end of the Mediterranean—Âmen-Râ[4] at Egyptian Thebes, Sarapis[5] at Alexandreia, *Baʿal-ḥammân*[6] in north Africa, *Baʿal-šamin*[7] in Syria, not to mention the Mithras[8] of Chaldean magic. Moreover, it was as a pure sun-god that at Tripolis in Phoinike Zeus acquired the striking appellative *Hágios*[9], and on the coinage of Gaza was actually equated with the Hebrew Godhead and inscribed with the triliteral form of the name Jehovah[10]. These and other such lines converged and ultimately met in the solar monotheism of Aurelian[11].

Again, the ram[12] and the bull[13], whose procreative powers were connected by pastoral and cattle-breeding peoples with all the fertilising agencies of sun and storm, both alike served to facilitate the union of the Greek Zeus with similar gods in contiguous areas. The ram linked him to the Graeco-Libyan *Ámmon*[14] and the Thraco-Phrygian *Sabázios*[15]; the bull, to the Amorite Adad[16], the Babylonian Ramman[17], and the Hittite god who in Roman times figures as Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*[18] or Iupiter *Dolichenus*[19].

Of all the attributes ascribed to Zeus the most formidable was

unico nelle religioni monoteistiche). The views of Foucart and Pettazzoni are summarised and criticised by W. Schmidt *The Origin and Growth of Religion* trans. H. J. Rose London 1931 pp. 209—217. See also Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 19—61 (The Worship of the Sky among the Aryan peoples of Antiquity), 62—73 (The Worship of the Sky among non-Aryan peoples of Antiquity), 74—88 (The Worship of the Sky among the civilized peoples of the Far East), 89—315 (The Worship of the Sky in Africa).

[1] *Supra* ii. 876 n. 1. [2] *Supra* ii. 875 n. 1. [3] *Supra* i. 186 ff.
[4] *Supra* i. 347 ff. [5] *Supra* i. 188 ff. [6] *Supra* i. 353 ff.
[7] *Supra* i. 8, 191 f. [8] *Supra* i. 190.
[9] *Supra* i. 192, 400 n. 6, cp. ii. 1122 n. 9.
[10] *Supra* i. 232 f. fig. 171, *b* and pl. xxi, iii. 558. [11] *Supra* i. 166.
[12] *Supra* i. 428 ff. [13] *Supra* i. 633 ff., iii. 606, 615 ff.
[14] *Supra* i. 348 ff. [15] *Supra* i. 390 ff., cp. ii. 275, 287 n. 2, 1184.
[16] *Supra* i. 549 ff., 581 f. [17] *Supra* i. 576 ff., 633 ff.
[18] *Supra* i. 550 ff., 576 ff. [19] *Supra* i. 604 ff.

the thunderbolt. Yet its terrors were not wholly terrific[1]. Zeus might fall as a lightning-flash, but the *Dióbletos* or 'Zeus-struck' man was deemed divine and even treated as a god. The spot where the fatal bolt fell was *elýsion* and its victim *enelýsios*, literally 'in Elysium[2].' He had entered upon the 'road of Zeus,' the Elysian track, which led up the steeps of heaven and was identified by Pythagorean sages with the Milky Way[3]. He, like Er son of Armenios[4], could stand at last on the axis of the world, the central column supporting the very sky, there to witness all that heaven could show[5]. The celestial ascent was sometimes conceived as a ladder[6]—a conception which begins with Egyptian amulets[7], continues with Thracian and Orphic beliefs[8], only to end with the mediaeval Ladder of Salvation[9]. Again, Zeus armed with a thunderbolt in either hand, a primitive storm-god, at Olympia was sublimated into Zeus *Hórkios*, 'God of Oaths,' a terror merely to perjurers[10], just as on Italian soil Dius *Fidius*, 'the Cleaver,' a lightning-god, became, thanks to popular etymology, a peaceful 'Protector of Pledges[11].' In general it may be said that from the sixth century onwards the thunderbolt of Zeus begins to be replaced by his sceptre[12], surviving mainly as a symbol of omnipotence[13] or continuous divine activity[14]. Indeed, under Constantine its old Anatolian form, the *lábrys*, was deliberately re-shaped into the *labarum* and adopted as the emblem of the all-conquering faith[15].

Omnipotence leads on towards omniscience and omnibenevolence. A Hellenistic type of Zeus enthroned and sceptred shows the god with serious deep-set eyes, brow furrowed by thought, and head propped on hand in an attitude of serene[16] meditation. We can hardly fail to recognise the insight and foresight of the divine ruler, who takes a kindly interest in the affairs of men. His mood, best described by the Greek term *prónoia* or the Latin *providentia*, comes close to our own conception of Providence[17]. Thus in imperial times Iupiter *Conservator* extends a strong protecting arm above the puppet emperor[18], while his Syrian counterpart Iupiter

[1] *Supra* ii. 852. [2] *Supra* ii. 22 f. [3] *Supra* ii. 36 ff.
[4] *Supra* ii. 54, 114. [5] *Supra* ii. 44, 108, *infra* iii. 974. [6] *Supra* ii. 125 ff.
[7] *Supra* ii. 125 ff. [8] *Supra* ii. 129 ff. [9] *Supra* ii. 136 ff.
[10] *Supra* ii. 722, 726 f. [11] *Supra* ii. 724 ff. n. 0. [12] *Supra* ii. 722, 731 ff.
[13] *Supra* ii. 852. [14] *Supra* ii. 854. [15] *Supra* ii. 601 ff.
[16] Mr H. Mattingly draws my attention to the fact that the same gesture of head ›ped on hand occurs also in the Roman numismatic type of a seated Securitas ›nson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 726, J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ff., Hartmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 1000 ff.).
pra i. 24 ff., ii. 762 f. [18] *Supra* i. 276 n. 5 fig. 201.

Dolichenus 'Best and Greatest, the Eternal' is hailed as 'the Preserver of the Whole Sky, a Godhead Pre-eminent, a Provider Invincible[1].'

More and more, as time went on and men's sympathies widened, the cosmic character of such a god tended to find expression in poetry, philosophy, and art. Homer began his *Iliad* with the parenthetic hint that its plot was but the progressive fulfilment of the will of Zeus[2]. Sophokles[3] ended his *Women of Trachis* with the reflexion—

In all which happenings is nought but Zeus—

and we are left with that impressive monosyllable ringing in our ears. An Orphic fragment paraphrased by Platon said:

Zeus first, Zeus midmost, Zeus hath all things made[4].

And later Orphists under Stoic influence, or Stoics with a leaning towards Orphism[5], expanded the same theme into hymns of a definitely pantheistic sort[6]. Theokritos[7] and Aratos[8] have echoes of the opening line, which for Cicero[9], Virgil[10], Ovid[11], and Calpurnius Siculus[12] passes into a poetical commonplace. Aratos[13] in his great exordium dwells on the ubiquity and helpfulness of the god. The haunts of men are 'full of Zeus'—all the streets, all the markets, the sea and its harbours. Zeus distinguishes the seasons by his signs in the sky above and thereby determines the labours of the earth beneath. And all this with beneficent purpose. So men do well to worship him ever first and last; and the poet in a burst of gratitude cries—

Hail, Father, mighty marvel, mighty boon!

Even the dry-as-dust pedant with his faulty philology attempts to persuade us that Zeus gets his name *Zêna* as being the giver of

[1] *Supra* i. 608, 633.

[2] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1.

[3] Soph. *Trach.* 1278 *κοὐδὲν τούτων ὅ τι μὴ Ζεύς.*

[4] *Supra* ii. 1033 n. 1.

[5] R. Harder '*Prismata*' 1 in *Philologus* N.F. 1930 xxxix. 243—247 argues that Orph. *frag.* 21 a Kern is not only not early (Kern), nor even merely Stoic in tone (Wilamowitz), but is actually a Stoic forgery (*Class. Quart.* 1931 xxv. 216).

[6] *Supra* ii. 1027 f.

[7] Theokr. 17. 1 f. *ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε, Μοῖσαι, | ἀθανάτων τὸν ἄριστον ἐπὴν κλείωμεν ἀοιδαῖς.*

[8] Arat. *phaen.* 1 *ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα* (*supra* ii p. vi).

[9] Cic. *de legg.* 2. 7 'a Iove Musarum primordia'—sicut in Aratio carmine orsi sumus.

[10] Verg. *ecl.* 3. 60 ab Iove principium, Musae, *Aen.* 7. 219 ab Iove principium generis.

[11] Ov. *met.* 10. 148 f. 'ab Iove, Musa parens,—cedunt Iovis omnia regno— | carmina nostra move.'

[12] Calp. Sic. 4. 82 ab Iove principium, si quis canit aethera, sumat.

[13] Arat. *phaen.* 1 ff. (*supra* ii.p. vi).

'life' to all things[1], and *Día* as being the cause 'through' which they came to be[2]. Zeus enthroned as cosmic lord is a frequent theme of imperial art. So he appears, surrounded by all the host of heaven, in a fine ceiling-fresco of Nero's Golden House[3]. And analogous designs were used to decorate minor works of art, an onyx *phalera*[4], a terra-cotta lamp[5], or what not? Anything circular would serve. Thus handsome bronze coins struck at Nikaia in Bithynia[6] and Perinthos in Thrace[7] show Zeus seated in the midst with smaller flanking figures of Sun and Moon, Earth and Sea, the whole enclosed by a broad band exhibiting all the signs of the zodiac—an irrefutable witness of his claim to world-dominion. Martianus Capella had indeed ample warrant for his hymn to Iupiter as ruler of the starry universe[8]. Small wonder that the type of the infant Zeus seated on a globe surrounded by stars[9] was adapted for figures of the Father and the Son in church-mosaics of the fourth and following centuries[10], or that the similar type of Zeus enthroned with the globe as his footstool[11] is found on a fourth-century gold-glass simply lettered CRISTVS[12].

Meantime morality was on the march, indeed was on the war-path. But reflexion shows that patristic satire on the *chronique scandaleuse* of Zeus[13], however excusable in the heat of controversy, is not to be taken too seriously. It consists mainly of misdirected attacks on the alleged amours of the god with this, that, or the other mortal maiden. But in reality such *liaisons* point to the legitimate union of the sky-god with the earth-goddess, who in divers places had divers names and on occasion faded from goddess to heroine[14]. It might even be urged that this notorious characteristic of Zeus was a virtue rather than a vice, proving his permanence and adaptability in the face of changing conditions. The earth-mother 'of many names[15]' took on a score of shapes: the sky-father remained constant to her in them all.

It was precisely this moral stability that made Zeus, not merely the wedding-god *par excellence* on account of his own *hieròs gámos*[16],

[1] *Supra* i. 29 n. 4, ii. 259 n. 0, 855 n. 2, 1102 n. 8.
[2] *Supra* i. 29 n. 4, ii. 855 n. 2.
[3] *Supra* iii. 39 pl. v.
[4] *Supra* iii. 39 ff. fig. 10.
[5] *Supra* iii. 41 with fig. 15.
[6] *Supra* i. 752 fig. 551.
[7] *Supra* i. 752 f. fig. 552.
[8] *Supra* i. 757.
[9] *Supra* i. 51 f. figs. 27 and 28.
[10] *Supra* i. 50 f. figs. 23 and 24.
[11] *Supra* i. 47 with fig. 20.
[12] *Supra* i. 49 fig. 22.
[13] *Supra* i. 167 n. 1.
[14] *Supra* i. 779 f.
[15] Aisch. *P.v.* 210 (cited *supra* ii. 176 n. 1).
[16] Souid. *s.v.* Τελεία· "Ηρα Τελεία καὶ Ζεὺς Τέλειος ἐτιμῶντο ἐν τοῖς γάμοις, ὡς πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν γάμων. τέλος δὲ ὁ γάμος. διὸ καὶ προτέλεια ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ θυσία ἡ πρὸ τῶν γάμων

but also the confessed patron of law and order. For as husband of Ge *Thémis*[1] he was the natural guardian of *thémistes* or 'precedents[2]' and the parent of *Díke*[3] 'the Right Way of Things,' that is 'Justice[4].' It was his to judge between the lawful and the lawless, whether human or otherwise. Archilochos of Paros as far back as the middle of the seventh century[5] could say:

> Zeus, Father Zeus, thou reign'st in heaven above
> Watching the works of mortal men,
> Knavish or just; yea, all the beasts that move
> Have rights and wrongs within thy ken[6].

There are grounds for suspecting that the laws inscribed on Solon's *kýrbeis* and *áxones* were held to be the very voice of Zeus[7]. Aischylos[8] makes Dike a close ally of her father. Sophokles[9] speaks of her as seated at his side[10]. Euripides in the *Melanippe*

γινομένη=schol. Aristoph. *thesm.* 973. Cp. Dion. Hal. *ars rhet.* 2. 2 Ζεὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἥρα, πρῶτοι ζευγνύντες τε καὶ συνδυάζοντες· οὕτω τοι ὁ μὲν καὶ Πατὴρ καλεῖται πάντων, ἡ δὲ Ζυγία, ἀπὸ τοῦ ζευγνύναι τὸ θῆλυ τῷ ἄρρενι (Poll. 3. 38 mentions Hera Τελεία, but omits Zeus). U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1932 ii. 143 n. 2 cites *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3217 (a fragment of white marble from Orchomenos in Boiotia) [····· Διὶ Τελ]είῳ, Ἥρᾳ Τελείᾳ as an inscription relating to a marriage. See further A. Klinz ΙΕΡΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ Halis Saxonum 1933 p. 109 ff.

[1] *Supra* ii. 37, 267, 841. Hence, presumably, Plutarch's Zeus Θεμίστιος (*infra* p. 964 n. 2).

[2] *Il.* 1. 237 ff. νῦν αὖτέ μιν υἷες Ἀχαιῶν | ἐν παλάμῃς φορέουσι δικασπόλοι, οἵ τε θέμιστας | πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται, *Od.* 16. 403 εἰ μέν κ' αἰνήσωσι Διὸς μεγάλοιο θέμιστες.

[3] *Supra* i. 755 n. 10. See Hes. *o.d.* 256 ff., Aisch. *s.c.Th.* 662, *cho.* 949 f., Eur. *frag.* 150 Dindorf=151 Nauck[2] *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 3. 23 p. 56, 19 ff. Wachsmuth.

[4] H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 180 f., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 574, R. Hirzel *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1907 pp. 56—227 (the fullest treatment), Harrison *Themis*[2] p. 516 ff.

[5] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 184.

[6] Archil. *frag.* 88 Bergk[4], 88 Edmonds, 94 Diehl[2] *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 3. 34 p. 58, 11 ff. Wachsmuth (cp. Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 412, 3 ff. Stählin (Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 54)) 'ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, | σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾷς | λεωργὰ καὶ θεμιστά, σοὶ δὲ θηρίων | ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει' with R. Hirzel *op. cit.* p. 218 n. 5. P. Shorey in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1918 x. 801 'In a fable of **Archilochus** there is an appeal to Zeus who regards both the Hybris and the Dike of beasts. This may be little more than the literary tone of Kipling's "law of the pack" and Aristophanes' "laws of the birds" [*av.* 1343 ff.]. **Pindar** echoes Hesiod with the compound beasts "unwitting-of-justice"' [*Nem.* 1. 63 θῆρας ἀϊδροδίκας]. Anaximandros even spoke of all individual things as paying the penalty for their injustice (*frag.* 9 Diels[3] *ap.* Simplic. *phys.* 24. 13 (Theophrast. *phys. opin. frag.* 2 in H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 476, 8 ff.) ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἡ γένεσίς ἐστι τοῖς οὖσι, καὶ τὴν φθορὰν εἰς ταῦτα γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ χρεών· διδόναι γὰρ αὐτὰ δίκην καὶ τίσιν ἀλλήλοις τῆς ἀδικίας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν).

[7] *Supra* ii. 1093 n. 1.

[8] Aisch. *cho.* 244 f.

[9] Soph. *Trach.* 279, *O.C.* 1381 f.

[10] O. Kern *Orphicorum fragmenta* Berolini 1922 p. 196 thinks that Sophokles was here following Orphic doctrine (*infra* p. 950 n. 4).

Bound[1] scoffs at the crude Hesiodic[2] idea of Dike acting as court-assessor to Zeus, but in the *Troiades*[3] still couples his name with hers:

> O Earth's Upbearer on the Earth enthroned,
> Whoe'er thou mayest be, hard to guess or know,
> Zeus, be thou Nature's Law or Mind of Man,
> To thee I pray; for stepping silently
> Thou lead'st all mortal things on the path of Justice.

Orphic teaching represented both Dike[4] and Nomos[5] as *páredroi* of Zeus. And the eclectic author of the pseudo-Aristotelian work *On the Universe* (*s.* i B.C.)[6], after quoting with approval an Orphic hymn to Zeus, concludes his treatise with the words[7]:

'God, then, as the old story has it, holding the beginning and the end and the middle of all things that exist, proceeding by a straight path in the course of

[1] Eur. *frag.* 506 Nauck[2] *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* i. 3. 14[a] p. 54, 12 ff. Wachsmuth *δοκεῖτε πηδᾶν τἀδικήματ' εἰς θεοὺς | πτεροῖσι, κἄπειτ' ἐν Διὸς δέλτου πτυχαῖς | γράφειν τιν' αὐτά, Ζῆνα δ' εἰσορῶντά νιν | θνητοῖς δικάζειν; οὐδ' ὁ πᾶς ἂν οὐρανὸς | Διὸς γράφοντος τὰς βροτῶν ἁμαρτίας | ἐξαρκέσειεν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος ἂν σκοπῶν | πέμπειν ἑκάστῳ ζημίαν· ἀλλ' ἡ Δίκη | ἐνταῦθά ποὔστιν ἐγγύς, εἰ βούλεσθ' ὁρᾶν.* Cp. Deut. 30. 11 ff. 'For this commandment which I command thee this day....It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it?... But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.'

[2] Hes. *o.d.* 258 ff.

[3] Eur. *Tro.* 884 ff. EK. *ὦ γῆς ὄχημα κἀπὶ γῆς ἔχων ἕδραν, | ὅστις ποτ' εἶ σύ, δυστόπαστος εἰδέναι, | Ζεύς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν, | προσηυξάμην σε· πάντα γὰρ δι' ἀψόφου | βαίνων κελεύθου κατὰ δίκην τὰ θνήτ' ἄγεις.*

[4] Orph. *frag.* 23 Kern *ap.* pseudo-Dem. *c. Aristog.* 1. 11 (on the spurious character of this speech see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 602 n. 1) *καὶ τὴν ἀπαραίτητον καὶ σεμνὴν Δίκην, ἣν ὁ τὰς ἀγιωτάτας ἡμῖν τελετὰς καταδείξας Ὀρφεὺς παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς θρόνον φησὶ καθημένην πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐφορᾶν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἕκαστον νομίσαντα βλέπειν οὕτω δεῖ ψηφίζεσθαι, φυλαττόμενον καὶ προορώμενον μὴ καταισχῦναι ταύτην, κ.τ.λ.*, cp. Orph. *h. Dik.* 62. 1 ff. *ὄμμα Δίκης μέλπω πανδερκέος, ἀγλαομόρφου, | ἣ καὶ Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος ἐπὶ θρόνον ἱερὸν ἵζει | οὐρανόθεν καθορῶσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων, | κ.τ.λ.*

See further G. Caramia 'Chi è la dea ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ negli Uccelli di Aristofane?' in the *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di filologia, lingua, antichità* 1925 ix. 203 ff., who concludes that Basileia (*supra* p. 60 n. 5) was Dike the *πάρεδρος Διός* (Soph. *O.C.* 1381 f., Arrian. 4. 9. 7), and F. Ribezzo 'La *Δίκη πάρεδρος Διός* degli Orfici' in the same *Rivista* 1925 ix. 209 f., who regards the three functions of Basileia—*εὐβουλία, εὐνομία, σωφροσύνη* (Aristoph. *av.* 1539 f.)—as those of an Orphic Dike.

[5] Orph. *frag.* 160 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Alcib.* 1 p. 499, 2 Cousin[2] *πάλιν, ἐπειδήπερ ἡ πρὸ τοῦ κόσμου Δίκη συνέπεται τῷ Διΐ (πάρεδρος γὰρ ὁ Νόμος τοῦ Διός, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ὀρφεύς)* and *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 315, 8 ff. Diehl *ἐν δὲ τῷ Γοργίᾳ* (523 A) *συντάττων τε αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν Δία) τοῖς Κρονίδαις καὶ ἐξαιρῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἵνα καὶ πρὸ τῶν τριῶν ᾖ καὶ μετέχηται ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν Νόμον αὐτῷ συγκαθιδρύων, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεύς· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ὑποθήκας τῆς Νυκτὸς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνῳ πάρεδρον ποιεῖται τὸν Νόμον· ἔτι δὲ τὴν Δίκην ὅλην ὀπαδὸν αὐτοῦ τιθέμενος ἐν Νόμοις* (4. 716 A), *ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ θεολόγος.*

[6] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 736, München 1920 ii. 1. 376.

[7] [Aristot.] *de mundo* 7. 401 b 24 ff. trans. E. S. Forster.

nature brings them to accomplishment; and with him ever follows Justice, the avenger of all that falls short of the Divine Law—Justice, in whom may he that is to be happy be from the very first a blessed and happy partaker!'

Plutarch[1] in his address *To an uneducated Ruler* is dissatisfied with such conventional views and protests that Dike is no mere *páredros* of Zeus but must, like Themis and the highest Nomos[2], be frankly identified with Zeus himself:

'Now it is true that Anaxarchus, trying to console Alexander in his agony of mind over his killing of Cleitus, said that the reason why Justice and Right are seated by the side of Zeus is that men may consider every act of a king as righteous and just; but neither correct nor helpful were the means he took in endeavouring to heal the king's remorse for his sin, by encouraging him to further acts of the same sort. But if a guess about this matter is proper, I should say that Zeus does not have Justice to sit beside him, but is himself Justice and Right and the oldest and most perfect of laws; but the ancients state it in that way in their writings and teachings, to imply that without Justice not even Zeus can rule well.'

When Antiochos i of Kommagene called himself by the bombastic title *Theòs Díkaios Epiphanés*, 'the Just God Made Manifest,' he was perhaps posing as Zeus *Oromásdes* incarnate[3]. In late times Zeus acquired the appellation *Dikaiósynos* as Judge of the just and unjust[4], and at Karousa in Paphlagonia was worshipped as *Dikaiósynos Mégas*[5].

But, before perfection can be reached, Justice must be tempered with Clemency, Mercy, and Love. Of which kindlier qualities there are stray hints and previsions in the cults of Zeus *Meilíchios*[6], Zeus *Hikésios*[7], and Zeus *Phílios*[8]. Particularly impressive for its moral implicates is the attitude of Zeus towards the man-slayer. It would seem that the bloodguilty person, who fled from the vengeance of his victim's kin and appeared in some far off village as a suppliant stranger, was—according to ancient Greek usage—believed to be under the special protection of a divine escort[9], nay more, was

[1] Plout. *ad princ. inerudit.* 4 trans. H. N. Fowler.

[2] Pind. *frag.* 169 Bergk[4], 169 Schroeder *ap.* Plat. *Gorg.* 484 B Νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς | θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων | ἄγει δικαιῶν τὸ βιαιότατον ὑπερτάτᾳ χειρί, Eur. *Hec.* 798 ff. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν δοῦλοί τε κἀσθενεῖς ἴσως· | ἀλλ' οἱ θεοὶ σθένουσι χὠ κείνων κρατῶν | Νόμος· νόμῳ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγούμεθα | καὶ ζῶμεν ἄδικα καὶ δίκαι' ὡρισμένοι, Plat. *epist.* 8. 354 E—355 A θεὸς δὲ ἀνθρώποις σώφροσι νόμος, ἄφροσι δὲ ἡδονή, Dion Chrys. *or.* 75 p. 267 Dindorf οὗτος ὁ τὴν θάλατταν καθαίρων, ὁ τὴν γῆν ἥμερον ποιῶν, ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἑτεῶς υἱός, ὁ τὴν ἀήττητον καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητον ἰσχὺν ἔχων (*sc.* ὁ Νόμος). See further R. Hirzel *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1907 p. 386.

[3] *Supra* i. 742 n. 5. [4] *Supra* ii. 1092 n. 8. [5] *Ib.*

[6] *Supra* ii. 1091 ff. (Append. M). [7] *Supra* ii. 1093 n. 1, 1097 n. 2.

[8] *Supra* ii. 1160 ff. (Append. N). [9] *Supra* ii. 1097 n. 0.

originally regarded as himself a potential god[1]. Hence we hear, not only of Zeus *Hikésios* 'the God of Suppliants,' but also of Zeus *Hiketas*, himself 'the Suppliant[2],' and even of Zeus *alástor*, Zeus 'the curse[3],'—a daring and desperate identification of the deity with the sinner. These things are strangely suggestive. Simple souls dwelling round the Mediterranean were prepared to believe that any day a god might appear in their midst in the likeness of a man[4]. Why not as 'the man Christ Jesus[5]'? Further, it would not stagger them to think that such an one might somehow condescend to identify himself with the sinner and even to 'become a curse for us[6].'

Other 'august anticipations[7]' may be detected, by those who have ears to hear, in all parts of the ancient world. If for cultural and religious purposes Greece as a whole be divided into three zones, northern, central, and southern, it will naturally be found that of these the first and third were to a large extent independent and pursued their own lines of development, while the second lay open to influences received from either side. But in all three the same upward trend is observable.

Thus in the north the Thraco-Phrygians[8] recognised a sky-god Dios, an earth-goddess Zemela, and their offspring Dios *Nŷsos*, Dios 'the Younger.' The son was held to be a rebirth of the father[9], whose name and nature he duplicated. Hence the ill-understood association of the Anatolian mother-goddess with a partner conceived at once as her husband and her child[10]—Kybele, for example, having a youthful consort invoked as *Áttis*, 'Daddy,' or *Pápas*, 'Papa[11].' And hence too the success with which Christianity was propagated in Phrygia and Thrace among a people who already believed in a Father manifesting himself anew in the person of his Son[12]. Even the rites and *formulae* of Attis might pass muster as *quasi*-Christian[13].

In central Greece Dios, Zemela, and Dios *Nŷsos* became naturalised as Zeus, Semele, and Dionysos[14]. But again there were

[1] *Supra* ii. 1096 n. 4. [2] *Supra* ii. 1096 n. 1.
[3] *Supra* ii. 1098 n. 5, cp. *ib.* nn. 4 and 6.
[4] *Supra* ii. 1096 n. 4. [5] 1 Tim. 2. 5. [6] Gal. 3. 13.
[7] R. Browning *Paracelsus* 5 *sub fin.* 'But in completed man begins anew | A tendency to God. Prognostics told | Man's near approach; so in man's self arise | August anticipations, symbols, types | Of a dim splendour ever on before | In that eternal circle life pursues.'
[8] *Supra* ii. 277 ff., 842. [9] *Supra* ii. 294 with n. 1, 842.
[10] *Supra* ii. 294, 842. [11] *Supra* ii. 292 ff., 842.
[12] *Supra* ii. 288 ff., 303, 842. [13] *Supra* ii. 303 ff. [14] *Supra* ii. 277 ff., 842.

obvious points of contact between Dionysiac and Christian practice. The former like the latter made much of collective emotion[1], treated the inspired devotee as one with his god[2], transcended the narrow limits of Hellenism[3], and taught the mystery of life through death[4]. It is notorious that the *Christus Patiens*, a play written in the middle ages on the supreme tragedy of Calvary[5], was composed largely of lines and half-lines culled from the *Bacchae*[6].

In the south we have a similar but older triad—the sky-god Kronos[7], the earth-goddess Rhea[8], and their youthful son Zagreus or the Cretan Zeus, whose death and resurrection were annually celebrated as a means of reviving the life of all that lives[9]. Zeus *Idaîos* in the fifth century had mystics, who by their sacraments assimilated themselves to their god and thereafter, clad in white raiment, led a life of ceremonial purity[10]. Zeus *Astérios* of Gortyna seems early to have taken on a solar character, but in the Hellenistic age is viewed as god of the starry sky[11]. Aratos, when about to describe the whole series of constellations, starts with the Bears and tells how once in Crete they hid the infant Zeus in a cave and nurtured him there for a year, while the Dictaean Kouretes were deceiving Kronos[12]. Now Aratos was a native of Soloi or, some

[1] *Supra* i. 667, 672, 688, etc.

[2] *Supra* i. 648 ff., 673, 675 ff., 705.

[3] The Dionysiac nomenclature was syncretistic. *Diónysos* came from Thrace (*supra* i. 695, 780, ii. 268, etc.). *Bákchos* perhaps came from Egypt, where at Hermonthis men worshipped the bull *Bakha* (*supra* i. 436 ff., ii. 268 n. 4). *Zagreús* probably came from Mt *Zágros* or *Zágron* in Assyria, passing first through Phoinike and then through Crete (*supra* i. 651, ii. 268 n. 4). Thus elements drawn from north, south, and east combined to form a religion of well-nigh universal appeal.

[4] Dionysos, the life-god of the Thracians (*supra* ii. 1024 f.), dies only to rise again. Those who took part in his *drómenon*, those who witnessed his *drâma*, thereby became partakers of his immortality (*supra* i. 663 f., 673).

[5] K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 p. 746 ff., W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 353 n. 12, München 1924 ii. 2. 1420 n. 2.

[6] K. Krumbacher *op. cit.*[2] p. 746 'Ein volles Drittel der 2640 Verse (ausser den vereinzelten Anapästen V. 1461 ff. nur Trimeter), aus welchen das Drama besteht, ist fremdes Eigentum. Den grössten Teil dieses Lehngutes lieferten sieben Dramen des Euripides, nämlich Hekabe, Medea, Orestes, Hippolytos, Troades, Rhesos und Bacchen; dazu kommen einige Dutzend Verse aus dem Prometheus und Agamemnon des Aeschylos und aus der Kassandra des Lykophron.' As to the *Bacchae*, Sir J. E. Sandys in his edition of that play (ed. 3 Cambridge 1892 p. lxxxv) says: 'a large number of its lines were appropriated by the compiler of the dreary cento known as the *Christus Patiens*, once attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus.'

[7] *Supra* ii. 548 ff. [8] *Supra* i. 649 n. 3, ii. 515, 548.

[9] *Supra* i. 646. [10] *Supra* i. 648. [11] *Supra* i. 547.

[12] Arat. *phaen.* 30 ff. (cited *supra* ii. 928 n. 0).

said, of Tarsos[1]. It is therefore of interest to note that Paul of Tarsos in his speech before the Areiopagos actually quotes the words used by his fellow-countryman with regard to the Cretan Zeus—

'For we are also his offspring[2],'

and in the same context cites, perhaps from a lost poem by Epimenides[3], Minos' panegyric of the god—

'in him we live, and move, and have our being.'

Paul must have been struck, and struck forcibly, by the Cretan parallel—a divine child born to be king, hidden in a cave from his enemies, apparently weak and helpless, yet able to control the stars in their courses, one with whom his worshippers the world over could claim kinship, while dependent on him for life, and breath, and all things[4]. Truly the cult of Zeus *Astérios* has once more landed us on the very confines of Christendom.

Proofs might be multiplied, but I have said enough to show that the physical basis of the cult of Zeus involved mental, moral, and spiritual issues, which themselves rose to great heights and were prophetic of even greater things to come.

Many, if not most, of these sublimer aspects were caught and canonized when Pheidias at the very zenith of his fame made his statue of Zeus *Olýmpios* for the fifth-century temple in the *Áltis*[5]. For a detailed description of it we are in the main dependent on the dry paragraphs of Pausanias[6], eked out by allusions elsewhere[7]. It appears that the god, a colossal figure in gold and ivory, sat enthroned with a Victory likewise of ivory and gold, bearing a fillet and wearing a wreath, in his right hand and a sceptre, embellished with various metals[8] and topped by an eagle, in his left. He had an olive-wreath on his head and golden sandals on his feet, his *himátion*

[1] G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 391 f. ('Wahrscheinlich war die Familie...von Tarsos nach Soloi übergesiedelt; deshalb wohl nennt Asklepiades von Myrlea Tarsos als Geburtsort (Vit. 1 p. 52, 5 [p. 76, 4 ff. Maass Ἀσκληπιάδης δὲ ὁ Μυρλεανὸς ἐν τῷ ια΄ Περὶ γραμματικῶν Ταρσέα φησὶν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι ἀλλ' οὐ Σολέα = *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 299 Müller])'), B. A. Müller *De Asclepiade Myrleano* Leipzig 1903 p. 43.

[2] Acts 17. 28 (cited *supra* i. 664 n. 3).

[3] *Supra* i. 157 n. 3, 663 n. 2, 664 n. 1.

[4] *Supra* i. 664 f.

[5] *Supra* ii. 757 f.

[6] Paus. 5. 11. 1—11.

[7] Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 125 ff. nos. 692—695, 697—754. A shorter set of extracts, with English rendering and brief notes, will be found in H. Stuart Jones *Select Passages from Ancient Writers illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture* London 1895 p. 84 ff. nos. 111—114.

[8] Paus. 5. 11. 1 τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ χειρὶ ἔνεστι (so Porson for χαρίεν ἐστι codd.) σκῆπτρον μετάλλοις τοῖς πᾶσιν ἠνθισμένον.

of gold being inwrought with living creatures and lily-flowers[1]. His throne, decked with gold and jewels, ebony and ivory, had upon it numerous figures painted and carved. It was surmounted by groups representing the daughters of Zeus—three Charites[2] and three Horai[3]. Each throne-leg showed four dancing Victories above, and two others below[4]. On the two front legs were Sphinxes grasping Theban children[5], and beneath them Apollon and Artemis shooting down the Niobids[6]. The throne-legs were connected by four bars. The front bar carried seven, originally eight, figures illustrative of ancient athletic contests[7]. The other three bars had, all told, twenty-nine figures—Herakles and his allies, Theseus among them, engaged in fighting the Amazons. The throne was supported not only by four legs, but by four pillars between them. The space beneath it, however, could not be entered, being pro-

[1] *Ib.* τῷ δὲ ἱματίῳ ζῴδιά τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ κρίνα ἐστὶν ἐμπεποιημένα. The ζῴδια perhaps typified fertility in the animal world; the κρίνα (*supra* i. 622 ff.), in the vegetable world.

[2] *Supra* i. 155. [3] *Supra* ii. 37 n. 1, 94 n. 2.

[4] H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 328 and 338 ('Es ist das erste bezeugte Beispiel einer ausgedehnteren dekorativen Verwendung der Niken an einem monumentalen Kunstwerke, wofür die zahlreichen kleinen dekorativen Bronzefigürchen von der athenischen Akropolis und die Verdoppelung der Nike auf Vasenbildern kaum als Vorläufer angeführt werden dürfen.' Etc.).

[5] F. Eichler 'Thebanische Sphinx' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1937 xxx. 75—110 figs. 19—32 has made it probable that two fragmentary groups in a blackish stone ('Diabastaff ("Schalstein")') found by the Austrians at Ephesos and now in the Depot at Vienna were copied from one of the ebony (?) arm-supports of Pheidias' Zeus.

[6] *Supra* ii. 475 n. 7.

[7] Paus. 5. 11. 3 adds that the man binding his head with a fillet was said to resemble Pantarkes (cp. 6. 10. 6, 6. 15. 2), an Elean youth who won a victory in the wrestling-match of Ol. 86 (436—433 B.C.) and was the παιδικά of Pheidias.

Later writers affirm that Pheidias inscribed Παντάρκης καλός on the finger of Zeus (Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 53. 4 p. 41, 18 ff. Stählin, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 13, Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.* 'Ραμνουσία Νέμεσις). But Gregory of Nazianzos tells the same tale of Athena *Parthénos* (Greg. Naz. *poemata* 1. 2. 10. 863 f. (xxxvii. 742 A Migne)); and Libanios, of Aphrodite (Liban. *ap.* schol. Clem. Al. *protr.* p. 313, 7 f. Stählin)—perhaps meaning the Nemesis of Rhamnous (*supra* i. 275) ἐν 'Αφροδίτης σχήματι (Phot. and Souid. *locc. citt.*). Lastly, Eunapios, if his text be sound (*v. Acacii* 177 p. 101 Boissonade μήτε Φειδίᾳ τοῦ τὸν δάκτυλον παραλαβεῖν καὶ τὸν παῖδα πρὸς ἔπαινον τῆς θεᾶς), appears to connect the incident with a goddess; but D. Wyttenbach's cj. πόδα for παῖδα may well be right (so J. F. Boissonade ed. 2 Parisiis 1878 and W. C. Wright ed. London 1922). On the whole, this famous anecdote, if not absolutely incredible (it might conceivably be argued that an Olympic victor was an embodiment of the Olympic god (*Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 399 ff.), that Zeus mindful of Ganymedes might make allowance for the sculptor, that Παντάρκης could be explained away as πανταρκής—an epithet worthy of Zeus himself (Aisch. *Pers.* 855 f. πανταρκὴς ἀκάκας ἅμαχος βασιλεύς, | ἰσόθεος Δαρεῖος (cp. *supra* ii. 853), Hesych. *s.vv.* πανταρκέα· πᾶσι βοηθόν, πανταρκής· ὁ πᾶσιν αὐταρκῶν), etc.), is at least highly improbable.

In any case Pheidias' statue of a boy binding a fillet on his head (Paus. 6. 4. 5) is not *ad rem* (see Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 40 n. 1, Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*).

tected by barriers like walls[1]. Of these, the one that faced the door was simply coloured blue; the rest were painted by Panainos the brother of Pheidias with pictures of Atlas and Herakles, Theseus and Peirithoös, Hellas and Salamis, Herakles and the Nemean lion, Aias and Kassandra, Hippodameia and Sterope, Prometheus and Herakles, Penthesileia and Achilles, and lastly two Hesperides. The footstool had golden lions[2] and a frieze showing Theseus'

[1] Paus. 5. 11. 4 f. *ἀνέχουσι δὲ οὐχ οἱ πόδες μόνοι τὸν θρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κίονες ἴσοι τοῖς ποσὶ μεταξὺ ἑστηκότες τῶν ποδῶν. ὑπελθεῖν δὲ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ὑπὸ τὸν θρόνον, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις ἐς τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ θρόνου παρερχόμεθα· ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δὲ ἐρύματα τρόπον τοίχων πεποιημένα τὰ* [*δὲ* (*del.* Korais)] *ἀπείργοντά ἐστι. τούτων τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὅσον μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστιν, ἀλήλιπται κυανῷ μόνον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν παρέχεται Παναίνου γραφάς.*

The exact construction and decoration of the throne has long been a bone of contention among classical archaeologists: see *e.g.* H. Brunn 'La nascita di Venere sulla base del Giove fidiaco' in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1849 p. 74 f. = id. *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1905 ii. 247 f., *id.* 'Sul Trono del Giove di Fidia in Olimpia' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 xxiii. 108—117 pls. C and D (restorations by Stackelberg and Brunn) = *id. Kleine Schriften* ii. 248—254 figs. 28 and 29, A. S. Murray 'The barrier of the throne of Zeus at Olympia' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 274—276, *id. A History of Greek Sculpture* London 1883 (*ib.*[2] London 1890) ii. 125—127, R. Bohn in S. A. Ivanoff *Architektonische Studien* Berlin 1892 Heft 1, E. A. Gardner 'The Paintings by Panaenus on the Throne of the Olympian Zeus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 233—241, A. Trendelenburg in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1897 xii Arch. Anz. pp. 25—29, E. Petersen 'Die Geburt der Aphrodite' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1899 xiv. 154—162, H. Blümner 'Die Gemälde des Panainos am Throne des olympischen Zeus' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst* 1900 xv. 136—144, H. G. Evelyn-White 'The Throne of Zeus at Olympia' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 49—55, G. Pellegrini 'Il trono di Giove e le pitture di Paneno a Olimpia' in the *Atti del reale Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 1914—1915 lxxiv. 1555 ff., G. Q. Giglioli 'Il trono dello Zeus di Fidia in Olympia' in the *Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche Serie Quinta 1920 xvi. 219—374 with diagrams and 26 figs.

In my restoration (*supra* ii pl. xlvi) I have assumed (1) that the four bars (*κανόνες*), as the coins seem to show, carried small figures in the round (*ἀγάλματα*) representing athletes or combatants; (2) that the wall-like barriers (*ἐρύματα*), which prevented people from passing under the throne, were painted screens filling the four spaces between the legs (*πόδες*) and beneath the bars; (3) that the pillars (*κίονες*), equal in number to the legs (*ἴσοι τοῖς ποσί*), stood literally between the legs (*μεταξὺ ἑστηκότες τῶν ποδῶν*), connecting the bar as stylobate with the seat as architrave (for an earlier arrangement see *supra* p. 669 with fig. 480). This would not exclude the possibility that, as in the case of Athena *Parthénos* (G. Fougères *L'Acropole d'Athènes: Le Parthénon* Paris 1910 ii. 2 pl. 134, 1), there was a strong central pier or mast to ensure the stability of the whole colossal figure. Indeed, I suspect that a symbolic value was attached to this group of four pillars with a central stem. We have already seen (*supra* ii. 141 ff. fig. 83) a similar quincunx of columns apparently serving as a Sardinian model of the sky. The tomb of Porsenna at Clusium with its five *pyramides* and its superposed *petasus* (*supra* ii. 1219) is susceptible of the same interpretation. Recently L. Frobenius *Kulturgeschichte Afrikas* Zürich 1933 p. 173 ff. figs. 124—139 has cited interesting parallels from Yorubaland, Egypt, Crete (cp. *supra* ii. 193 n. 2 pl. xi), Etruria, etc., and in particular has shown that in Dahomey, Togoland, Yorubaland, and Assyria thrones for deities and kings often took this precise form. We may therefore justifiably conclude that, if Zeus sat on a seat supported by four pillars and a central stem, he did so in his character of sky-god.

[2] Lions were a traditional feature in the decoration of divine or royal thrones. The seat might be flanked by two lions (*supra* ii. 810 figs. 773 and 774, cp. i. 586 fig. 449) or

contest with the Amazons. The pedestal was adorned with an elaborate composition in gold. In the centre Aphrodite rose from

the foreparts of lions (i. 61 fig. 36), or it might have leonine legs (iii. 663 fig. 474, 664 fig. 475, 665 fig. 476, 668 fig. 480, 684 fig. 495, 716 fig. 530, 810 fig. 619) or leonine claws (i. 747 fig. 545, iii. 674 fig. 485, 680 fig. 491), or at least a footstool with leonine feet (i pl. i). And the usage could be traced further afield. Solomon's chryselephantine throne had lions standing beside the stays and on each of the six steps (1 Kings 10. 19 f.). Egyptian chairs of state often have leonine legs and arm-rests in the shape of lions (J. G. Wilkinson *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1837 ii. 196 with col. pl. 11). The finest example is the throne of Tut-ankh-Amen, which has leonine legs surmounted by lion-heads of chased gold (H. Carter—A. C. Mace *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen* London 1923 i. 117 ff. with pls. 2, 62—64). In India too the lion is a symbol of royalty (A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 153 ff.). Mr E. J. Thomas draws my attention to the Hindu *Siṃhāsana* or 'Lion-seat' (Sir M. Monier-Williams *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*[2] Oxford 1899 p. 1213 '**Siṃhâsana**, n. "lion's-seat," "king's seat," "a throne," MBh.; Kāv. &c.'), the thirty-two statuettes of which related to king Bhoja thirty-two tales about their former owner king Vikrama (F. Edgerton 'A Hindu Book of Tales: the Vikramacarita' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1912 xxxiii. 249 ff., *id. Vikrama's Adventures or The Thirty-two Tales of the Throne* Cambridge, Mass. 1926 vols. i and ii (Text, Translation, and Notes)). A Hittite god at Carchemish was enthroned on a pedestal representing two lions controlled by a servitor (G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 iii. 1136 fig. 747). The archaic goddess from *Prinia* in Crete was similarly enthroned on a base adorned with a frieze of lionesses (E. Löwy in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 246 fig. 123, V. Chapot in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 280 with fig. 6917). The huge gilded throne in the Magnaura at Constantinople was guarded by lions with movable tongues, which could roar and lash their tails (Liudprand of Cremona *antapodosis* 6. 5 p. 154 J. Becker[3] (cxxxvi. 895 A—B Migne)).

Such parallels are hardly fortuitous. Behind them all we can dimly discern that *Felidenkultur* of which L. Frobenius *Kulturgeschichte Afrikas* Zürich 1933 pp. 63—101 figs. 1—20 has much to say. Among the Baganda and allied tribes of Bantu speech the lion is a royal totem (J. Roscoe *The Baganda* London 1911 pp. 128, 187), and it is believed that kings after death are reborn as lions, their mortal remains breeding maggots which turn into lion-cubs (J. Roscoe *The Banyankole* Cambridge 1923 pp. 27, 54, F. H. Melland *In Witch-bound Africa* London 1923 p. 151 (chiefs of the Ba-Kaonde)). The king, then, as such was a lion. And I should conjecture that his throne with leonine legs originally emphasised his claim by transforming the human biped into the animal quadruped. Relics of these forgotten or half-forgotten beliefs may be found in prophecies (Aisch. *Ag.* 1223 ff., 1258 ff.), dreams (Hdt. 6. 131, Plout. *v. Per.* 3, Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 12, 3. 66, Achmes *oneirocr.* 267 (*ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων περὶ λέοντος* [*καὶ θηρῶν*]) p. 218 ff. Drexl), and popular locutions (Aristoph. *thesm.* 514 *λέων λέων σοι γέγονεν*, cp. Plout. *v. Lyc.* 3 *βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν γέγονεν*). Much ancient lore gathered about the birth of Alexander (Plout. *v. Alex.* 2 *ἡ μὲν οὖν νύμφη, πρὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ᾗ συνείρχθησαν εἰς τὸν θάλαμον, ἔδοξε βροντῆς γενομένης ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτῆς τῇ γαστρὶ κεραυνόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πληγῆς πολὺ πῦρ ἀναφθέν, εἶτα ῥηγνύμενον εἰς φλόγας πάντη φερομένας διαλυθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ μετὰ τὸν γάμον εἶδεν ὄναρ αὑτὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα σφραγῖδα τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς γυναικός· ἡ δὲ γλυφὴ τῆς σφραγῖδος, ὡς ᾤετο, λέοντος εἶχεν εἰκόνα. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων μάντεων ὑφορωμένων τὴν ὄψιν, ὡς ἀκριβεστέρας φυλακῆς δεομένων τῷ Φιλίππῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν γάμον, Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ Τελμησσεὺς κύειν ἔφη τὴν ἄνθρωπον, οὐθὲν γὰρ ἀποσφραγίζεσθαι τῶν κενῶν, καὶ κύειν παῖδα θυμοειδῆ καὶ λεοντώδη τὴν φύσιν*), whose leonine looks were successfully rendered by Lysippos (Plout. *de Alex. Mag. fort. aut virt.* 2. 2) and—it may be added—most unsuccessfully by the later numismatic die-sinkers (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, Etc. p. 19 no. 84 fig., p. 20 no. 87 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 355 no. 1 pl. 24, 13, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 86 nos. 3716 and 3717 pl. 138, 10 and 11).

the sea, received by Eros and crowned by Peitho. On either side of this group were a dozen deities arranged in pairs—on the left, Zeus and Hera, Hephaistos and Charis, Hermes and Hestia; on the right, Apollon and Artemis, Athena and Herakles, Amphitrite and Poseidon. The whole assemblage was flanked on the left by Helios in his chariot, on the right by Selene riding her horse or mule.

In front of all this splendour, with its wealth of mythological meaning, was a bare black pavement of Eleusinian stone, which—whatever its practical purpose[1]—aesthetically must have served, in the half-light of the temple, to isolate the statue from the spectator and to uplift the whole glittering vision towards the starry roof.

Pausanias' penultimate comment[2] is worth quoting:

'I am aware that the measurements of the Zeus at Olympia in point of height and breadth are on record[3], but I cannot commend those who measured it. For even the measurements they mention fall far short of the impression made by the image upon such as have seen it. Why, the god himself, they say, bore witness to the art of Pheidias. When the image was finished, Pheidias prayed the god to grant a token if the work was to his mind. And, straightway, they declare, he hurled a thunderbolt into the ground at the spot where down to my time stood a *hydría* of bronze.'

What this masterpiece really looked like in the full glory of its ancient setting, we cannot, of course, hope to know. Any attempt to reconstruct it on paper (*supra* ii pl. xlvi), partly from Pausanias' careful enumeration of details, partly from the small-scale copies of form and features on imperial coins of Elis[4]

[1] *Infra* p. 967.

[2] Paus. 5. 11. 9.

[3] See Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*, also G. Q. Giglioli *loc. cit.* pp. 299—303 ('Le misure').

[4] S. B. Smith 'Der Zeus des Phidias auf eleischen Münzen' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1862 xx. 339 f., J. Friedlaender 'Die unter Hadrian in Elis geprägte Münze mit der Darstellung der Bildsäule des olympischen Zeus von Phidias' in the *Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 1866 iii. 21—26 pl. 30, 1 and 2, J. Overbeck 'Über den Kopf des phidias'schen Zeus' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1866 pp. 173—190 pl. 1, 1—9, *id. Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 34—45 Münztaf. 1, 32—34, 2, 4, J. Friedlaender 'Der Zeus des Phidias auf den Münzen von Elis' in the *Monatsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* Phil.-hist. Classe 1874 pp. 498—501 with figs. 1—5, *id.* 'Münze der Eleer mit dem Zeus des Phidias' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiv. 34, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1875 pp. 169—198, *id.* 'Nachträge' *ib.* 1876 pp. 223—225 with a fine photographic pl., R. Weil 'Elische Münzen mit dem Zeus des Phidias' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1880 vii. 110—116 figs. 1—3, *id.* 'Der Zeus des Phidias auf elischen Münzen der Kaiserzeit' *ib.* 1912 xxix. 363—382 pl. 10, 1—10, C. T. Seltman *The Temple Coins of Olympia* Cambridge 1921 p. 2 ff. Groups A—L pls. 1—8.

These articles between them cover all the Zeus-types on the coinage of Olympia from the latter part of *s.* vi B.C. onwards.

Some at least of the earlier types (*e.g.* the seated Zeus *supra* ii. 757 figs. 700 and 701, 1224 fig. 1022) may well be reminiscent of a pre-Pheidiac cult-image. I agree with

2

1 *a*

1 *b*

3

4

Coins, struck by Hadrian, representing the Zeus *Olýmpios* of Pheidias:
(1 *a*, 1 *b*) Two differently lighted views of bronze coin now at Paris.
(2) Bronze coin now at Florence.
(3) and (4) Bronze coins now at Berlin.

See page 959 *n.* 1.

(pl. lxix)[1], must remain almost laughably inadequate. But, after all, as Pausanias implies, the important thing about the Pheidiac Zeus was not his dimensions but his dignity, not his physical greatness but his moral grandeur. And if we cannot recreate his vanished effigy with much assurance, we can at least recall the impression

Miss G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 169: 'For the long interval between the completion of the temple and Pheidias' statue we may be permitted to hazard an explanation. Can we not suppose that originally a marble cult statue was made for the temple and stood duly in its place when the building was completed in 456? The existence of such an earlier image is indeed suggested by recent investigations of the floor of the temple which have indicated the presence of a substructure with ex votos beneath the Pheidian construction [K. Lehmann-Hartleben 'Libon und Phidias' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix pp. 37—48]. Possibly the noble and severe head of Zeus (fig. 610) and the enthroned figure (fig. 611) which appear on the coins of Elis...were inspired by it. The expense of this statue—as well as of the temple—was defrayed from the spoils taken by the Eleans when they reduced Pisa and the other dependent cities which had revolted, just as Pausanias [5. 10. 2] tells us. Then thirty years later the same great earthquake which caused the mutilation of the crouching figures from the angles of the western pediment [cp. W. Dörpfeld in *Olympia* ii. 22]...also damaged this statue of Zeus. By this time the praise of the great gold and ivory statue of the Athena Parthenos was resounding throughout Greece; and Olympia determined to have a similar resplendent figure by the same master sculptor.'

But not till imperial times can we expect to find any accurate renderings of the Pheidiac figure (P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* pp. 77 ff., 146, 176 ff., 197 with pl. 15). Under Hadrian, when art took an antiquarian turn (W. Weber in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1936 xi. 320 f. and G. Rodenwaldt *ib.* p. 800 f.) and the emperor himself posed as Zeus *Olýmpios* (*supra* ii. 956 n. 0, 959 n. 0, 962 n. 2, 1120 n. 0, 1121 n. 0), we get our first really relevant copies of the final cult-statue.

[1] Pl. lxix gives photographic reproductions, to the scale $\frac{3}{2}$, of the four most important coins:

(1 *a*) and (1 *b*) are two differently lighted views of a unique bronze coin, struck by Hadrian, now at Paris. It was first figured by J. Friedlaender in the *Berliner Blätter loc. cit.* pl. 30, 2. See further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 36 Münztaf. 1, 34.

(2) is another bronze coin struck by Hadrian, now at Florence, which has long been known. See Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 35 f. Münztaf. 2, 4. H. G. Evelyn-White in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 49 fig. 1 illustrates it to the scale $\frac{2}{1}$. A second specimen, formerly owned by Queen Christina of Sweden (1626—1689), is lost. A third, from a slightly varied die, was found by H. Dressel, thickly oxidised, among the duplicates at Olympia and is published by R. Weil in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1912 xxix. 368 f. pl. 10, 3a. The *obv.* bust of Hadrian is inscribed AVTOKPATΩP || AΔPIANOC || ΔIC, a very exceptional formula perhaps denoting an honour conferred on the emperor by the Panhellenes, when he was present in person at the Olympic festival of 129 A.D. (so Weil *loc. cit.* p. 370 f.).

(3) is a third bronze coin struck by Hadrian and secured by J. Friedlaender for the Berlin cabinet. H. G. Evelyn-White *loc. cit.* p. 51 fig. 2 illustrates it to the scale $\frac{2}{1}$. Several replicas were found at Olympia, of which the best preserved, now at Athens, is published by R. Weil *loc. cit.* p. 370 pl. 10, 4 a.

(4) is a fourth bronze coin struck by Hadrian, also in the Berlin collection. H. G. Evelyn-White *loc. cit.* p. 51 fig. 3 illustrates it to the scale $\frac{2}{1}$. This coin, like no. (2), shows small projections on the stile of the throne representing the ἀγάλματα of the κανόνες (*supra* p. 956 n. 0), but the bared body of the god and his highly raised left arm (*supra* ii. 754) are concessions to the taste of a later age.

that it made on men of various tempers and types—the soldier, the man in the street, the scholarly thinker, the religious reformer, the eclectic moralist.

L. Aimilius Paullus after his brilliant Macedonian campaign travelled through Greece (167 B.C.), and having long been anxious to see Olympia made his way thither, only to find his expectations utterly eclipsed by the reality[1]. Livy[2] puts it with dry, unconscious humour:

'Passing through Megalopolis he went up to Olympia. Here he saw sundry things worth seeing, and on beholding Zeus as it were face to face was moved in his spirit. And so, just as if he had been about to offer victims on the Capitol, he ordered a bigger sacrifice than usual to be made ready[3].'

It took much to 'move' a Roman general of the old school[4].

The popular verdict is voiced by Quintilian[5]:

'As an artist Pheidias is held to have been better at making gods than at making men, but as a worker in ivory to have been quite without a rival—even had he made nothing beyond the Athena at Athens or the Olympian Zeus in Elis. The beauty of the latter is thought actually to have added something to the received religion; so far did the majesty of the work go towards equality with the godhead.'

Reflective minds would want to know the source of a beauty so striking that it could be described as a real contribution to Greek religion. Cicero[6] speculates along Platonic lines:

'I maintain that nothing is ever so beautiful as not to be beaten in beauty by that from which it is copied as a portrait is copied from a face, that original which cannot be perceived by eye or ear or any other sense but grasped only by

[1] Polyb. 30. 10.

[2] Liv. 45. 28 unde per Megalopolim Olympiam escendit. ubi et alia quidem spectanda visa, et Iovem velut praesentem intuens motus animo est. itaque haud secus quam si in Capitolio immolaturus esset, sacrificium amplius solito apparari iussit.

[3] Cp. Plout. *v. Aem. Paull.* 28.

[4] E. Klebs in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 578 f.

[5] Quint. *inst. or.* 12. 10. 9 Phidias tamen diis quam hominibus efficiendis melior artifex creditur, in ebore vero longe citra aemulum vel si nihil nisi Minervam Athenis aut Olympium in Elide Iovem fecisset, cuius pulchritudo adiecisse aliquid etiam receptae religioni videtur; adeo maiestas operis deum aequavit.

Lucian in cynical mood bears witness to the same effect on the mind of the populace: *ὅμως δ' οὖν οἱ παριόντες ἐς τὸν νεὼν οὔτε τὸν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐλέφαντα ἔτι οἴονται ὁρᾶν οὔτε τὸ ἐκ τῆς Θράκης μεταλλευθὲν χρυσίον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας ἐς τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ Φειδίου μετῳκισμένον καὶ τὴν Πισαίων ἐρημίαν ἐπισκοπεῖν κεκελευσμένον, ἀγαπῶντα εἰ διὰ πέντε ὅλων ἐτῶν θύσει τις αὐτῷ πάρεργον Ὀλυμπίων.*

[6] Cic. *orat.* 8 f. The passage ends: nec vero ille artifex, cum faceret Iovis formam aut Minervae, contemplabatur aliquem e quo similitudinem duceret, sed ipsius in mente insidebat species pulchritudinis eximia quaedam, quam intuens in eaque defixus ad illius similitudinem artem et manum dirigebat. Sir J. E. Sandys *ad loc.* quotes Plotin. 5. 8. 1 *ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Φειδίας τὸν Δία πρὸς οὐδὲν αἰσθητὸν ποιήσας, ἀλλὰ λαβὼν οἷος ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ ἡμῖν ὁ Ζεὺς δι' ὀμμάτων ἐθέλοι φανῆναι* and an interesting parallel in a letter from

thought or mind. Thus we can think of forms more beautiful even than the statues of Pheidias, the most perfect things of their kind that we can see, or than those paintings that I have mentioned. Yet that great artist, when he was fashioning the shape of his Zeus or Athena, did not fix his gaze on any individual whose likeness he drew. No, in his own mind dwelt an ideal of surpassing beauty. Beholding that and lost in the contemplation thereof he turned art and hand to the task of reproducing its likeness.'

Platonic too in its essence is the remark attributed by Philostratos to that eccentric genius Apollonios[1] of Tyana:

'When he saw the statue enthroned at Olympia he said "Hail, good Zeus, whose goodness consists in giving of thine own self to men."'

In the summer of the year 97 A.D. Dion of Prousa delivered a semi-Stoic discourse to the Greeks assembled at Olympia[2]. The greater part of it is concerned with the cult-effigy of Zeus, to which the orator returns again and yet again with an ever fresh ardour of devotion and an astonishing variety of encomiastic phrases. He describes it as being 'of all the images on earth the most beautiful and the most beloved of heaven[3].' And he calls upon Pheidias, 'this wise, inspired maker of a creation at once solemn and supremely beautiful[4],' to expound and justify his rendering of Zeus.

All would admit, says Dion, that it is 'a sweet and welcome vision, a spectacle of untold delight to Hellenes and barbarians alike[5].' Nay, even brute creatures, could they but observe it, would be impressed: bulls led to the altar would be content to suffer, if it pleasured the god; eagles, horses, lions would lose their wildness and be soothed at the sight[6]. 'While of men, whosoever is utterly

Raphael to Baldassare Castiglione: 'To paint a figure truly beautiful, it might be necessary that I should see many beautiful forms, with the further provision that you should yourself be near, to select the best; but seeing that good judges and beautiful women are scarce, I avail myself of a certain "idea" which comes into my mind (*io mi servo di certa idea che mi viene nella mente*).'

[1] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 28 p. 167 Kayser *ἰδὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἔδος τὸ ἐν* 'Ολυμπίᾳ '*χαῖρε*,' *εἶπεν*, '*ἀγαθὲ Ζεῦ, σὺ γὰρ οὕτω τι ἀγαθός, ὡς καὶ σαυτοῦ κοινωνῆσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.*' This is not the colloquial *ὦ 'γαθέ*, but a more serious use of the adjective as in Plat. *Tim.* 29 D—E *λέγωμεν δὴ δι' ἥντινα αἰτίαν γένεσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν τόδε ὁ ξυνιστὰς ξυνέστησεν. ἀγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος· τούτου δ' ἐκτὸς ὢν πάντα ὅ τι μάλιστα γενέσθαι ἐβουλήθη παραπλήσια ἑαυτῷ.* Cp. Mark 10. 17 f., Luke 18. 18 f. (Matth. 19. 16 f.).

[2] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 361.

[3] Dion Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 220 Dindorf *πάντων, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγάλματα, κάλλιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον.*

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 229 Dindorf *τὸν σοφὸν τοῦτον καὶ δαιμόνιον ἐργάτην τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ παγκάλου δημιουργήματος.*

[5] *Id. ib.* p. 229 Dindorf *ὡς μὲν ἡδὺ καὶ προσφιλὲς ὅραμα καὶ τέρψιν ἀμήχανον θέας εἰργάσω πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὅσοι ποτὲ δεῦρο ἀφίκοντο πολλοὶ πολλάκις, οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ.*

[6] *Id. ib.* p. 229 Dindorf.

weary in soul, having drained many sufferings and sorrows in his life without the solace of sweet sleep, even he, methinks, if he stood over against this statue, would forget all the terrors and hardships of humanity[1].' Aforetime, adds Dion, in lack of clear knowledge we dreamed our several dreams and fashioned our individual fancies, or at most combined the unconvincing likenesses produced by previous craftsmen[2]. 'But you,' he says turning to Pheidias, 'through the potency of your art have conquered and combined Hellas first and then the rest of the world by means of this marvel, a work so amazing and brilliant that no man who had once set eyes on it could afterwards readily form a different conception[3].'

Yet, granted all this, continues Dion, in making a human figure of more than human beauty and magnitude out of these pleasing materials, did you really select the right type and create a form worthy of the god[4]? To which penetrating question Pheidias in his own defence replies[5], that he was not the first exponent and teacher of truth heard by Helias in her infancy. He had to deal with a people already grown up and holding earnestly enough religious views already accepted and established. He would not stress the agreement of sculptors and painters in the past, but look rather to those other craftsmen, the poets, older and wiser than himself. They by virtue of their poems could lead men to form concepts, whereas his handiwork could at best raise a sufficient probability.... Mind and wisdom no modeller or painter can portray. Their task is to know the human body in which these qualities reside, and they attribute the same to God. In default of the original, they seek by means of that which is seen and imaginable to show forth that which is unimaginable and unseen, using a symbol superior to the animal types by which barbarians represent the divine.... Nor can we maintain that it would have been a better plan to have made no statue or semblance of the gods, but to have looked only upon the heavenly bodies. The wise man worships every one of these, deeming that he can see the blessed gods afar off. But all men are so disposed towards the divine that they feel a passionate

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 229 f. Dindorf *ἀνθρώπων δέ, ὃς ἂν ᾖ παντελῶς ἐπίπονος τὴν ψυχήν, πολλὰς ἀπαντλήσας συμφορὰς καὶ λύπας ἐν τῷ βίῳ μηδὲ ὕπνον ἡδὺν ἐπιβαλλόμενος, καὶ ὃς δοκεῖ μοι κατ' ἐναντίον στὰς τῆσδε τῆς εἰκόνος ἐκλαθέσθαι πάντων ὅσα ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ γίγνεται παθεῖν.*

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 230 Dindorf.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 230 Dindorf *σὺ δὲ ἰσχύϊ τέχνης ἐνίκησας καὶ συνέλεξας τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτον, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἄλλους τῷδε τῷ φάσματι, θεσπέσιον καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀποδείξας, ὡς μηδένα τῶν ἰδόντων δόξαν ἑτέραν ἔτι λαβεῖν ῥᾳδίως.*

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 230 Dindorf.

[5] *Id. ib.* p. 231 ff. Dindorf.

desire to honour and tend it near at hand, approaching it and touching it with conviction, offering sacrifices to it and setting wreaths upon it. Just as little children, when torn away from father or mother, are stricken with sore longing and yearning, and often in dreams stretch out their arms to the absent ones, so men, justly loving the gods because of their kindliness and kinship, are eager to associate with them in every way and to share their company. Hence many barbarians through poverty and lack of art give the name of gods to mountains, rough tree-trunks, and shapeless stones, things that are assuredly no more suitable than this form of ours[1]. In choosing the human shape I have followed the lead of Homer...though handicapped by the limitations of my art. Poetry is opulent and can afford to lay down its own laws. It has such resources of language and phrase that it can express every wish of the heart and proclaim aloud any conceivable aspect or achievement, mood or magnitude.... Not so I, who am restricted to a special spot in Elis or Athens. You, Homer, wisest of poets, were admittedly the first to show the Greeks many fair portraits of all the gods, their greatest included, in shapes sometimes gentle, sometimes terrible and appalling. 'But ours is a god of peace and universal mildness, overseer of a Hellas free from faction and at harmony with itself. By the help of my art and the counsel of Elis, a state both wise and good, I have established him, gentle and solemn with untroubled mien, the giver of livelihood and life and all good things, the common Father and Saviour and Keeper of mankind, imitating so far as mortal thought can imitate the nature that is divine and beyond our ken[2].' See, then, whether you will not find this his effigy aptly reflecting all his titles. For Zeus alone of the gods is called both Father and King, *Polieús* and *Homógnios* and *Phílios* and *Hetaireîos*, aye and *Hikésios* and *Phýxios* and

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 232 f. Dindorf ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ὥσπερ νήπιοι παῖδες πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἀπεσπασμένοι δεινὸν ἵμερον ἔχοντες καὶ πόθον ὀρέγουσι χεῖρας οὐ παροῦσι πολλάκις ὀνειρώττοντες, οὕτω καὶ θεοὺς ἄνθρωποι ἀγαπῶντες δικαίως διά τε εὐεργεσίαν καὶ συγγένειαν, προθυμούμενοι πάντα τρόπον συνεῖναί τε καὶ ὁμιλεῖν· ὥστε καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πενίᾳ τε καὶ ἀπορίᾳ τέχνης ὄρη θεοὺς ἐπονομάζουσι καὶ δένδρα ἀργὰ καὶ ἀσήμους λίθους, οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς οἰκειότερα <ταύτης (*ins.* J. Geel ed. Lugduni Batavorum 1840 p. 106)> τῆς μορφῆς. Surely the most pathetic, and sympathetic, plea for idolatry ever put forward.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 236 f. Dindorf ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος εἰρηνικὸς καὶ πανταχοῦ πρᾷος, οἷος ἀστασιάστου καὶ ὁμονοούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπίσκοπος· ὃν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τέχνης καὶ τῆς Ἠλείων πόλεως σοφῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς βουλευσάμενος ἱδρυσάμην, ἥμερον καὶ σεμνὸν ἐν ἀλύπῳ σχήματι, τὸν βίου καὶ ζωῆς καὶ συμπάντων δοτῆρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πατέρα καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ φύλακα, ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν θνητῷ διανοηθέντι μιμήσασθαι τὴν θείαν καὶ ἀμήχανον φύσιν.

Xénios and *Ktésios* and *Epikárpios* and countless other appellations, all of them good[1]....

The speech, which had risen like a rocket, might have concluded with that burst of stars, lingering awhile in memory as a galaxy of glittering points. But the speaker, being Greek, prefers to end on a note of greater quietude and self-restraint. He does so very simply, very effectively, by contrasting the human workman, a Pheidias or a Polykleitos, who has made the most of his paltry materials and trumpery tools, with Zeus the creator of the universe, whom Pindar[2] addresses as—

'Mighty Lord of Dodona, Best of all Artificers, our Father.'

How comes it that this great statue, for centuries the acknowledged masterpiece of ancient religious art, has not, like many others of less merit, left behind it a trail of Greek and Roman copies? Apart from the wonderful Zeus of Mylasa (*supra* ii pl. xxviii), a fourth-century head of modified Pheidiac style[3], there is hardly an extant marble or bronze in which we can trace with certainty the influence of the original at Olympia[4].

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 237 Dindorf. L. François 'Dion Chrysostôme critique d'art: le Zeus de Phidias' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1917 xxx. 105—116 regards this list of epithets as a Stoic *cliché*, comparing Kleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* [*supra* ii. 855 ff.], [Aristot.] *de mundo* 7. 401 a 12 ff., Dion Chrys. *or.* 1 p. 9 Dindorf, Aristeid. *or.* 1. 8 (i. 10 f. Dindorf). The theme is handled in greater detail by J. Amann *Die Zeusrede des Ailios Aristeides* Stuttgart 1931 pp. 99—109 ('Die ἐπικλήσεις des Zeus').

[2] Pind. *frag.* 57 Schroeder *ap.* Dion Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 239 Dindorf ὃν πάνυ καλῶς ποιητὴς προσεῖπεν ἕτερος, 'Δωδωναῖε μεγάσθενες | ἀριστότεχνα πάτερ.' κ.τ.λ. (as *supra* ii. 693 n. 3). Bergk *ad loc.* conjectured that the next line in Pindar's *paián* was Δίκας δαμιοεργὲ καὶ εὐνομίας—a restoration based on Plout. *praec. ger. reip.* 13 ὁ δὲ πολιτικός, ἀριστοτέχνας τις ὤν, κατὰ Πίνδαρον, καὶ δημιουργὸς εὐνομίας καὶ δίκης, κ.τ.λ., *de ser. num. vind.* 4 καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐμαρτύρησεν, ἀριστοτέχναν ἀνακαλούμενος τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ κύριον ἁπάντων θεόν, ὡς δὴ δίκης ὄντα δημιουργόν, *de fac. in orb. lun.* 13 ἢ τίνος γέγονε ποιητὴς καὶ πατὴρ δημιουργὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀριστοτέχνας. The passage evidently haunted the memory of Plutarch, who quotes it again in his *symp.* 1. 2. 5 καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὁρᾷς, ὃν ἀριστοτέχναν ἡμῶν ὁ Πίνδαρος προσεῖπεν, κ.τ.λ. and *adv. Stoic.* 14 ὁ δὲ Πατρῷος καὶ Ὕπατος καὶ Θεμίστιος Ζεύς, καὶ ἀριστοτέχνας κατὰ Πίνδαρον, οὐ δρᾶμα δήπου μέγα καὶ ποικίλον καὶ πολυμαθὲς δημιουργῶν τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλὰ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἄστυ κοινόν, συννομησομένων μετὰ δίκης καὶ ἀρετῆς ὁμολογουμένως καὶ μακαρίως, κ.τ.λ. See also Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 395, 2 f. Stählin καὶ ἕνα τὸν τούτων δημιουργόν, ὃν 'ἀριστοτέχναν πατέρα' λέγει (*sc.* ὁ Πίνδαρος) = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 27 and C. B. Hase in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* i. 2. 1972 A—B.

[3] *Supra* ii. 597 f.

[4] A marble head in the Hermitage (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1875 pp. 187—200 Atlas pls. 6 and 7, 1), the Otricoli head in the Vatican (Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 130, cp. pl. 605, G. Lippold in Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* iii. 1. 110—113 Sala Rotonda no. 539 pl. 36), the Jacobsen head at Ny Carlsberg (P. Arndt *La glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* Munich 1896 p. 17 f. Atlas pl. 13, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker* Kjøbenhavn 1907 pl. 17, 241), and a bronze head at Vienna (H. Schrader in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1911

No doubt there were critics of its scale and proportions. Strabon[1] says:

'It was wrought of ivory, and so huge was its size that, although the temple is very large, the artist is thought to have missed the proper symmetry; for he represented the god as seated but almost touching the roof with the crown of his head, and thus produced the impression that, if he arose and stood upright, he would unroof the temple.'

Others, as we might infer from Pausanias[2], felt the force of the objection, and Caecilius the rhetorician, a contemporary of Strabon, even ventured—the blasphemer—to speak of 'the blundered colossus[3].' To which detractors Pheidias might well have retorted that the temple-roof was expressly designed to suggest the starry vault of heaven.

But the real reason for the comparative unpopularity of the statue was not a mere matter of measurements. The gravamen was this. Pheidias, seeking to express a beneficent supremacy, had deliberately omitted the thunderbolt[4], formerly the essential characteristic of the sky-god. The populace could not, or would not, understand the omission, and some writers who ought to have known better actually describe the figure as if it were equipped with the familiar attribute. Seneca[5], for example, in defiance of plain fact, can say:

'Pheidias never saw Zeus, yet made him as it were thundering'—

xiv. 81—88 with figs. 91 *a*, 91 *b*, 92 and pls. 1, 2, *id. Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 57 ff. figs. 38 and 39) have all found ardent advocates. Here it must suffice to say that their claims are mutually destructive.

[1] Strab. 353 (quoted by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 145, 15 f.).

[2] *Supra* p. 958.

[3] Longin. *de sublim.* 36. 3 *πρὸς μέντοι γε τὸν γράφοντα, ὡς ὁ Κολοσσὸς ὁ ἡμαρτημένος οὐ κρείττων ἢ ὁ Πολυκλείτου Δορυφόρος, παράκειται πρὸς πολλοῖς εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐπὶ μὲν τέχνης θαυμάζεται τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν ἔργων τὸ μέγεθος, φύσει δὲ λογικὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος· κἀπὶ μὲν ἀνδριάντων ζητεῖται τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνθρώπῳ, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ὑπεραῖρον, ὡς ἔφην, τὰ ἀνθρώπινα.* F. Granger in his recent translation (London 1935) p. 89 renders 'the Colossus which failed in the casting' and p. 113 notes 'The Colossus of Nero was a failure owing to the decline in the art of casting bronze, Plin. *N.H.*, xxxiv, 46.' But U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Der verfehlte Koloss' in the *Strena Helbigiana* Lipsiae 1900 pp. 334—336 argues convincingly from the context: 'Caecilius also hat dem Doryphoros, dem Kanon, einen Koloss entgegengesetzt. Damit ist die auch sonst haltlose Beziehung auf den Koloss des Nero vorab beseitigt. Aber der Gedankenzusammenhang fordert auch, dass der verfehlte Koloss ein berühmtes, von anderen als musterhaft anerkanntes Werk ist. Er muss sich zu Platon verhalten wie der Kanon Polyklets zu Lysias. Da kann man auch den Koloss des Chares nicht brauchen, der nicht der Vertreter eines erhabenen, aber incorrecten Stiles sein könnte. Wer es ist, lehrt ein Zeitgenosse des Caecilius, Strabon, der bei Gelegenheit der Hera sagt, dass "die Werke des Polyklet an Kunst die schönsten wären, wenn sie auch an Kostbarkeit und Grösse denen des Pheidias nachstünden" [Strab. 372].'

[4] *Supra* ii. 760.

[5] Sen. *controv.* 10. 5. 8.

while Lucian[1] goes much further and in a passage of bitter sarcasm upbraids Zeus for failing to use the thunderbolt in his hand:

'Ο Zeus, where is now your resplendent lightning, where your deep-toned thunder, where the glowing, white-hot, direful bolt? we know now 'tis all fudge and poetic moonshine—barring what value may attach to the rattle of the names. That renowned projectile of yours, which ranged so far and was so ready to your hand, has gone dead and cold, it seems; never a spark left in it to scorch iniquity.

If men are meditating perjury, a smouldering lamp-wick is as likely to frighten them off as the omnipotent's levin-bolt; the brand you hold over them is one from which they see neither flame nor smoke can come; a little soot-grime is the worst that need be apprehended from a touch of it. No wonder if Salmoneus challenged you to a thundering-match; he was reasonable enough when he backed his artificial heat against so cool-tempered a Zeus. Of course he was; there are you in your opiate-trance, never hearing the perjurers nor casting a glance at criminals, your glazed eyes dull to all that happens, and your ears as deaf as a dotard's.

When you were young and keen, and your temper had some life in it, you used to bestir yourself against crime and violence; there were no armistices in those days; the thunderbolt was always hard at it, the aegis quivering, the thunder rattling, the lightning engaged in a perpetual skirmish. Earth was shaken like a sieve, buried in snow, bombarded with hail. It rained cats and dogs (if you will pardon my familiarity), and every shower was a waterspout. Why, in Deucalion's time, hey presto, everything was swamped, mankind went under, and just one little ark was saved, stranding on the top of Lycoreus and preserving a remnant of human seed for the generation of greater wickedness.

Mankind pays you the natural wages of your laziness; if any one offers you a victim or a garland nowadays, it is only at Olympia as a perfunctory accompaniment of the games; he does it not because he thinks it is any good, but because he may as well keep up an old custom. It will not be long, most glorious of deities, before they serve you as you served Cronus, and depose you. I will not rehearse all the robberies of your temple—those are trifles; but they have laid hands on your person at Olympia, my lord High-Thunderer, and you had not the energy to wake the dogs or call in the neighbours; surely they might have come to the rescue and caught the fellows before they had finished packing up the swag. But there sat the bold Giant-slayer and Titan-conqueror letting them cut his hair, with a fifteen-foot thunderbolt in his hand all the time!'

So Lucian, like Seneca, was labouring under the delusion that Zeus *Pheidiakós*[2], as he came to be called, was fulminant. Roman rhetoric and Greek satire had equally failed to grasp the sculptor's new conception.

In truth that new conception was too exalted for a public which preferred truculence to tranquillity and could appreciate

[1] Loukian. *Tim.* 1—4 trans. H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler.

[2] Schol. Greg. Naz. in *Catalogus sive notitia manuscriptorum qui a* ***E. D. Clarke*** *comparati in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adservantur* Oxonii 1812 i. 36 (Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 134 no. 739) Φειδίας...ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἄριστος· ὃς τῷ μὲν Διὶ ξόανον ἤγειρεν ὡς ἐπονομασθῆναι Διὸς Φειδιακοῦ· ...

a triumphant victor or even a threatening tyrant more readily than a peaceful, undemonstrative ruler. The god whose government was based upon right not might, love not fear, was an ideal for future ages, born five hundred years in advance of his time.

During those five centuries his statue experienced some surprising vicissitudes. The descendants of Pheidias, entrusted by the Eleans with the task of cleaning it, were called officially the *Phaidryntaí* or 'Burnishers,' and before setting about their duties used to sacrifice to Athena *Ergáne*[1]. Oil was poured out in front of Zeus to preserve the ivory from decay[2], a dark oil made from pitch being regarded as best for the purpose[3]. H. C. Schubart[4], however, with the approval of the technologist H. Blümner[5],

[1] Paus. 5. 14. 5 *ταύτῃ τῇ Ἐργάνῃ καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι Φειδίου, καλούμενοι δὲ Φαιδρυνταί, γέρας παρὰ Ἠλείων εἰληφότες τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν προσιζανόντων καθαίρειν, οὗτοι θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα πρὶν ἢ λαμπρύνειν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἄρξωνται.* A base found at Olympia records one of these Φαιδρυνταί (E. Loewy *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* Leipzig 1885 p. 367 f. no. 536, 3 f., W. Dittenberger—K. Purgold in *Olympia* v. 555 f. no. 466, 3 f. *Τίτον Φλάουιον | Ἡράκλειτον, τὸν | ἀπὸ Φειδίου, Φαιδυντὴν | τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου*). Others are mentioned in inscriptions from Athens, where they had a special seat in the theatre (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 283 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 3 no. 5064 of Hadrianic date Φαιδυντοῦ | Διὸς ἐκ Πείσης) and might hold office as *árchon* (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 1058, 2 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1828, 2 ff. of *c.* 210 A.D. [*ἐπὶ*] *ἄρχοντος Φεδυν*[*το*][*ῦ*] *Διὸς ἐν Ὀλυ*[*μ*]*πίᾳ Τ*[*ι*]*β*[*ρίου*] | Κλαυδίου Πατρόκλ[ο]υ [Λα][*μ*]*πτρέως*). The corresponding official attached to the Athenian Olympieion had another reserved seat in the theatre (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 291 = *Inscr Gr.* ed. min. ii. 3 no. 5072 of Hadrianic date Φαιδυντοῦ | Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου *ἐν ἄστει*) and dedicates a statue of his wife at Eleusis (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 928, 2 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii. 3 no. 4075, 2 ff. after 150 A.D. [*ὁ δεῖνα - - ὁ*] | *ἀγωνοθέτης* Ὀλυμ[*είων καὶ* Ὀλυμπίου Διὸ]ς Ἀθήνησιν Φαιδυντή[ς - - -]), where Demeter and Persephone had long had their own cleaner (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 42, *c* 129 f. in an Attic decree of *c.* 460 B.C. *καὶ τ*[*ὸν Φαιδυντὲν*] | [*τ*]*ὸν θεοῦν*, *ib.*[3] no. 885, 16 f. in an Attic decree of *c.* 220 A.D. *καὶ ὁ Φαιδυντὴς τοῖν θε*|[*οῖν*]). On the Elean spelling Φαιδυντής, as opposed to the Ionic-Attic Φαιδρυντής, see F. Solmsen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1899 liv. 347 f. and 495 f. The duties of the office are discussed by E. Kuhnert 'De cura statuarum apud Graecos' in the *Berliner Studien für classische Philologie und Archaeologie* 1884 i. 336 ff.

[2] Paus. 5. 11. 10 *ὅσον δὲ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐστὶν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀγάλματος, τοῦτο οὐ λευκῷ, μέλανι δὲ κατεσκεύασται τῷ λίθῳ. περιθεῖ δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν μέλανα λίθου Παρίου κρηπίς, ἔρυμα εἶναι τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῷ ἐκχεομένῳ. ἔλαιον γὰρ τῷ ἀγάλματί ἐστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ συμφέρον καὶ ἔλαιόν ἐστι τὸ ἀπείργον μὴ γίνεσθαι τῷ ἐλέφαντι βλάβος διὰ τὸ ἐλῶδες τῆς Ἄλτεως.* κ.τ.λ. Similarly Methodios, bishop of Olympos in Lykia, who was martyrized under Maximinus Daza in 311 A.D. (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 1355), *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 293 b 1 ff. Bekker *ὅτι φησὶ Φειδίαν τὸν ἀγαλματοποιὸν τὸ Πισαῖον εἴδωλον ποιήσαντα ἐξ ἐλέφαντος προστάξαι ἔλαιον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐκχέειν, ὥστε ἀθάνατον ἐς δύναμιν αὐτὸ φυλάσσεσθαι* (cited also by Epiphan. *panar. haeres.* 64. 19 (ii. 619 Dindorf)).

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 31 f. e pice fit quod pissinum appellant, cum coquitur, velleribus supra halitum eius expansis atque ita expressis...existimaturque et ebori vindicando a carie utile esse. certe simulacrum Saturni Romae intus oleo repletum est.

[4] H. C. Schubart in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1849 *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1849 vii. 407—413.

[5] H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1879 ii. 374 n. 1.

suggests that the wooden core of the great chryselephantine figure was pierced by tubes or channels, which conveyed the oil in all directions and prevented the wood from being affected by changes of temperature. A similar device was employed for Endoios' *xóanon* of Artemis at Ephesos[1] and for the cult-image of Saturn at Rome[2]. Such precautions notwithstanding, by the middle of the second century B.C.[3] the ivory of Zeus *Olýmpios* was cracked and had to be refurbished by the sculptor Damophon[4].

But graver dangers than slow disintegration were to follow. In the days of Iulius Caesar the statue is said to have been struck by lightning[5], we do not know with what effect. Worse than that, in 40 A.D. Caligula actually gave orders that it should be brought to Rome. P. Memmius Regulus, commissioned to carry out the sacrilege, was warned by the architects that the removal of the statue would entail its destruction, and was further deterred by the occurrence of incredible portents. Accordingly he abandoned the attempt and wrote to the emperor explaining his reasons. These scruples might have cost him his life[6], had it not been for the opportune assassination of the tyrant on January 24, 41 A.D.[7]

[1] Mucianus, the consul of 52, 70, and 75 A.D., *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 213 f. (*supra* ii. 410 n. 0) states that the ancient statue of Artemis at Ephesos was made by Endoios (but see C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* v. 2554) of vine-wood (J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 p. 102 'des Keuschlamms' would derive *vitigeneum* from *vitex*): adicit multis foraminibus nardo rigari, ut medicatus umor alat teneatque iuncturas.

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 32 (quoted *supra* p. 967 n. 3).

[3] B. Ashmole in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1930 viii. 689 f.

[4] Paus. 4. 31. 6 Δαμοφῶντος δὲ ἔργον, ὃς καὶ τὸν Δία <τὸν (*ins.* H. Hitzig)> ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ διεστηκότος ἤδη τοῦ ἐλέφαντος συνήρμοσεν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, καί οἱ δεδομέναι τιμαὶ παρὰ Ἠλείων εἰσί. A. Neuburger *The Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients* trans. H. L. Brose London 1930 p. 64 f. says: 'it is now a lost art to join ivory plates without leaving traces or [*leg.* of] the joins and without the differences of external temperature giving rise to cracks owing to the resultant change of dimensions.' On modern Museum methods of treating ancient ivory see A. Lucas *Antiques: their Restoration and Preservation* London 1924 pp. 55—58.

[5] Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 2. 8 ἀμφὶ δὲ Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα τὸ μέγα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ὀλυμπικὸν ἄγαλμα, τὸ ἐν αὐταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσι, κεραυνῷ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ βληθὲν ἀναγράφουσι. Cp. Lucr. 6. 417 ff. with H. A. J. Munro *ad loc.*

[6] Yet see E. Groag in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 634.

[7] Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 19. 1. 1 ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπιάσι τιμώμενον Δία ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ οὕτως ὠνομασμένον Ὀλύμπιον, Φειδίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου πεποιηκότος, ἐτόλμησε κελεῦσαι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μεταφέρειν. οὐ μὴν ἔπραξέ γε, τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων φαμένων πρὸς Μέμμιον Ῥήγουλον, ὃς ἐπετέτακτο τῇ κινήσει τοῦ Διός, ἀπολεῖσθαι τοῦργον κινήσεως αὐτοῦ γεγενημένης. λέγεται δὲ τὸν Μέμμιον διὰ ταῦτα, καὶ σημείων μειζόνων γεγενημένων ἢ ὡς ἄν τινα πιστὰ ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. καὶ γράφει τάδε πρὸς τὸν Γάϊον ἐπ' ἀπολογίᾳ τοῦ ἐκλιπεῖν ἀδιακόνητον τὴν ἐπιστολήν. ἀπολέσθαι τε ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ κινδύνου γενομένου, σώζεται φθάσαντος ἤδη Γαΐου τελευτῆσαι.

Caligula's intention had been to replace the head of Zeus by a portrait-head of himself. But whenever the workmen approached to lay hold of the pedestal, loud laughter burst from the lips of the statue and put them to instant flight. Also, the ship built to transport it was shattered by thunderbolts. So Caligula, after threatening Zeus, had perforce to substitute another effigy in his own temple on the Palatine[1]. About the middle of the second century Lucian[2] mentions that thieves, greatly daring, had recently cut off two of Zeus' golden tresses weighing six minas apiece. In 394 A.D. Theodosios i, pursuing his policy of suppressing all paganism[3], abolished the Olympic festival[4] despite its unbroken record of 1169 years. And in the reign of his grandson Theodosios ii (408—450 A.D.) the temple of Zeus *Olýmpios* perished in a conflagration[5].

Not so the great statue, which had hitherto contrived to escape the successive threats of decomposition and lightning, mutilation and robbery. At some uncertain date, after the overthrow of its worship and before the destruction of its temple, it was removed to Byzantion and set up in the House of Lausos[6] among such world-famous works as the Samian Hera of Athenis and Boupalos, the

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 22 datoque negotio ut simulacra numinum religione et arte praeclara, inter quae Olympi Iovis, apportarentur e Graecia, quibus capite dempto suum imponeret, partem Palatii ad forum usque promovit, etc., *ib.* 57 Olympiae simulacrum Iovis, quod dissolvi transferrique Romam placuerat, tantum cachinnum repente edidit ut machinis labefactis opifices diffugerint; supervenitque ilico quidam Cassius nomine, iussum se somnio affirmans immolare taurum Iovi, Dion Cass. 59. 28 *οὕτω δὴ ἕτερόν τε νεὼν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ σπουδῇ ᾠκοδομήσατο, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐς αὐτὸν ἠθέλησε τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ εἶδος μεταρρυθμίσαι. μὴ δυνηθεὶς δέ (τό τε γὰρ πλοῖον τὸ πρὸς τὴν κομιδὴν αὐτοῦ ναυπηγηθὲν ἐκεραυνώθη, καὶ γέλως, ὁσάκις τινὲς ὡς καὶ τοῦ ἕδους ἐφαψόμενοι προσῆλθον, πολὺς ἐξηκούετο) ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐπηπείλει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἕτερον ἐνέστησε.*

This was the laugh of divine derision (cp. *e.g.* Psa. 2. 4, 37. 13, 59. 8), very different rom the unsympathetic exultation of Zeus in the late Homeric *theomachía* (*Il.* 21. 388 ff. at the sight of the gods fighting, 508 at the plight of Artemis) or his rather undignified mirth over the post-Homeric pranks of Hermes (*h. Herm.* 389, Loukian. *dial. deor.* 7. 3).

[2] Loukian. *Tim.* 4 (quoted *supra* p. 966), *Iup. trag.* 25 *εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἦν, ἑᾶσαί μ' ἂν οἴει τοὺς ἱεροσύλους πρῴην ἀπελθεῖν ἀκερανυνώτους ἐκ Πίσης, δύο μου τῶν πλοκάμων ἀποκείραντας ἓξ μνᾶς ἑκάτερον ἕλκοντα;*

[3] *Supra* i. 167.

[4] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 326 D—327 A (i. 573 Bekker) *ἐν τούτοις ἥ τε τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀπέσβη πανήγυρις, ἥτις κατὰ τετραετῆ χρόνον ἐπετελεῖτο. ἦρξατο δὲ ἡ τοιαύτη πανήγυρις ὅτε Μανασσῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ ἐφυλάττετο ἕως τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοδοσίου.*

[5] Schol. Loukian. *rhet. praec.* 9 (p. 176, 3 ff. Rabe) *καὶ διήρκεσεν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν καθ' Ἑβραίους κριτῶν μέχρι τοῦ μικροῦ Θεοδοσίου· ἐμπρησθέντος γὰρ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ναοῦ ἐξέλιπε καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἠλείων πανήγυρις, ib.* (p. 178, 2 ff. Rabe) *ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς <ἐποχῆς> καθ' Ἑβραίους ἐπ' Ἰάειρον ἑνά< >διήρκεσε μέχρι τοῦ μικροῦ <Θεοδοσίου>, ὃς Ἀρκαδίου υἱὸς ἦν, τῶν χρό<νων. τοῦ δὲ> ναοῦ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς ἐμπρη<σθέντος ἐξ>έλιπε καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἠλείων πανήγυρις <καὶ ὁ ἀγὼ>ν ὁ Ὀλυμπικός.*

[6] *Supra* ii. 864 n. 1.

Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, and the Kairos of Lysippos[1]. But its exile was of no long duration. The Lauseion in turn was burnt in 462 A.D.[2], and with it disappeared for ever the masterpiece of Pheidias.

The statue had gone; its influence remained. Theodoros Anagnostes[3] (*c.* 530 A.D.) tells a strange tale of a certain painter who ventured to portray the Saviour in the guise of Zeus. The hand with which he painted thereupon withered away, but was restored again in answer to the prayers of Saint Gennadios. Later writers[4] repeat the incident, Theophanes[5] and Kedrenos[6] referring it to the year 463—just a twelvemonth after the destruction of the statue. Theodoros and most of the later authorities add the comment that the type with curly and short hair was the more authentic likeness.

We have here a clear recognition of two main types in the iconography of Christ—the one youthful and beardless, with comparatively short, curly hair, the other more mature and bearded, with moustache and flowing tresses. It used to be thought that the beardless type was considerably earlier than the bearded, the former alone being found till the end of the fourth century, the latter dating from the first half of the fifth[7]. But we now know that the two had existed side

[1] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 322 B—C (i. 564 Bekker) *ὅτι ἐν τοῖς Λαύσου ἦσαν... ἵστατο δὲ... καὶ ὁ Φειδίου ἐλεφάντινος Ζεύς, ὃν Περικλῆς ἀνέθηκεν εἰς νεὼν Ὀλυμπίων.*

[2] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 348 A—B (i. 609 f. Bekker) *τῷ ε' ἔτει γέγονεν ἐμπρησμὸς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει...σφόδρα γὰρ ἐκράτει ὁ ἐμπρησμὸς οὗτος...ἐπὶ δὲ μεσημβρίας ἐν τῇ μέσῃ τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τῶν Λαύσου μέχρι τοῦ Ταύρου πάντα κατελυμήνατο,* Zonar. *ann.* 14 (ii. 62 B Ducange) *πνεύματος δὲ σφοδροῦ πνέοντος τηνικαῦτα, ἡ φλὸξ ἦρτο ταχέως ἀέριος, καὶ πολλὰς μεγίστας τε καὶ καλλίστας οἰκοδομὰς κατῃθάλωσε, καὶ ἀγάλματα κατέφλεξεν ἀρχαίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ, κ.τ.λ.*

On this and other conflagrations at Constantinople see E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1000.

[3] Theodor. Anagnost. *eccl. hist.* i. 15 (lxxxvi. 1. 173 A Migne) *ἐπὶ Γενναδίου ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ ζωγράφου ἐξηράνθη τοῦ ἐν τάξει Διὸς τὸν Σωτῆρα γράψαι τολμήσαντος· ὃν δι' εὐχῆς ἰάσατο Γεννάδιος. φησὶ δὲ ὁ ἱστορῶν ὅτι τὸ ἄλλο σχῆμα τοῦ Σωτῆρος, τὸ οὖλον καὶ ὀλιγότριχον, ὑπάρχει τὸ ἀληθέστερον.*

[4] Collected by E. von Dobschütz *Christusbilder* Leipzig 1899 p. 107* f.

[5] Theophan. *chronogr.* 97 B (i. 174 Classen) on ann. mund. 5955=463 A.D. *τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει ζωγράφου τινὸς τὸν Σωτῆρα γράψαι τολμήσαντος καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ Διός, ἐξηράνθη ἡ χεὶρ· ὃν ἐξαγορεύσαντα δι' εὐχῆς ἰάσατο Γεννάδιος. φασὶ δέ τινες τῶν ἱστορικῶν, ὅτι τὸ οὖλον καὶ ὀλιγότριχον σχῆμα ἐπὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἰκειότερόν ἐστιν.*

[6] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 348 D (i. 611 Bekker) *τῷ ϛ' ἔτει ζωγράφου τινὸς τὸν Σωτῆρα γράψαι τολμήσαντος καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ Διός, ἐξηράνθη ἡ χεὶρ· ὃν ἐξαγορεύσαντα δι' εὐχῆς ἰάσατο Γεννάδιος. φασὶ δέ τινες τῶν ἱστορικῶν, ὅτι τὸ οὖλον καὶ ὀλιγότριχον σχῆμα ἐπὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἰκειότερόν ἐστιν*—a verbal transcript from Theophanes.

[7] V. Schultze *Grundriss der christlichen Archäologie* München 1919 p. 132 contends that, in the absence of authentic portraiture, throughout the first four centuries of our era the prevalent conception of Christ, derived alike from the Old Testament (Psa. 45. 2) and

by side at least from the second half of the second century[1], though their relative frequency underwent continuous change. At first the

the New (John 1. 14, 2 Cor. 4. 4, Col. 1. 15, Hebr. 1. 3), necessitated an ideal rendering of him as the Son of God: 'Daraus ergaben sich für das Christusbild der Kunst zwei Folgerungen und Forderungen, Schönheit und Jugend. Sie bestimmen und erklären das Christusbild bis zum Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts, wo der erste Abschnitt seiner Geschichte schliesst.' *Id. ib.* p. 141 'Ich behaupte, dass in keinem einzigen Falle bisher ein bärtiger Christuskopf im 3. oder 4. Jahrhundert nachgewiesen ist. Die Reihe beginnt vielmehr erst mit dem 5. Jahrhundert.' To the same effect *id.* 'Ursprung und älteste Geschichte des Christusbildes' in the *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben* 1883 iv. 301—315, *id. Archäologie der altchristlichen Kunst* München 1895 pp. 341—345 ('Das Christusbild'), *id.* 'Christus in der frühchristlichen Kunst' in the *Strena Buliciana* Zagrebiae 1924 pp. 331—336 (p. 335 'Ich komme zu dem bärtigen Typus. Er tritt zuerst in der ersten Hälfte des fünften Jahrhunderts auf. Das vierte Jahrhundert kennt ihn nicht. Das ist eine Tatsache, die unumstösslich fest steht'), and elsewhere.

See further H. Holtzmann 'Ueber die Entstehung des Christusbildes der Kunst' in the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* 1877 iii. 189—192, *id.* 'Zur Entwickelung des Christusbildes der Kunst' *ib.* 1884 x. 71—136, L. Dietrichson *Christusbilledet* Kjøbenhavn 1880 pp. 1—444, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i. 280—283, 1909 ii. 151—159, H. Dütschke *Ravennatische Studien* Leipzig 1909 pp. 99—121 ('Der jugendliche Christus von Ravenna'), O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 pp. 670—673 ('Types of Christ'), C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*[2] Paderborn 1913 pp. 375—381, Mrs A. Strong *Apotheosis and After Life* London 1915 pp. 100 ff., 280 f., H. Preuss *Das Bild Christi im Wandel der Zeiten*[2] Leipzig 1921, G. E. Meille *Christ's Likeness in History and Art* trans. E. M. Kirkman London 1924 pp. 1—178, R. Berger *Die Darstellung des thronenden Christus in der romanischen Kunst* Reutlingen 1926 pp. 1—232.

E. von Dobschütz *Christusbilder* Leipzig 1899 pp. 1—294 deals exhaustively with one special type of representation, the alleged ἀχειροποίητα (p. 263 'Der christliche Achiropoiïten-Glaube ist die Fortsetzung des griechischen Glaubens an Diipetē').

[1] See especially J. Sauer *Die ältesten Christusbilder* Berlin 1920 pp. 1—8 with 2 figs. and 13 pls., and the same scholar's enlarged study 'Das Aufkommen des bärtigen Christustypus in der frühchristlichen Kunst' in the *Strena Buliciana* Zagrebiae 1924 pp. 303—329.

The bronze group at Kaisareia Paneas is described by Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 7. 18 ἀλλ' *ἐπειδὴ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως εἰς μνήμην ἐλήλυθα, οὐκ ἄξιον ἡγοῦμαι παρελθεῖν διήγησιν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς μνημονεύεσθαι ἀξίαν. τὴν γὰρ αἱμορροοῦσαν, ἣν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν εὐαγγελίων πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τοῦ πάθους ἀπαλλαγὴν εὑρέσθαι μεμαθήκαμεν, ἐνθένδε ἔλεγον ὁρμᾶσθαι, τόν τε οἶκον αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως δείκνυσθαι, καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰς αὐτὴν εὐεργεσίας θαυμαστὰ τρόπαια παραμένειν. ἑστάναι γὰρ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ λίθου πρὸς μὲν ταῖς πύλαις τοῦ αὐτῆς οἴκου γυναικὸς ἐκτύπωμα χάλκεον ἐπὶ γόνυ κεκλιμένον καὶ τεταμέναις ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσθεν ταῖς χερσίν, ἱκετευούσῃ ἐοικός, τούτου δὲ ἀντικρυς ἄλλο τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης ἀνδρὸς ὄρθιον σχῆμα, διπλοΐδα κοσμίως περιβεβλημένον καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τῇ γυναικὶ προτεῖνον, οὗ παρὰ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης αὐτῆς ξένον τι βοτάνης εἶδος φύειν, ὃ μέχρι τοῦ κρασπέδου τῆς τοῦ χαλκοῦ διπλοΐδος ἀνιὸν ἀλεξιφάρμακόν τι παντοίων νοσημάτων τυγχάνειν. τοῦτον τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰκόνα φέρειν ἔλεγον. ἔμεινε δὲ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς καὶ ὄψει παραλαβεῖν ἐπιδημήσαντας αὐτοὺς τῇ πόλει.* Cp. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos *hist. eccl.* 6. 15 (cxlv. 1160 C—1161 A Migne). J. Wilpert 'Alte Kopie der Statue von Paneas' in the *Strena Buliciana* pp. 295—301 has shown that this much-discussed monument was certainly Christian not pagan in character, but represented the Syrophoenician woman (Mark 7. 26) rather than the woman with an issue of blood (Mark 5. 25). He accepts the suggestion of R. Garrucci *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 v. 44—47 pl. 323, 4—6 that a marble sarcophagus (no. 174) now in the Lateran Museum (O. Marucchi

beardless type was by far the more common, the bearded was rare and exceptional. But scenes of judgment, law-giving, and teaching, in which stress was laid on the majesty of the central figure, gradually popularised the maturer type[1] until it almost superseded the more youthful. It seems probable that both were to some extent influenced by pre-existing pagan types. I have already suggested that the boyish figure of Christ on the chalice of Antioch is reminiscent of the child Zeus or Dionysos[2]. And Furtwängler[3],

I monumenti del museo cristiano Pio-Lateranense Milano 1910 p. 22 pl. 29, 2, 2A, 2B) has preserved on its right-hand side a faithful copy of the Paneas bronze. If so, the figure of Christ was of the bearded type. Asterios, bishop of Amaseia, *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 505 b 5 ff. states that the bronze was destroyed by Maximinus, *i.e.* Galerius Valerius Maximinus (305—314 A.D.). But Philostorg. *hist. eccl.* 7. 3 (lxv. 537 C—539 C Migne) puts its demolition in the time of Julian (361—363 A.D.), as does Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 5. 21 (lxvii. 1280 B—C Migne) adding a story that, when Julian set up a statue of himself in its stead, this was struck by lightning: Philostorgios claims that the head of Christ was separately preserved by the Christians; Sozomenos, that the fragments of the whole figure were piously put together and bestowed in the church. See for details E. von Dobschütz *Christusbilder* Leipzig 1899 p. 250* ff.

The *hypogaeum* discovered at Rome in 1919 close to the Viale Manzoni was decorated with paintings which range from the second half of *s.* ii to the first half of *s.* iii A.D. (G. Bendinelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1920 pp. 123—141 with figs. 1—8 and pls. 1—4, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1921 xxv. 304, R. Paribeni *Antichissime Pitture Cristiane a Roma* Milano 1921, R. Lanciani in *The Illustrated London News* for Jan. 14, 1922 p. 54 f. with 7 figs.). These include fine portrait-figures of the eleven Apostles, four representations of the Good Shepherd carrying a ram on his shoulders, and some more problematic landscape scenes. The most impressive of the second-century paintings shows a bearded man sitting on a wooded or bushy hillside with an open roll in his hand: below him sheep and kids are assembled (Bendinelli *loc. cit.* p. 131 f. pl. 3, M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 402 fig. 621, E. Strong *Art in Ancient Rome* London 1929 ii. 155 with fig. 492). We can hardly fail to recognise the Shepherd-Judge and Divine Ruler (*supra* ii. 1208 f.). And Bendinelli does well to recall the epitaph of Aberkios *μαθητὴς ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ, | ὃς βόσκει προβάτων ἀγέλας ὄρεσιν πεδίοις τε, | ὀφθαλμοὺς ὃς ἔχει μεγάλους πάντη καθορῶντας. | οὗτος γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξε < > γράμματα πιστά* (text and commentary in C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 pp. 717—725 and more fully in F. J. Dölger ΙΧΘΥC Münster in Westf. 1922 ii. 454—507).

As to the bearded type in the Catacomb of Domitilla, J. Sauer in the *Strena Buliciana* p. 310 observes: 'Es findet sich in der Domitilla-Katakombe, Cubiculum III (Wilpert Taf. 40, 2; 54, 2 und S. 107) aus der 1. Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts: der Heiland ist hier als Richter oder Lehrer dargestellt mit langem Haupthaar und kurzem aber vollem Barthaar. An der Identität dieser Figur ist trotz der Einwendungen von Victor Schultze [*Grundriss der christlichen Archäologie* p. 141] nicht zu zweifeln; die Nachweise Wilperts hiefür [Wilpert p. 406] sind unseres Erachtens völlig überzeugend.'

[1] J. Sauer in the *Strena Buliciana* p. 319 ff.

[2] *Supra* ii. 1209 f. For other possible influences see L. Dietrichson *Christusbilledet* Kjøbenhavn 1880 p. 146 ff. (Zeus, Apollon, Dionysos, with their 'Nebenfiguren' Sarapis, Asklepios, Orpheus), H. Holtzmann in the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* 1884 x. 93 ff. (Orpheus, Hermes), A. Furtwängler in the *Mélanges Perrot* Paris 1902 p. 119 (Triptolemos or Eubouleus, Bonus Eventus).

[3] A. Furtwängler 'Vom Zeus des Phidias' in the *Mélanges Perrot* Paris 1902 pp. 109—120. Cp. V. Schultze *Archäologie der altchristlichen Kunst* München 1895

no mean critic of art-pedigrees, has contended that the Byzantine bearded type had for its actual 'Vorbild' the Pheidiac Zeus.

Be that as it may, Theodoros' tale of the fifth-century painter, who drew Christ in the likeness of Zeus, is one more reminder that Pheidias' ideal had gone far towards satisfying the aspirations of the

Fig. 782.

new faith. Even the lower classical conception of Zeus as a threatening storm-god appealed to the barbarians of the empire and finally made its way into the religious art of the Renaissance (fig. 782)[1].

* *
*

And what—it may be asked in conclusion—is the ultimate significance of all this coil—this cult of Zeus with its crude physical

p. 344 'Nur einmal ist auf einem Sarkophagrelief im Museo Kircheriano, wo ein ganz unfähiger Bildhauer Scenen aus dem Leben Jesu—Bergpredigt und Heilungen—zusammengefügt hat (Fig. 108), ein barbarisierter Zeustypus übernommen. Besonders tritt derselbe bei dem lehrenden Christus hervor. Für den Kopf, den Nackten Oberkörper, die Haltung lassen sich genaue antike Parallelen finden. Aber dieser Fall ist eine Ausnahme und will so beurteilt sein.' H. Holtzmann *loc. cit.* p. 87 ff. dwells on the influence of Asklepios (Zeus *Asklepiós supra* ii. 1076 ff.) and Sarapis (Zeus *Sárapis supra* i. 188 ff., ii. 1158, iii. 945). A. Alföldi *A Festival of Isis in Rome* Budapest 1937 p. 38 n. 54 pl. 7, 16 advocates Sarapis.

[1] I give as an example (or warning) a woodcut which appears in Alberto da Castello *Rosario della gloriosa Vergine Maria* Venetiis 1521 p. 190. See V. Masséna prince d'Essling *Les Livres à figures vénitiens* Florence—Paris 1909 ii. 2. 426. The illustration

beginnings, its slow mental and moral growth, its adolescent complexities, its later multifarious advances, approaches, contacts, overlappings, fusions, and identifications? That is a grave question, which I find hard to answer unless, like Browning's Ixion,

'Out of the wreck I rise—past Zeus to the Potency o'er him.'

Let us be bold to assert that throughout all ages and in every clime God has been making his mute appeal to men, drawing them, Jew and Gentile alike, with the cords of love nearer and nearer to Himself. Progressive illumination has been given them from above as they were able to bear it. The poets and thinkers of Hellas were receptive souls, and to them were vouchsafed glimpses and more than glimpses of eternal truth. If Pherekydes[1] taught that Zeus transformed himself into Love when he created the world, if Aischylos[2] found in Zeus the only possible solution for the problem of evil, if Aratos[3] said that 'always we all have need of Zeus,' if Dion[4] described Zeus as 'the common Father and Saviour and Keeper of mankind,' then Pherekydes and Aischylos and Aratos and Dion were not far from the Kingdom. And, unless I am greatly in error, the cult of Zeus took them one stage, one long stage, on the road thither. Platon[5] in the *Phaidros* speaks of those who follow Zeus and all the gods by an uphill path to the summit of the heavenly vault, the right view-point of the universe. What is the panorama that greets their purified eyes? A vista of ideal verities, says Platon[6], such as 'no earthly bard has ever yet sung or ever will sing in worthy strains.'

ΚΕΊΝΩΝ ΈΡΑΜΑΙ, ΚΕΙΘΙ ΓΕΝΟΊΜΑΝ[7].

is entitled 'Maria vergine sempre prega el figliolo per gli peccatori.' Christ, seated on the globe of heaven (*supra* i. 50 f.), is distinguished from Zeus or Iupiter only by the wounds in his hands and feet. The virgin, baring her breast in a last appeal (*supra* ii. 206 n. 2), is almost equally pagan.

[1] *Supra* ii. 316.

[2] *Supra* i p. v.

[3] *Supra* ii p. v.

[4] *Supra* p. 963.

[5] *Supra* ii. 43 f.

[6] Plat. *Phaedr.* 247 B—C *ἔνθα δὴ πόνος τε καὶ ἀγὼν ἔσχατος ψυχῇ πρόκειται. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀθάνατοι καλούμεναι, ἡνίκ' ἂν πρὸς ἄκρῳ γένωνται, ἔξω πορευθεῖσαι ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ νώτῳ, στάσας δὲ αὐτὰς περιάγει ἡ περιφορά, αἱ δὲ θεωροῦσι τὰ ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. τὸν δὲ ὑπερουράνιον τόπον οὔ τέ τις ὕμνησέ πω τῶν τῇδε ποιητὴς οὔ τέ ποθ' ὑμνήσει κατ' ἀξίαν. ἔχει δὲ ὧδε. τολμητέον γὰρ οὖν τό γε ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ ἀληθείας λέγοντα.* The Christian equivalent will be found in 1 Cor. 2. 9 and 10.

[7] Eur. *ap.* Aristoph. *vesp.* 751. The schol. *ad loc.* says *κείνων ἔραμαι· ἐξ Ἱππολύτου Εὐριπίδου.* F. H. M. Blaydes, after L. C. Valckenaer, supposes a quotation from the earlier *Ἱππόλυτος καλυπτόμενος.* In any case the meaning of the original may be divined from Eur. *Alc.* 867 f. *ζηλῶ φθιμένους, κείνων ἔραμαι, | κεῖν' ἐπιθυμῶ δώματα ναίειν.*

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